CHALLENGING HEGEMONY IN EDUCATION: SPECIFIC PARRHESIASTIC
SCHOLARS, CARE OF THE SELF, AND RELATIONS OF POWER

A Dissertation
by
M. FRANCYNE HUCKABY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2005

Major Subject: Educational Administration
CHALLENGING HEGEMONY IN EDUCATION: SPECIFIC PARRHESIASTIC SCHOLARS, CARE OF THE SELF, AND RELATIONS OF POWER

A Dissertation

by

M. FRANCYNE HUCKABY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee, Yvonna S. Lincoln
Committee Members, Christine Stanley
G. Patrick Slattery
Gaile S. Cannella
Head of Department, James J. Scheurich

December 2005

Major Subject: Educational Administration
ABSTRACT

Challenging Hegemony in Education: Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars,
Care of the Self, and Relations of Power. (December 2005)

M. Francyne Huckaby, B.A., Austin College;
M.Ed., Texas Christian University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Yvonna S. Lincoln

This dissertation explores how five specific intellectuals challenge hegemony in education and society, and express uncomfortable truths about hegemony faced by local communities in their academic practices. Their actions of free speech in regards to dangerous truths are similar to those of the ancient Greek parrhesiastes. This word, parrhesiastes, was used to describe the male citizen in ancient Greece, who had and used his rights to free speech or parrhesia. The activity of speaking freely, parrhesiazesthai, however, is not without its risks. Such speech is dangerous to the status quo, as well as the parrhesiastes. The activity is engaged despite the consequences and the parrhesiastes faces dangers and risks. It is argued that the five scholars who participated in this study are specific parrhesiastic scholars. They are specific intellectuals in their relations with academia, communities, and movements; and parrhesiastes in their actions to assure their rights to and exercise of freedom. While the ancient parrhesiastes served a critical and pedagogical role in transforming citizens to serve the best interests of the city, the specific parrhesiastic scholar, in the case of these five scholars, argues
for changes in society for the benefit of citizens whose interests have been ignored or trampled. Foucault acknowledged that the work of specific intellectuals could benefit the state to the detriment of local communities or could work to transform the state to include the interests of specific communities. Specific parrhesiastic scholars choose the latter. The focus of this study is the intersection of technologies of the self with technologies of power. This intersection, which Foucault terms governmentality, comes closest to a utilitarian exploration of resistance to power and the formation of freedom, and understanding of how individuals negotiate their particular positions in truth games for resistance and freedom. The basic conditions necessary for parrhesiazesthai are “citizenship” and understanding the distinction between positive and negative forms of parrhesia. The parrhesiastic practices of the five scholars are explored through three analytical frames: (1) self-knowledge and resisting repression, seduction, and desire; (2) political activity and tactics; and (3) the self within systems of subjugation.
DEDICATION

For today’s specific parrhesiastic scholars
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must express my gratitude to the five professors who shared their stories, experiences, and time. Clearly, this dissertation would not have been possible without their stories. I am, however, far more grateful for their passion, tenacity, inspiration, courage, and commitment to hope. I am thankful for the members of my dissertation committee, who introduced me to ideas and scholarship that created the possibilities for the questions I explored in this work, as well as the inquiry that is to follow. It has been a privilege to work closely with Yvonna Lincoln. I thank her for her mentoring and teaching, and remember fondly our conversations over tea in her study, and walks through her garden. I value the support, mentoring, and introductions to other scholars offered by Patrick Slattery, and remember with smiles and tears our many conversations in New York, Massachusetts, and Texas. I appreciate Christine Stanley for helping me prepare for my role as a college professor, particularly in the area of teaching and developing teaching and tenure review portfolios. I am appreciative of Gaile Cannella for advising me through a previous research project, introducing me to Foucault’s work and methodology, and helping me to understand and learn to read Foucault. I also want to acknowledge Sherrie Reynolds who chaired my thesis committee and encouraged me to pursue my doctorate.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the gifts of shelter, airfare, meals, transportation, and parking during my travels from Camille Pratt, Brian Glenn, Karen and Raymond LeBlanc, Arthur and Naomi Alton, Kim McCarty,
Christopher Sessum, Bill Watkins, Antonia Darder, Beverly Gordon, Richard Valencia, and Thea Berry. Grants from Texas A&M University Graduate Student Research and Presentation Grant, Race and Ethnic Studies Institute Graduate Student Mini-Grant, and Gender Issues Educational Enhancement Grant from Texas A&M University also contributed to the budget for this research project.

Without the critical advice of Dianne Kraft during drafts of this dissertation, the writing, particularly in the introduction, would not have been as well developed. I am also thankful to Priscilla and Gary Tate reading and feedback on sections of this project, and to Steve Sherwood with the Center for Writing at Texas Christian University for his assistance in helping me to write with more clarity.

Of course, I am forever grateful to my mother, Camille Pratt, not only for my existence, but also for attention as a parent that has fostered my interest in learning. I am indebted to my grandmother, Mamie Thompson, for teaching me the art and skill of observation, questioning, and thick description in my years as a child and young adult. I continue to be amazed and pleased with my spouse, Brian Glenn, and his ability to help me become. The possibilities and horizons for my life have been opening since the day we met.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROLOGUE AND INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parrhesiastic Life</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatis Personae (Characters)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skene (Staging)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Conversation with Foucault.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question of Parrhesiazesthai and Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How I Came to this Question</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the Dissertation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1: Specific Intellectuals and Their Communities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2: Michel Foucault as Chorus: A Review of the Literature</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 3: Applying and Adapting Foucault: Methodology</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 4: Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars, Care of the Self, and Relations of Power</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion and Epilogue</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK 1: SPECIFIC INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Specific Intellectuals</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Warrior</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fringe Academic</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical Scholar</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jack Professor</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance Intellectual</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradigmatic Orientations</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Specific Intellectual and Community</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border-crossing</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BOOK 2: FOUCAULT AS CHORUS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE............. 83

Specific Intellectuals and Parrhesiastes, Foucault’s Conceptions............. 84
Care of the Self......................................................................................... 86
Foucault’s Work: Questions, Methods, and Theory ................................ 92
  Not Power, but Power-Knowledge, Bio-Power, and Power Relations .... 97
  Government, Government-ality, and Govern-mentality...................... 102
  The Subject as Discursive Object.......................................................... 104
Truth Games.............................................................................................. 110
Epistemological Communities.................................................................... 112
Educational Games of Truth ..................................................................... 121
  Power-Knowledge and Biopower in Education...................................... 126
Foucault, Educational Truth Games, and Five Specific Parrhesiastes
Scholars ............................................................................................................... 139

BOOK 3: APPLYING AND ADAPTING FOUCAULT’S METHODOLOGY........ 143

Applying and Adapting Foucault’s Methods ............................................ 145
Why Compare Specific Intellectual Scholars to Ancient Greek
Parrhesiastes? ................................................................................................. 149
Participants .................................................................................................... 151
Data Collection and Data ........................................................................... 155
  Archival Documents................................................................................. 156
  Interviews .................................................................................................. 156
  Observations............................................................................................... 160
  Reflexive Journal....................................................................................... 161
  Fearless Speech......................................................................................... 161
Data Management ........................................................................................ 161
Analysis and Interpretation ......................................................................... 163
Examples of Each Technology in Qualitative Data Units ......................... 165
  Technologies of Care of the Self and ..................................................... 165
    Political Activity; Not Necessarily Politics............................................ 165
    Political Activity: Forms of Activity Engaged and Avoided................ 166
    Pedagogy: Forms of Learning Considered as Duty ......................... 168
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy: Forms of Learning throughout Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Self to Others: Domination of Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Self to Others: Resistance to Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Self to Others: Submission to Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Self to Others: Symmetrical Relations with Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Oneself: Relations of Self-Knowledge and Truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Power through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Tactics: Not Necessarily Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desires: Not Just Repressive Power, Role in Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systems of Subjugation: Control of Who Does and Does Not Have the Right to Speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systems of Subjugation: Determine What Is Permitted, Excluded, and Appropriated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BOOK 4: SPECIFIC PARRHESIASTIC SCHOLARS, CARE OF THE SELF, AND RELATIONS OF POWER | 184 |

The Case for the Specific Parrhesiastic Scholar | 185 |

Negative Parrhesia | 186 |
Positive Parrhesia | 187 |
Citizenship | 192 |
Care of the Self & Relations of Power | 196 |

I: Self-knowledge & Power: Resisting Repression, Seduction and Desire | 198 |

Self-knowledge through practices of askesis | 199 |
Self-examination | 201 |
Self-diagnosis | 203 |
Self-testing | 204 |
Self-knowledge and Desire | 206 |
No Excuses | 212 |
No Selling Out | 214 |
Choosing What to Avoid | 220 |
Self-knowledge and Relations of Power | 223 |

II: Political Activity & Tactics | 224 |

Parrhesia in Negative and Positive Forms | 224 |
Not a Politician, Yet Political | 227 |
Surviving the Judgment of Others | 238 |
Political Activities & Tactics | 246 |

III: The Self within Systems of Subjugation | 247 |
Exile | 248 |
Surviving in Unfair Conditions | 252 |
Submission as Resistance ................................................................. 259
Expanding Access for Specific Scholars ........................................... 261
Silenced in Institutional Corridors ...................................................... 265
Sustaining Symmetrical Power Relations ......................................... 268
Strategies of Protection .................................................................. 274
  Maintaining the Work ................................................................. 275
  Choosing Battles ................................................................. 277
  Optimism and Hope .............................................................. 279
  Letting Go Temporarily .......................................................... 283
  Gaining Legitimacy ............................................................... 285
The Self within Systems of Subjugation ........................................... 288
Care of the Self & Relations of Power Summary .............................. 288

CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE ......................................................... 300

  Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars, Care of the Self, and Relations of Power .... 300
  Considerations and Limitations of the Study ...................................... 311
  Epilogue: A Conversation with Foucault and New Century Parrhesiastes .... 315

REFERENCES .................................................................................... 324

APPENDIX A ..................................................................................... 339

APPENDIX B ..................................................................................... 340

APPENDIX C ..................................................................................... 342

VITA ............................................................................................... 344
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Human Nature and Nature of Society Paradigmatic Assumptions with Percentage of Publications in Higher Education</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Example of Date Unit Card</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Examples of Research Approaches by Two Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Orthogonal Relationship between Tenure and <em>Parrhesia</em></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Effects of School and Teacher Effectiveness on Student Achievement</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Interview Protocol and Research Questions</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Components for Analysis of Care of the Self and Relations of Power</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Analytical Frames for Analysis</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rank Order Comparison Between Total Criteria Score and Percentage of Minority Student Body Enrollment</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PROLOGUE AND INTRODUCTION

The Parrhesiastic Life

_ Dramatis Personae (Characters)_

- **Academic Warrior**  
  *People perhaps see me as an academic warrior exposing the underbelly of oppression*

- **Fringe Academic**  
  *I’m on the fringe of the academy... as far as being an African-American woman faculty member we dwell on the fringes of it.*

- **Radical Scholar**  
  *And obviously my strength is that of a radical scholar.*

- **New Jack Professor**  
  *I’ve been fortunate to be part of the national network of new jack professors or antiestablishment scholars.*

- **Renaissance Intellectual**  
  *But sometimes that feels like what my life has been like – a renaissance life of having to be re-born through all these different moments that renew people.*

- **1 Man Chorus**  
  *Knowledge is for me that which must function as a protection of individual existence and as a comprehension of the exterior world. I think that’s it. Knowledge as a means of surviving by understanding.*¹ (p. 125)

  _Skene (Staging)_

  The parrhesiastic life is difficult and dangerous. It is a lived performance of interaction that is more suitable for experiencing than watching. Parrhesiastic scholars metaphorically weave together divergent genres in parrhesiastic practices – the complex relations among people from theater, the subtleties of grace and tension of a duet, the thoughtful control of offense and defense informed by martial arts, the skill of balance...  

---

and contortion from gymnastics, the force of rhythmic stomping and percussion with everyday objects, the uncertainty of endings as openings from literature, and the innovation of contemporary dance. The stage for parrhesiastic performances is not a physical space. It has no firm flooring, no curtain, no lighting, no backstage, and no dressing room. Nor is it available for dress rehearsals. The parrhesiastic scholar claims the stage and creates the space for this dance within the constraints of her circumstances through her writing, pushing, speaking, balancing, flipping, ducking, striking, leaping, and so forth, sometimes abandoning one stage for a little space in another place.

**A Conversation with Foucault**

On stage are two characters. Michel Foucault sits at the foot of the bed gazing at the stack of his books, interviews, and papers – translated into English – in stacks of varying sizes on the floor along with newly typed pages with an editor’s markings in black, blue, and red. He looks at these pages, and abandons them to thumb through *Fearless Speech* (Foucault, 2001). M. Francyne Huckaby lies in bed sleeping and dreaming. The characters maintain their positions as though they are statues throughout their dialogue.

Foucault: When you learn French, we need to talk about these translations. Your French classes in high school have not helped you much.

Huckaby: I know, it’s disappointing how little of the French I learned in those two years has stayed with me. I would like to talk with you about the English translations of your work and your original works in French, but let me finish
this first. I may end up rewriting this dissertation once I read you in your language.

Foucault: What is it you are trying to do here? I see my work in what you have written and I recognize it in places. But some of this is not familiar.

Huckaby: It is you. Well, actually it’s me, informed by you and the experiences of five other scholars. The works of all six of you are included. I’ve been reading them as well as you. I’ve actually been able to meet and talk with them. I have those conversations on digital audio files and transcriptions in my study. My conversations with you have all been on the pages of your works, in my imagination, and with others who have things to say about your work. Those papers by your feet are my writings. I think of them as a new place that I’ve created by blurring the boundaries of your works, the experiences of five contemporary scholars, and the insights on parrhesiazesthai or speaking dangerous truths that you offer in that little book you are holding.

Foucault: What made you think you could do that?

Huckaby: You did. Well, I did. I’m human; we know that. I use all that I know and experience to interpret that which I know and experience. As a nascent scholar, I have been seeking out particular bodies of knowledge and experiences, knowing that I will bring all that I am to these scholarly experiences and using them to reinterpret who I have been. When I began
reading you, you were not just Foucault. You were Foucault filtered through me, and I happened to be interested in the lives of researchers and scholars. Your works offered insights and interpretations about professors’ experiences that other works have not. So I have adapted some of your work for my purposes here.

Foucault: You started out by saying that I made you think that you could use me in this way.

Huckaby: Yes, you did. I was fascinated by your careful study of relevant contemporary issues through the means of archaeology. You seemed to be very interested in the knowledge of today, well the days when you were living, but your interests are still very important 20 years after your death. Maybe they are even more important now. Anyway, you conducted careful historical analyses of how our taken-for-granted assumptions came about. I have been more interested in how we form knowledge in games of truth over shorter time periods – in the current moments of our lives. You were also interested in the present; you just didn’t get around to studying it. In 1984, January 20th to be exact, you said in an interview, “I would very much like to come back to more contemporary questions to try to see what can be made of all this in the context of the current political problematic…”

(Interrupts)
Foucault: “… it seems to me that contemporary political thought allows very little room for the question of the ethical subject. I don’t like to reply to questions I haven’t studied. However, I would very much like to come back to the questions I examined through ancient culture” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 294).

Huckaby: You died five months and five days after you said that. Who knows where you would have gone with your scholarship and with this very idea had you had more time? I’ve picked up some of the threads of your work and applied them to my questions about specific intellectuals as ethical subjects in knowledge production: How do these specific intellectual educational scholars participate in games of knowledge and truth around issues of educational equity and equality? I do not believe my study is incompatible with your work. In terms of theory and method it seems to me that it is consistent with your aim; “… it is a case of studying power at the point where its intention, if it has one, is completely invested in its real and effective practices…”

(Interrupts)

Foucault: “… What is needed is a study of power in its real and effective visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there – that is to
say – where it installs itself and produces its real effects” (Foucault, 1980b, p. 97).

Huckaby: In my way, I’m trying to study the effects of power, power-knowledge to be precise, in its field of application. In the case of this study and the works of the five scholars, the field is not singular. The targets of power-knowledge are many and contested, and the ways in which power-knowledge function are being transformed. It’s in those pages on the floor. I can make you a copy to take with you, if you like. I’ve been bribing people for their feedback and criticisms, and I’d love yours. I imagine a cup of coffee may not suffice; you probably don’t drink coffee these days.

Foucault: You’ve written all over my Berkeley lectures (Foucault, 2001). What does Fearless Speech have to do with your dissertation?

Huckaby: I’m tying my analysis of the practice of the self of five contemporary scholars to your analysis of the Greek parrhesiastes by asking the question, How do their roles and strategies to speak freely compare to those of the ancient Greek parrhesiastes? I use this book in two ways. In one way, I use it to work alongside you to some extent. In this sense, I use Fearless Speech as a document for analysis. It offers me a recursive reminder of how you worked in terms of your method and analysis. You know, I hope, that understanding your method is difficult. You write about what it is and why it is so, but you
never really say how you do it. I wanted to try and understand in someway how you worked. So I used one of your works to help me learn about your method. I guess I’ll never really know how you worked. Maybe what’s important is that I’ve found a way for your work and method to inform mine.

Foucault: You mentioned that you used these lectures in two ways. What was the other?

Huckaby: I also use it as a document of analysis. I compare the practices of ancient Greek parrhesiastes and specific parrhesiastic scholars. I literally used your lectures as a source of data along with the transcriptions of interviews and lectures. In the section I call “Care of the Self and Relations of Power,” you’ll notice sections from your lectures included with the results from the five scholars. Now that I think about it, your lectures have inspired me in a third way. Since Greek plays are the source for your understanding of the parrhesiastes, I’ve incorporated structural elements from plays in my dissertation.

Foucault: I see you have me as the chorus.

Huckaby: It seemed fitting. This dissertation comes from your ideas, as I have interpreted them, thus you are present throughout. In some places you introduce a concept and in others I use you to summarize like the Greek chorus.
Foucault: But I’m not really like a chorus. After all, here I am in the prologue. If I were the chorus, your readers would not hear from me until later.

Huckaby: Well, as I mentioned earlier, I’m creating a new space here; it’s an adapted, hybrid space. Unlike a Greek tragedy, the chorus as “Foucault” does not get the last words; I do. Therefore, I thought it would be appropriate for you to have the first words. If you want, you can have the last words of the prologue. I’m actually very curious. Of all the things you’ve written and said, what will you say here?

Foucault: I only have a question.

Huckaby: If you ask a question and I answer it, then I get the last word, not you.

Foucault: I’ll ask my question. You can give your answer in your dissertation.

Huckaby: That seems fair enough.

Foucault: How did you develop this interest and who are these five scholars you’ve commingled with my works?

**Question of Parrhesiazesthai and Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars**

This dissertation explores the role of the specific parrhesiastic scholar in the United States. Parrhesia (παρρησία) translated from Greek to English is free speech, and a Parrhesiastes is one who engages in speaking freely and telling dangerous truths. Dangerous truths in the context of this dissertation are activities of freely speaking that
challenge the *status quo* and its structure of power relations. In speaking dangerous truths, specific parrhesiastic scholars also place themselves in dangerous positions, and can become the target of efforts to silence these truths. *Parrhesiazesthai* is an activity that is described in the Greek texts of Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*), Plato (*Republic, Gorgias, Apology of Socrates, and Laches*), and Euripides (*The Bacchae, The Phoenician Women, Hippolytus, Electra, and Ion*). The participants of this study are five (5) educational scholars who challenge blocked states of domination, particularly racism, sexism, class exploitation and other forms of structural oppression, in education, educational scholarship, and society. Scholars such as these engage strategies to address hegemony through their scholarship, as well as in their interactions with peers, students, and audiences. The intention of this study is to address the question of how these scholars participate in games of knowledge and truth around issues of educational equity and equality. How do they negotiate their scholarship, careers, and lives within institutional, academic, and social systems that encourage, maintain, and sustain inequality? How do their roles and strategies compare to those of the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes*? Through interpretive diagnostics (technologies of the self) and interpretive analytics (Foucauldian genealogy), this study explores the discursive strategies in which these scholars engage and compares the roles they take on as specific intellectuals to those of the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes*.

The activities of specific parrhesiastic scholars are much like those of ancient *parrhesiastes* with some adaptations. The paradigmatic assumptions, nature of truth-telling, and roles of the truth-teller for specific parrhesiastic scholars are similar to those
of the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes* over 20 centuries ago. However, the strategies of power, the nature of risks, and discursive venues have changed. The parrhesiastic game has not remained the same in terms of what the *parrhesiastes* has risked or the form of the parrhesiastic discourse. As times and cultures change, *parrhesiastes* change as well, and contemporary *parrhesiastes* develop new strategies as previous ones became outdated or failed. Because of changes in the strategies of power, the circumstances of risks, and discursive venues over time and across cultures, the activity of freely speaking, *parrhesiazesthai*, adapts. The nature of *parrhesia* and the role of the *parrhesiastes*, however, are today as they were nearly 2,500 years ago.

**How I Came to This Question**

Parallel social and research experiences during my graduate studies were the impetus for this study. As a researcher, I was exploring how university faculty developed research paradigms, and what impact paradigmatic assumptions had on how they approached scholarly activities. A small group of the 26 scholars in education, sociology, English, architecture, history, and psychology that I interviewed caught my attention primarily because I saw similarities among our research intentions. These faculty were actively involved in critically questioning inequitable social systems, as well as how research methodologies, theories, and ethics supported inequality. They were more interested in approaches to research and scholarly activities that challenged the assumption that unequal human relations are normal. As I sat in university offices, conference rooms, and dining rooms, I listened to stories about their scholarly lives.
Although my research protocol did not focus on the social aspects of academic life, the scholars made clear allusions to the difficulties they faced within institutions of higher education, and their disciplinary fields.

During the same time period, I was also a research assistant for my advisor, and spent at least half of each workweek in our department’s offices. It took about a semester for me to realize that I was in what Gordon (1999) described as the “academic ‘hood.”

The ‘hood metaphor works because you, rather we – those of us that live in this “academic ‘hood” – are as vulnerable as our urban counterparts. The only difference is that the danger is very subtle and the blood and bloodletting is invisible to the naked eye. (p. 47)

It seemed as though a war was being waged along gendered, racialized, paradigmatic, and ideological lines. Female faculty (White, Black, and Latina), most of whom were also theoretically critical, were intellectually and verbally attacked, as well as physically intimidated and threatened. I was flabbergasted by the open hostility of their relationships. At first, I hung onto the myth that what I heard and saw were only isolated experiences and random incidents. There had to be some explanation other than systematic mistreatment. I maintained my disbelief through justifications for why these things were happening in the 21st century. Like most places in the United States, this college town was divided racially and economically. Newcomers were told what areas they should avoid and where they should not live. When I heard these comments, I excused them as not being so much racist as insensitive to how a person of color would
feel when told not to live with her people. But as I heard comments about the white, well-lit halls “getting dark,” other interpretations became more difficult. I had to stop denying that there was a pattern. I witnessed one particularly frightening incident aimed towards one of my professors during a class break:

Our evening class had taken a break and I stayed in the room to talk with classmates, and then went to the second floor vending machines to get a snack just before the break was over. As I was getting off the elevator, I noticed my professor on the balcony just outside the glass doors. She was cornered outside the building by this professor who had yelled at her during a meeting. The glass door was on her left, the cement ledge of the balcony on her right, the cement nook of the building’s corner at her back, and a rather tall male professor in her face. He was yelling and waving his arms, although I could not hear what was said. I pretended to get a snack, looking out of the corner of my eye to make sure. To make sure of exactly what, I did not know, but I had to make sure. My mind was racing. Should I stay and be a witness? What might I witness if I stay? Is she in physical danger? Is he just yelling or will he hit her? He wouldn’t push her, would he? (Huckaby, in press, p. 7)

I believed she could have been seriously harmed or injured and was so relieved when she finally made it back to the classroom, apologized for being late from break, and taught as if nothing had happened. The experience was of such intensity for me that I talked with her after class and we agreed to walk together to her car after each weekly night class.
In my apartment that night, I ordered pepper spray via the internet, and told my family the name and description of the offending faculty member – just in case I also became a target.

While the environment created some difficulties for students, as students we were able to insulate ourselves. To some degree, we could choose whose classes we took and who sat on our committees. The real conflict was among the faculty, and I had the unfortunate opportunity to see it played out. What I found most interesting and difficult was the experience of seeing the professors who were most like me being mistreated, and realizing that I was entering a profession that could potentially be more charged and hostile than I had ever expected – and that I could be the target. These vicarious experiences influenced my vision of what academic life might be for me.

During my first year, I noticed the strategies used against professors and the impact these strategies had on their work. In my second and third years, I noticed more blatant and obvious tactics.

Through these experiences, it became clear to me that the issues of difference, intellectual and phenotypic, are real and volatile in the academy. As a nascent female scholar of color, interested in critical scholarship, not purely for my own academic success, but for equality and equity in education and society, I began to imagine that my academic life could become a social ordeal, instead of the intellectual bliss I had imagined since my childhood. If I accepted a faculty position in an institution with similar social dynamics, my person and my scholarship could very well be the target of the challenges I heard from faculty in interviews, and the insults and threats I witnessed
in my department. This dissertation was intellectually and practically born out of these realizations and experiences.

On an intellectual level, I address questions on the production of knowledge and counter-knowledge. Foucault’s theories of power-knowledge, truth and subject, and methodological technologies of power and the self are instrumental to this end. Other theoretical perspectives and methodologies could be used to explore this question; however, Foucault’s work is particularly appealing because he considers power not as a fixed or invested quality but as a complex set of relations. Power conceived as being held by a certain group or institution may lead one to feel and act as though one is powerless and to find the consideration of options difficult. Foucault’s works offer ways of understanding and negotiating power relations, even though some of it is disheartening in its descriptions of strategies and states of domination. Within relations of power and through technologies of the self, all individuals are both affected by, and able to execute power, although to varying degrees.

While some disagree (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005), I suggest that Foucault offers a way out of succumbing to relations of power that are fixed, blocked or static through understanding and rearticulating relations of power. The subtext of much of his work advocates for “symmetrical, reciprocal relations” (Johnson, 1997, p. 573) and encourages readers to notice that they have access to more power than they realize. As a corollary, the opposite of this statement is also true; people have less power than they realize, because power relations are always in negotiation even when they are blocked for a time. Through analyses of power, knowledge, and power-knowledge apparatuses,
Foucault offers insights into the technologies of power. As I read his works, I think to myself, “If this is how domination works, what are the possibilities for resistance in my specific situation? Where are the momentary openings for change? How can I function within this discourse?” His University of California - Berkeley lectures (1983) on the role of the Parrhesiastes (one who speaks freely) (Foucault, 2001) and his writings on specific intellectuals (Foucault, 2000) are such texts of careful analysis that carry a subtext of encouragement and advocacy.

My own interpretation of Foucault is evolving. I began my reading of Foucault in 2001, and intensified my reading during the past two years. As I read more of his work and commentary on his work, I find that I reframed and reconsidered my previous conceptions by integrating additional concepts to form a more comprehensive, but not yet complete, understanding of his theories. I have found that each concept adds insights and complexity to the others, and that as a collective his theories are richly interrelated and interdependent. I fully expect to be reading and re-reading Foucault for years to come.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

This work incorporates some structures of most dissertations in the field of education, specifically a review of the literature, a discussion of methodology, and results sections. It also integrates forms that are more appropriate for the subject, such as the prologue in the form of a script, the introduction of participants just after the
introduction, and another script in the epilogue. Thus the dissertation is structured as follows:

- **Prologue and Introduction**
- **Book 1: Specific Intellectuals and Their Communities**
- **Book 2: Michel Foucault as Chorus: A Review of the Literature**
- **Book 3: Applying and Adapting Foucault: Methodology**
- **Book 4: Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars, Care of the Self, and Relations of Power**
- **Conclusion and Epilogue**
- **References**
- ** Appendices**

A brief overview of the sections follows.

**Book 1: Specific Intellectuals and Their Communities**

Book 1 describes the experiences of the five professors selected for this study, and their roles as intellectuals, in specific their relations with communities, social movements, and academia. Brief introductions to the individual scholars and their scholarship open the section, and an exploration of their paradigmatic approaches to scholarship follows. The ways in which their works differ and the paradigmatic similarities of scholarship are explored. The section then considers the relationships among the specific intellectuals, local communities, scholarly work, and the academy, and situates the unique position of the specific intellectual and university scholar vis-à-vis local communities. The section ends with considerations of how local communities
and the scholars’ experiences within these communities have formed the epistemological foundation for the specific intellectuals in this study and argues that local communities are their epistemological communities.

**Book 2: Michel Foucault as Chorus: A Review of the Literature**

Book 2 is a review of the literature, and begins with a description of the specific parrhesiastic scholar and how this role is conceptualized as a merging of the specific intellectual of the 20th century and the *parrhesiastes* of ancient Greece. Foucault’s work on the care of the self is central to the *parrhesiastes*, the specific parrhesiastic scholars, and this dissertation, and is treated in some detail in the beginning of the section. The section then turns to explaining Foucault’s theories – power-knowledge, bio-power, power relations, governmentality, discursive object, and truth games – in relation to this dissertation. The last sub-sections explain the application of Foucault’s work to this study, and the conceptualization of the field of education in this study through Foucault’s theories, and the connections between Foucault’s specific intellectual and *Parrhesiastes* and the five scholar-participants of this study.

**Book 3: Applying and Adapting Foucault: Methodology**

The methodology for this study is the subject of Book 3. The beginning of the section explicitly describes the adaptations and applications of Foucault’s methodology to this project. The next sub-section builds the argument for combining the concepts of the specific intellectual and *parrhesiastes* into the specific parrhesiastic scholar, and explains how the scholars selected for the study meet the criteria of specific parrhesiastic
scholars. The next sub-section describes the types of data collected, as well as methods of collection and analysis. The section on analysis and interpretation explains the incorporation of Foucault’s theories into the methodology of this study, and offers explicit examples of textual data units of Foucault’s theories-methodologies\(^1\). The section closes with considerations of limitations of the study.

*Book 4: Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars, Care of the Self, and Relations of Power*

This section begins with a building of the case for the *specific parrhesiastic scholar*. The negative and positive forms of *parrhesia* or free speech are described and analyzed alongside the practices of the five scholar-participants, and their sometimes difficult paths to earning their roles as specific parrhesiastic scholars is explained. The majority of Book 4 carefully considers how the scholars construct, govern, and practice the self in their establishment of freedom within relations of power of domination, submission, resistance and symmetry. This look at technologies of the self and relations of power occurs in three sections (1) self-knowledge and resisting repression, seduction, and desire, (2) political activity and tactics, and (3) the self within systems of subjugation. In summary, this section explores the strategies the scholars have used in the formation of freedom through care of the self within power relations for themselves as well as specific communities.

\(^1\) Foucault wanted each of his concepts to also be a means to studying it. To express this idea, I use the term theory-methodology. A broader explanation of this notion is included in books 2 and 3.
Conclusion and Epilogue

The dissertation ends with a conclusion that reviews and summarizes the previous sections. An epilogue follows and extends the conversation with Foucault in the form of a script for a play. This conversation begins with a discussion about the methodology and results of the study between Huckaby and Foucault. A young scholar of the 21st Century, New Century Parrhesiastes, joins the conversation and the three characters discuss what might be required of specific parrhesiastic scholars who are coming of age today.
BOOK 1: SPECIFIC INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

The role of the Western academic intellectual, according to Michel Foucault (2000), has been as a spokesman and writer of a collective narrative of truth and justice. Such “universal intellectuals” (p. 126) have contributed to the script of the master narrative of our collective conscience and consciousness as to the purpose, function, and influence of education. The emergence of specific intellectuals in the 20th century, as identified by Foucault, began to transform the role of the intellectual, from the universal into the polymorphous, as specific intellectuals appropriated local knowledge(s) and specific positions into truth games for political and educational struggles (Faubion, 2000). Through the specificity of their lives and work, specific intellectuals are situated within political, power, and truth struggles in real and material ways. Such intellectuals come from and are drawn closer to the proletariat. Because of their particular tacit knowledge of educational hegemony, gained through lived experiences, specific intellectuals can elucidate systematic oppression in educational discourses, practices, and knowledge games.

While exploring and producing bodies of scholarship that challenge the status quo with uncomfortable truths, specific intellectuals, as academic scholars, work and live within institutions, systems, and communities that uphold the very conditions they challenge – a world formed by and for the universal intellectual. To earn tenure and promotions, such scholars have had to succeed in ways defined by academic institutions and disciplinary colleagues, not their cultural communities. Upholding their voice
within the constraints of universities and schools of education has been a complex
dialectic rife with technologies of negotiation, resistance, assimilation, transformation,
perpetuation, definition, deconstruction, and reformation. Specific intellectuals, in
attempts to maintain freedom to speak and act, have had to resist the seductions and
traps that could metamorphose them into universal intellectuals or oppress them further
into subaltern positions. This intentional work towards freedom is not dissimilar from
that of the ancient Greek *Parrhesiastes*, who spoke freely by simultaneously
establishing, maintaining, and risking his rights to *parrhesia* or free speech (Foucault,
2001). The educational scholars who participated in this study, I argue through the
course of this dissertation, are (or are at least attempting to be) *specific parrhesiastic
scholars*. They are explicitly interested in transforming not only the harmful outcomes
of hegemony on peoples in non-dominant positions, but also the educational and societal
systems that maintain static, asymmetrical power relations.

**Five Specific Intellectuals**

The five professors who participated in this study are specific intellectuals in
their relations with academia, communities, and social movements. They have each
been connected to local communities and have spoken and written dangerous truths as
advocates for these communities. These specific intellectuals narrow the divide between
the community and the academy, or “town and gown,” to quote New Jack Professor.
Through their scholarship, they facilitate the heuristic skills of local communities, and
encourage social action for the benefit of the community. As Fringe Academic explains:
The role of the African-American scholar/writer is, then multifaceted. These scholars must provide members of the community with the heuristic skills they need to begin to take social action in their own interests, and close the gap between the academy and the community. The African-American scholar/writer is able to generate and disseminate cultural knowledge in the academy and in the popular culture through a variety of means, including the production of scholarly writings, public discussions, media, literary writings, and films. It is also the responsibility of the scholar/writer not to overlook the involvement of the African-American community in discourse. (Gordon, 1994, p. 66)

Their work typically extends beyond traditional academic discourse into public or civic discussions. Their conceptual frames also differ from those of more universal scholars. Because of their connections with and commitment to their own communities and other marginalized communities, these scholars challenge dominant assumptions by theorizing from specific community perspectives, instead of the individualistic yet universal perspective so typical of Western thought, in their efforts for social change. They directly and unapologetically challenge the *status quo* as they straddle the boundaries of local communities and academia. They are members of marginalized communities (in terms of race/ethnicity and/or socio-economic class) who have acquired positions of influence.
Academic Warrior, Fringe Academic, Radical Scholar, New Jack Professor, and Renaissance Intellectual, I argue, are specific intellectuals. While they are all tenured professors in doctoral/research extensive (McCormick, 2000) and predominantly White institutions (PWI), they remain committed to the struggles of marginalized peoples. Their position places them as both subjugated targets of power-knowledge in asymmetrical power relations, and institutionally sanctioned producers of knowledge. Additionally, each of these scholars has been and continues to be concerned with intentionally engaging games of truth on educational and societal social relations, challenging power relations that subjugate peoples, and maintaining their freedom to speak dangerous truths.

Academic Warrior

“People perhaps see me as an academic warrior. . . . exposing the underbelly of oppression.”

The idea of going to college, whether a two-year or four-year institution, did not occur to Academic Warrior until his sixth grade teacher noticed his academic potential and told him he was going to go to college. As an incentive, this teacher personally paid Academic Warrior $5 for every A and $3 for every B earned in middle school. He entered higher education through a community college, and eventually earned four (4) degrees (A.A., B.A., M.A., and Ph.D.) in psychology and educational psychology. He

2 Pseudonyms have been given to the scholars. Each used his or her descriptive name either during the interview(s) or in conversations with me. I believe pseudonyms capture how the scholars envision their roles.
was the first in his family to attend college, and one of the few who completed high school.

Academic Warrior knew that he wanted to be a professor, and his road to this goal has been long and has required persistence. He worked late night shifts in factories and stores due to financial necessities throughout his academic career – high school, college, and early graduate school. He maintained high grades even though he was functioning on limited sleep. On several occasions, when his financial situation became untenable, Academic Warrior stopped attending school in order to work for low wages, as little as $2.93 an hour. Once he had saved enough to continue, he would return to school. Finally in his doctoral program, Academic Warrior was “pulled in one day to get a $27 self-supporting fee waiver” which was the equivalent of a week’s wages. He “walked out an hour later with a $3,500 scholarship.” From that point on, Academic Warrior has been in the academy full-time.

Academic Warrior’s academic career is impressive. He became a university lecturer in Chicano Studies before entering his doctoral program. He was the recipient of the American Psychological Association, Rockefeller, Ford, and four other fellowships. He was also honored with the Distinguished Career Contribution award from the Educational Research Association, the Distinguished Faculty award from a state Association for Chicanos in Higher Education, and the CHOICE Outstanding Academic Book award. He has also been nominated for two additional book awards. Currently writing his fifth book, Academic Warrior has also published over 40 refereed journal articles, and nearly 30 book chapters. He received 29 research and writing grants
as of 2002 with the largest one totaling $125,000. After becoming an assistant professor in 1978, he was promoted to professor in 2000. Despite a consistently productive scholarly record, it took eight (8) years for him to progress from assistant professor to associate, and then another 14 years to professor.

Academic Warrior “became socialized to the Chicano movement” in 1968 while studying at a university that had 14 Chicano students in a population of 14,000 students. His interests lie in exposing the injustices and inequality experienced by people of color, specifically Mexican-Americans and poor people. Focusing on the systematic injustices and oppressions of school failure, school closures, intelligence testing, special education, court verdicts and school policies, Academic Warrior’s careful analyses consider historical, psychological, social, legal, and demographic aspects. He analyzes the impact of systematic tools of oppression, such as intelligence testing and school closure, and shows how these strategies disadvantage poor people and people of color, while offering advantages to those who are more wealthy and White. He does not intend for his work to be simply academic or informative. It has been used as a knowledge base for litigation, and he continues to acknowledge the litigative potential of his writing. He also addresses issues pertinent to local communities, particularly the potential and realized impact of legislation on Mexican American, African American, poor children and their families. In one publication, he called for legislation that would require candidates for public office to take and publish their scores on the most recent exit-level test required of public school students. Academic Warrior focuses on making sure that his scholarship is not perceived as “too political” by intentionally stressing his reliance
on social science methodology and rigorous, detailed research. He ensures that his writing meets the standards of his field.

Academic warrior and I met in his office around a small conference table for the interview. While this environment offered some formality to the interview, Academic Warrior had planned for informal interaction. He had two sodas stored in the department refrigerator, and used a walk to the break room for informal conversation. The informal conversation continued after our interview with his asking questions about my career and academic experiences. Academic Warrior and I are of different races, cultures, genders, and generations, yet I did not feel that we were communicating across differences; while we are situated differently in the world there are clearly similarities in our experiences.

_Fringe Academic_

“It seems that I'm always on the periphery. I'm on the fringe of the Academy on one level. Obviously, on another level I’m well entrenched in the Academy… as far as being an African-American woman faculty member…we dwell on the fringes of it, right on the very corners of it.”

Fringe Academic was an English major as an undergraduate and thought teaching would be a possible future, since she was not at all excited about the prospect of transforming her summer work with the telephone company into a full-time career. In preparation for teaching, she sought a master’s degree in a teacher education program that “changed [her] life.” It was not only the academic program, but the opportunity to study during a time that was intensely political. She remembers the “bus caravans through the south – to integrate the south,” and she was in high school “when those little
girls were bombed and killed” in the Birmingham, Alabama Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Before graduate school, Fringe Academic was already becoming aware of the world and herself in it. She then went to a school in a city that was radicalizing itself.

Once she became an English teacher, she felt appalled by the racist texts her students had to read. She literally threw those books out, and collected books by African-American authors for her students. She soon realized, however, that she “was not going to have any control at all over curriculum, and issues of curriculum, …unless she got an advanced degree.” This realization led her to her doctoral program and a 20-year academic career.

Fringe Academic’s work focuses on issues African Americans have faced and continue to face in the intersection of social, political, cultural, economic, and pedagogical realities. She is particularly interested in how these systems have failed Black children and their communities. Much of her work challenges the ideological assumptions that utilize the characteristics of a group as justifications and reasons for their failure. She argues that these dominant ideologies function to marginalize children of color and poor children. Through her work, she also encourages readers and students to look beyond the espoused problems, and to identify the theories, paradigms, and epistemologies of those subjugated. In this way, she uses culturally specific knowledge as a tool for liberation. She presents counter-knowledge by drawing on scholarship, including Black intellectual and cultural thought, and medical research, that the establishment frequently excludes from education. In other words, she draws on and stresses the strengths of the community, gives privilege to the knowledge forms that
emanate from her community, and in so doing problematizes dominant discourses which have dissolved uncritically into commonsense societal assumptions.

Through her work she takes on the deviancy, deprivation, and deficiency theories directed toward children of color and poverty, and frequently asks the question, “Whose interests are served?” She argues that systems like teacher preparation programs propagate beliefs that have essentially remained unaffected since the late 19th century despite the social movements and changes of the 20th century. She also draws parallels between the educational and societal experiences of minorities of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and those of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. While the volumes of educational literature shortchange her community, she focuses her work to benefit and serve her community and other subordinated communities.

Fringe Academic wants schools to offer opportunities instead of limitations for people of color, and presents arguments for anti-racist policies, emancipatory pedagogies, and a raised cultural consciousness. Though her work is written primarily for teachers and teacher educators, she also encourages critical reflection, and active, responsible community participation. Fringe Academic is the author of over 20 articles and book chapters, and holds the distinction of being the first African American female elected to department chair in her university. At the time of our interview, she was devoting a school term to her scholarship, and she is planning to write two books, one being a collection of her articles, in preparation for presenting her case for promotion to the rank of professor.
Fringe Academic and I crossed from brief introductions into the familiar, even familial, relationship between the elder African-American woman and the young Black woman, or so it felt to me. As she welcomed me into her home she gave me slippers, a t-shirt, and a meal. The clear message was that I should be comfortable and cared for. We occupied the space of her kitchen and dining room for the interview, and our conversations about the meal and the cultural significance of cooking and nourishment wove in and out of our interview. As she explained, “In my household all the big things that ever happened, happened in the kitchen. All the real discussions, all the real decisions, all the real everything happened in the kitchen in my house.”

Radical Scholar

“And obviously my strength is that of a radical scholar. . . . I think that is the strength of my work. Somebody once said, “Peter, I figured out what you do is art. You know, political art.”

Radical Scholar’s political project of looking at the world through the lens of a structured critique focused on social justice came later in his life. His earlier years were less certain. If he “had not gone into academia [he] would have ended up in prison,” and he is grateful to his wife and family, because he thinks they “kept him from falling off the edge of the cliff.” He is a person of passion, who is “haunted” by his thoughts that he could be doing more to forward social justice. Yet, he realizes that he can’t do everything and that some activities would take him away from what he does well. His work is primarily political art, but not always. It is sometimes meant to be informative, rhetorical, muck-raking, didactic, evocative, or propagandistic. Paulo Freire once told
Radical Scholar that the real thing to do is to be a translator, to translate his work and the work of other philosophers and social theorists as a teacher. As a translator, he helps his students, readers, and audiences develop a “critical vernacular . . . and they can begin to take their own ownership of the work and figure out if it has merit or relevance.”

Radical Scholar grew up in Canada as an only child, and in his “home there was a lot of time for study and reflection, keeping a journal, and writing poetry.” In eighth grade, he was put into a non-academic track classroom with kids called “the hoods.” Even though he made friends, he was eventually moved into the academic track. In his younger years, he was also an artist, film maker, poet, and risk-taker. In the late seventies, he became an elementary school teacher and spent a couple of those years teaching in the Jane Finch Corridor, Toronto’s “inner-city” suburb. He published his first book from this experience before he entered his master’s of education program. After completing his doctorate in educational theory in the early 1980s, he became an assistant professor in the United States, and has been a full professor since 1996. His work in critical pedagogy, critical literacy, and cultural studies is internationally known and has been translated into over 15 languages.

Over his academic career, Radical Scholar has been transformed. One of his more recent moves has been towards the notion of a “socialist society actively engaged in revolutionary transformation” (McLaren, 2003b, p. 1). He wants to challenge our notions of social justice so that we do not simply think of redistributing privileges, wealth, and capital, but instead develop a social consciousness that criticizes the political economy. He views his work as pushing forward the practices of democracy by raising
difficult questions and dialogues, even those that are feared or may result in dreadful consequences. He sees democracy as “busy” and not as “smooth” or “harmonious,” and he values the process of disagreeing and caring in efforts to construct “common ground” (McLaren, 1995, p. 99, 105). Interestingly, he is quite critical of the political left for its narrow and harmful vision (McLaren, 2001a), and believes that “celebration is empty” as long some still suffer (McLaren, 2003c). He argues that conservatives and liberals presume that justice exists and only needs tweaking. His argument is, however, that simply because laws exist, justice does not follow. Instead, “[j]ustice needs to be continually created, constantly struggled for” (McLaren, 1994, p. 201).

Radical Scholar is Professor Peter L. McLaren. Recently, the multi-racial, gender-balanced, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, and anti-imperialist non-profit organization, La Fundacion Peter McLaren de Pedagogia Critica (The Peter McLaren Foundation of Critical Pedagogy), was named in his honor. His recent books are Life in Schools, 4th edition (2002) and Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution (2000). His forthcoming books include Critical Pedagogy, Globalization, and the Dialectics of Terrorism; Red Seminars: Radical Excursions into Educational Theory, Cultural Politics, and Pedagogy; and The Critical Pedagogy Manifesto.

Radical Scholar seemed to open his world to me--his campus, his office, local people, and his ideas. I sensed that he was sincerely willing to share his experiences, as well as learn about my experiences. My experience of observing him highlighted the limitations of race. When I see him, I can't help but see a White man, yet there were
moments where I felt that if my sight (my eye and the cultural shaping of that eye) had failed I would experience a person stretching racial boundaries and blending into a Chicano or Black man for moments. When I first began thinking about my sense of Radical Scholar the image of a chameleon surfaced, but this metaphor is problematic in that the chameleon changes or morphs to the environment. This professor shifted and extended in all the situations in which I observed or interacted with him – our interviews, classroom discussion, conference presentations, keynote addresses, and his writings.

_New Jack Professor_

“I think that I’ve been fortunate over the last ten years or so to be part of the national network of, shall we call them New Jack Professors or antiestablishment scholars or I don’t know what to call us.”

Promoted to the rank of professor in 2003, New Jack Professor’s road to the professorship in education was circuitous, while his dedication to equality, social justice, and peace has been his life’s work. He was born in Harlem, New York, and raised in south-central Los Angeles, California. He understands the social and political forces that oppress, exploit, and contain people. He’s worked in sweatshops, and was “regularly confronted” by LA police in his youth. As a result, he knows firsthand how people are managed within social systems “in the interests of profits and control.” It was within his experiences in higher education that New Jack Professor was able to support and clarify his hunches and instincts theoretically. He learned about the power of ideas to transform and make a difference in peoples’ lives.
He entered higher education through Los Angeles City College. Because he was most interested in mischief making and hanging out with his friends, community college was his only option. He proceeded on to California State University at Los Angeles, and both his associates and bachelors are pre-law degrees. He became a serious student during his upper division undergraduate years, and was handpicked for a minority scholars program in law school, which he chose not to pursue. He began to question, “How could we have such inequities such as segregation, legalized segregation, existing side-by-side with – supposedly – the civilized legal system?” He began to see that the legal system protected the established order, including “those forces which foster racism and that profit by racial oppression.”

He left that potential future and moved to New York City to work as a community organizer focusing on people’s empowerment and labor rights. This experience exposed him to another side of society as he participated “in social protests and in organizing people to change their own lives.” He worked in blue-collar jobs, got married, and was just “young in New York.” He made his way to Chicago, Illinois, for a teaching position, which he thought would be “just another adventure.” It became, however, an “existential moment” in his life, and after a few weeks of teaching, he had found his place and knew that he was born to be in the classroom. He entered graduate school to fulfill certification requirements. After he met these requirements, he completed the few additional courses needed to earn his masters.

The prodding of one of his professors convinced him that he should pursue his doctorate. His initial interest was in political science, but this professor convinced him
that there was a place in education for issues of social justice, equity, and social change. The year he completed his doctorate, New Jack Professor became an assistant professor. Within six years, he earned the promotion to associate professor and to professor within the next 11 years.

New Jack Professor is a political sociologist interested in the politics of education and its effects on African American students and communities. Through his teaching and scholarship, he strives toward “a curriculum of reconstructionism” and encourages his students and readers to become “critical social scientists.” He believes that “we little people…can create a new society without prejudice and want” if armed with knowledge and ideas. Professor William H. Watkins of curriculum and instruction at the University of Illinois at Chicago wanted to be known by name in this study. He is the author or editor of three (3) books, including *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (2001), and *Race and Education: The Roles of History and Society in Educating African American Students* (2001). He has published nine (9) book chapters and 15 refereed journal articles, and has participated in six (6) funded research projects in roles varying from research assistant to researcher, and director. New Jack Professor has also received the Carter G. Woodson award and two outstanding book awards. He is involved in several professional organizations, including four (4) editorial boards, and actively pursues efforts to bring the “town and gown” together through community and university sponsored conferences, radio guest appearances, and presentations in churches, elementary and secondary schools, prisons, and various community groups.
My perception of New Jack Professor is that he is stable and strong. He knows what he believes and is willing to let others know his opinion without demanding that others agree or disagree. He seems to insulate himself from the critiques and to some degree the compliments of others in his efforts to remain independent. He is not very concerned with what others think about him or how they respond to his work. For example, when I asked him how he wanted to be involved in the study, he was satisfied with what he said and left the analysis, interpretation, and writing to me even if I were to say that “Watkins is a son of a bitch.” That said I am certain that he shared what he wanted, and at times I found him selective and deliberative in his word choices.

_Renaissance Intellectual_

“…but sometimes that feels what my life has been like – a Renaissance life of having to be re-birthed through all these different moments that renew people … You know, listening to the lives of people who are struggling and trying to make some sense out of this suffering and what we can do. There is always the sense of how can we give life even to the most dreadful situation.”

Renaissance Scholar grew up under difficult conditions. Her family was extremely poor and she took on the responsibility of looking after her sister while still in elementary school. After marrying and starting her family early, she was determined to make her life with her children different from her own childhood, and to show them she loved them. By enrolling in a city college, Renaissance Scholar continued her education. Even though she had a desire to become a medical doctor, her school counselor convinced her that the 10 years of schooling was impractical given her family situation, while nursing school was not. She was convinced that she could complete
nursing school in a couple of years, get off welfare, and have more time to spend with her family.

Before moving into academia, Renaissance Scholar held several positions in her community as a hospital nurse, school nurse, psychiatric nurse, community organizer, and community nurse-educator. She disliked how she was treated as a person in the hospital environment, and hated the position. As a school nurse and then a nurse for a community organization, she was able to integrate teaching into her practice. Her work in developing and offering parent-education programs for parents of pre-school children was her “first sense of really loving teaching.” However, not until her master’s program in education could she name her angst and concern for community self-determination, development, economics, and antiracism. Graduate school gave her an opportunity to talk about these issues with other people, and placed her on the path to becoming a professor.

Renaissance Scholar’s work, even in her community education and organizing days, has focused on listening and dialoguing with people about improving their lives. This dialectical practice extends into her teaching, writing, and public engagements. The experiences and struggles of teachers and students are the impetus of much of her scholarship. She is interested, particularly in her earlier scholarship, in the cultural backgrounds of teachers in relation to their preparedness to educate bicultural, especially Latino/Latina students. She considers the construction, sustenance, and transformations of cultural identity, particularly for those who are bicultural. She also challenges the exclusion or avoidance of two-worldness by White scholars who write about people of
color, and has criticized teacher preparation programs for their inability to prepare
teachers to work effectively and respectfully with bicultural students. While she argues
the importance of and need for bicultural teachers, she also offers suggestions to mono-
cultural teachers. She believes mono-cultural teachers need to know their own
limitations and to reflect critically on the dominant society. Even though she is a private
person, she structures her classes and speaking engagements in ways that bring others
into conversations (oral and written), even when fundamental disagreements are
presented.

Through critical scholarship that integrates historical and dialectical
understanding, Renaissance Scholar challenges common sense acceptance of social
arrangements. Her work, particularly her more recent scholarship, has moved beyond
the classroom to work towards equality and justice. She argues for a move from
considerations of race and inequality to articulating the questions through historical,
cultural, and political differences exercised and expressed in racisms. She acknowledges
a plurality of racisms inextricably linked to racialized capitalism, the study of which
requires a global perspective of historically defined racialized relations. In other words,
her view is that race and class cannot be decoupled, nor can local and global issues.

Renaissance Scholar was promoted from her first full time faculty position to
associate professor in eight (8) years, and then to professor within the next four years.
She is the author or editor of 11 books, with an additional seven (7) books forthcoming,
and about 30 articles and book chapters. As an autodidactic artist and poet, Renaissance
Scholar has also published 10 literary works. She is the recipient of a Social Justice in
Education award, three fellowships including one from the Kellogg Foundation, and a half dozen outstanding service awards. Renaissance Scholar has provided consulting services to over 30 community organizations.

I believe it was important for Renaissance Intellectual to get a sense of who I am as a scholar and a person before she agreed to participate in the study. In her initial interactions, it seems to me that she is guarded with people, but once she engages with others she is fully present and quite open. Her guardedness, from my perspective, is not defensiveness, but a form of conservation – a way of determining how she will extend her energies. I felt Renaissance Intellectual pushing me toward looking to her work, and not her person, because her work is far more important to her than her identity. In our conversations, she pushed the work for equality to the foreground, before her own scholarship and before herself as a person.

Throughout her life, she seems to have had a sense of responsibility for others. She has based her decisions about where to work more on continuing the struggle for justice than her personal comfort. Renaissance Scholar seeks opportunities to move beyond despair and to find hope in her work and her personal life. She works with her students and audiences to prepare and help them deal with these issues, and does not underestimate the role of courage. She also encourages critical scholars to be public intellectuals and to extend the dialectic into conversations with communities. From firsthand experience, she knows that this type of work is difficult and at times executed under lonely conditions.
Paradigmatic Orientations

The five scholars vary paradigmatically. While all have critical aspects to their work, their groundings are philosophically diverse. Paradigms, as basic belief systems, are categorized within several schemata. For example, Guba and Lincoln (Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994) categorize paradigms based on their ontology (what is real), epistemology (what is knowledge), and methodology (how do we know) into positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Lincoln and Guba later (2000) extend this scheme to include practical issues as a basis for sorting paradigms and add the paradigmatic category they titled participatory. While Toma (1997) encourages thinking about paradigms as a continuum, one must recognize that while scholars within paradigms may spread across the continuum, the notion of a paradigmatic continuum is not conducive across paradigms. Burrell and Morgan (in Milam, 1991) suggest that paradigms are orthogonal in their nature. Their categorization (see Figure 1) takes into account assumptions on the nature of reality (ontological), what is knowledge (epistemology), and theory of scholarly method (methodology). This schema also incorporates human and societal nature paradigmatic assumptions. Human nature considers the human-environment relationship and views humans as either having free will (voluntarism) or being controlled (determinism) by environmental, behavioral, or situational variables. The nature of society is concerned with either why society works as it does through regulation or how conflict and contradiction should be considered in radical change. Thus Burrell and Morgan’s scheme conceives voluntarism and determinism as the poles of one continuum that exists in an orthogonal relation to the
continuum contained by notions of society as functioning through regulation as opposed to society through radical change.

The bodies of work for the five scholars are paradigmatically diverse. Academic Warrior’s scholarship is more aligned with positivism; Renaissance Intellectual’s is participatory; New Jack Professor’s crosses postpositivism and critical theory; Fringe Academic’s has a constructivist bent, and Radical Scholar’s parallels critical theory. Within Burrell and Morgan’s schema (Milam, 1991), however, I suggest they are all radical humanists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Society: Regulation</th>
<th>Nature of Society: Radical Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status quo</td>
<td>Structural conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Order</td>
<td>Modes of domination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Contradiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social integration</td>
<td>Emancipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity</td>
<td>Deprivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need satisfaction</td>
<td>Potentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actuality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Interpretive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Realism</td>
<td>Radical Humanist (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positivism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomothetic</td>
<td>Functionalist (98%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Nature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determinism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Human Nature and Nature of Society Paradigmatic Assumptions with Percentage of Publications in Higher Education
Ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically, these scholars differ in both drastic and subtle ways. However, within considerations of how their beliefs about humans and nature inform their work, and their intentions for their work, their scholarship becomes quite similar. For them, humans have free will and are capable of change, even though they exist within systems and structures that attempt to control and sway. Renaissance Intellectual expressed it this way:

- It’s not just humanistic, it’s not just philosophical, it’s not just psychological, it’s not just pedagogical; it’s really all of those things.
- That we in fact are all of those things, or we have the capacity to be all of that is really an incredible gift that we as human beings have. We can talk about social agency in a lot of different ways, but social agency as I have come to recognize is the power that lives in me. You know that we each have that capacity.

Below in Table 1 are excerpts from interviews from two professors with quite different approaches to their work:
Table 1: Examples of Research Approaches by Two Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Jack Professor (postpositivism &amp; critical theory)</th>
<th>Academic Warrior (positivism)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huckaby:</strong> And what does it mean to you to be radical, hard left, reconstructionist?</td>
<td><strong>Huckaby:</strong> How did you come to decide to write about your experiences in those cases?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Jack Professor:</strong> It means that . . . I'm very much opposed to the existing social and economic order. It means that I don't want to simply reform or adjust the existing order. I would like to change it. In that sense, I'd call myself a radical. And I think that in one of my pieces in Educational Theory I try to distinguish myself from the mainstream multiculturalists, and I called them “the sponsored multicultural movement.” And that's because I believe that our society does attempt to qualitatively relieve some pressure in the race question, and so multicultural education has got a degree of sponsorship from the established order. But the sponsorship has resulted in a tokenistic multicultural education. . . . that movement has as its goal diversity. And I have polemicized against the notion of diversity as much as I can, because diversity is different than equality. . . . And so I'm concerned that the rhetoric of diversity has supplanted what I consider the more appropriate rhetoric of equality.</td>
<td><strong>Academic Warrior:</strong> . . . We lost that case and I felt angry, and I said, “This is not right.” If this is injustice, people need to know about this, because throughout the nation they're picking on poor people’s schools, poor Black schools, poor Latino schools, and poor White schools. And I thought this is injustice; this is not right. So what I wanted to do was in the boundaries of social science research. I wanted to make a case for the plaintiffs – why we should win this one. . . . Just let the people know that in the Mexican-American community there's this new form of denial. In the past we had inequities upon inequities – school segregation, school financing, low teachers expectations, poorly certified teachers teaching in our schools – now upon all of this, another obstacle is laid. They are taking away our schools, which is not fair. So I wanted people to know about this. . . . I had laid out some hypotheses on the case, and I felt that I was almost compelled to see if these hypotheses would hold up under social science research scrutiny.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New Jack Professor and Academic Warrior are similar in their academic intentions. For these scholars, our world is unjust, with established systems that
maintain injustice even when espoused public values express the contrary. Foucault (Foucault, 1997e) calls this type of arrangement “blocked discourses,” saying:

one sometimes encounters what may be called situations or states of domination in which the power relations, instead of being mobile, allowing the various participants to adopt strategies modifying them [power relations], remain blocked, frozen. When an individual or social group succeeds in blocking a field of power relations, immobilizing them and preventing any reversibility of movement by economic, political, or military means, one is faced with what may be called a state of domination. (p. 283)

Additionally, they, along with the other scholar participants in this study, value the role of contestation and counter-knowledge in the processes of changing the status quo.

I am not arguing that these scholars only write their opinions or are purely subjective in their work. Their scholarship and intellectual work are excellent and clearly satisfy the judgment criteria for their academic fields and scholarly traditions. I am proposing that the purpose for their work is born out of a deeply known tacit knowledge or savoir, to use Foucault’s original language (French), that they explicitly acknowledge as influential in their knowledge or connaissance. Savoir, for Foucault, is “implicit knowledge special to society” and connaissance is intellectual knowledge “that one can find in scientific books, philosophical theories, and religious justifications.” It is the savoir, Foucault argues, that “makes possible at a given moment the appearance of a theory …” (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005, p. 846). For many scholars and thinkers, the
savoir is at work in their connaissance, but they do not acknowledge it publicly in their writings, and possibly not even privately to themselves. In the case of these five scholars, the presence of the savoir in their scholarship is more apparent. New Jack Professor and Academic Warrior are clearly different types of scholars in terms of their methodology, and quite possibly ontologically and epistemologically as well. On the level of implicit societal knowledge or savoir, New Jack Professor draws on what he calls the “existing social and economic order,” while Academic Warrior focuses on what “is not right.” As for connaissance, one is interested in polemizing and the other in testing hypotheses. Their scholarship is quite similar, however, in their interests of showing how domination works (through sponsored multiculturalism and wrong legal decisions), revealing how populations of people are being deprived, and stressing the structural conflicts of race/ethnicity and class. Their interests do not come from their scholarly experiences; they emanate from their experiences, and what they know (savoir) to be true.

I believe that it is vital to acknowledge that these scholars are not unlike other scholars. Those of us who are producers of knowledge (scholars, researchers, etc.) do not completely separate our ideas and experiences from our work. Some of us try to do so through our methods and attempts toward objectivity, but ideological traces always remain. New Jack Professor (Watkins, 2001) has shown examples of such ideological traces in his work on scientific racism, and Academic Warrior (Suzuki & Valencia, 1997; Valencia, 2002) has revealed this in his studies of the genetic mythology model, hereditarianism and neo-hereditarianism. Ideology becomes enmeshed within
scholarship, research designs, analyses, and findings. That works benefit the researcher’s community while leaving other relevant communities untouched or with detrimental consequences is not surprising. What I believe distinguishes these scholars is that their beliefs were in the forefront of their work. While they were interested in producing excellent scholarly work, their primary concern and their reasons for pursuing their scholarship were to improve life circumstances for local communities. In this sense, their purpose for their work is subjective and communitarian, and they have been explicit about their intentions in their scholarship. Because their work has challenged the status quo and focused on the interests of specific communities, these scholars have had to ensure the quality of their work in terms of the theoretical and methodological requirements of their fields.

Interested in emancipation, liberation, and equality, these scholars believe that their work has the potential to influence change. They choose to inform their readers and listeners, because they assume their audiences will be able to consider these insights when they act. In other words, they believe humans have free will. As radical humanists, they want the world to become equitable and just. However, their paradigmatic orientation (subjective and radical change) is not represented in higher education’s “high prestige” and greater volume journals (see table 1), where the functionalist paradigm (objective and regulation) dominates in 98% of the articles, the interpretive paradigm (subjective and regulation) occurs in one percent (1%), and the radical structuralist (objective and radical change) appears in another one percent (1%) (Milam, 1991). In other words, the radical humanist paradigm is very rare in the major
publications. New Jack Professor, Renaissance Intellectual, Radical Scholar, Fringe Academic, and Academic Warrior are specific intellectuals through the specific nature of their scholarship and in their connections to local communities. They struggle for change as they challenge the institutionalized ways in which truth is determined and the relations of power thus discursively constructed.

The Specific Intellectual and Community

For the scholars in this study, life is a back and forth negotiation between worlds that has required working out the contradictions between divergent realities. The scholars value this process, which is in many ways necessary for the specific intellectual.

Border-crossing

The life of the specific intellectual is a life of border crossing. The experiences of living in their local communities under difficult circumstances have also been instrumental in shaping their border crossing work in academic arenas, as the following excerpt from the interview with Academic Warrior indicates:

**Huckaby:** What personal characteristics or experiences do you think have been assets for you in your career?

**Academic Warrior:** Well, I don’t want to glorify poverty, but I think coming from a poor background has helped. I come from a family of 11 children, welfare, very big family. No one, when I was growing up, on either side, mother or father, had ever gone to college – never. And we trace our roots back to Santa Barbara in California, all the way back to at
least to the early 1800s. So our great grandmother was Chumash Indian, and so we go way back with our indigenous roots. In my family, when I was growing up, five or six of my brothers dropped out of high school. There is absolutely no discussion of going to college, at all. I did well in school… I was in sixth grade, and this wonderful teacher, Bill VanShack, this White guy – the best teacher I ever had was a White guy [chuckles]. He pulled me aside and he said, "Dick, we just got the scores from the achievement test." He said, "look at you, you've scored at the ninth grade level almost. You're going to go to college. When you go to junior high next year, I'm going to pay five bucks for each A that you get and three bucks for each B."

And I said, "Wow, I'm going to go to college. Wow, I'm going to go to college!"

I noticed that when Academic Warrior spoke of his home and experiences in his community, he would switch his language to the present tense as though it was not an element of his past, but a present reality. I found myself wanting to enter his world as much as I could. He continued:

I run home that day, about five blocks, and into the house. My mother is home, and this wonderful smell of homemade tortillas – mmmmm.

Huckaby: Corn or flour?

Academic Warrior: Flour. She was making real big ones like this [holds hands up to indicate size about 8 or 9 inches in diameter]. I was just
waiting to get one to put a little butter on it. I walk in the house, and it
was like a whole new world. And I said, “I'm not going to go to college;
it costs a lot of money.”

In this remembrance, Academic Warrior tried to lessen the space between his school and
home worlds by sprinting home and reducing the time between them. He was excited
about going to college and wanted to share this possibility, which seemed so real in the
school world, with his family. The reality of his home saturated him along with the
smell of cooking tortillas. He knew his mother was home and was reminded of this life
in the world. What was possible in one moment became impractical and nearly
impossible in the next.

Academic Warrior: I knew then it was going to be very, very difficult –
very difficult. But I knew I wanted to go. See, I think having to work a
lot, because I had to work my butt off, even in high school. Because of
asthma, I had to leave Santa Barbara to live with my sisters nearby in the
valley, about 30 miles away. So even then I started working really hard,
you know to get the money. I used to go out and hustle jobs, you know,
50 cents an hour working at hotels, motels. So I always had a strong
work ethic, because I wanted to help out my sisters. I think having to
work so much, working my way through community college, working 30
hours a week, stocking shelves and working graveyard shifts, working 12
to 8 and then going to class… One time I came home to study my notes
from anthropology, and I couldn't read them because I was falling asleep.
It was terrible, you know. I was starting to get pains in my back; I was getting some kind of appendicitis from the stress. So having to work so much instilled in me that, “Hey, I'm a good worker. I know how to succeed.” So I think a strong work ethic really, really helped me – perseverance, perseverance.

Unlike Academic Warrior and the other professors in this study, New Jack Professor was not an interested student.

I was never a particularly standout student. I was not valedictorian. I was actually in the lowest quartile of my graduating high school class. And I didn't do well early on in college. Matter-of-fact, I flunked out. College, let alone the professoriate, was not in New Jack Professor’s plans. He was more concerned with being a normal kid – inner city kid, that is.

I never really thought seriously about life after high school. I was just a regular, normal inner city kid, who was interested in my ‘52 Chevy, and drinking fortified wine, and hanging out with my buddies, and getting into the mischief that especially the young inner-city boys get into. So, I think that I was more interested in the mischief making than I was in higher education. So, I didn't have any plans. I didn't have a plan for community college or university or army. I didn't have really any plans. I wouldn't say aimless, but I was pretty close to aimless, yeah.

When he entered college, community college was his only option, and he did not approach it seriously. It was not until the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement
were underway that he began to take things more seriously. He finished college, was handpicked for an impressive graduate program in law, but did not enroll. Instead, he moved to New York and “did a number of very interesting jobs” from community organizing to blue-collar work. His work with people and empowerment, labor and labor rights, and community organizing allowed him to join people in changing their lives. This work was “more along the ideological line that [he] was developing” that later merged with his intellectual work. New Jack Professor did not meet the academic requirements of a four-year institution, while Academic Warrior and Renaissance Intellectual could not afford the tuition. The route to higher education and the professoriate for these scholars began with crossing-borders in community colleges.

Firsthand Tacit Knowledge

The academic preparation of the scholars is not the most salient characteristic that makes their academic careers uncharacteristic. Instead, it is that their lives as scholars have been influenced by their backgrounds. During our interview, New Jack Professor responded to my question about his personal characteristic by explaining how he is not the typical professor of a White middle-class background, and the advantages of his background in his work:

Huckaby: What personal characteristics have opened up possibilities or helped you in your career, in your work?

New Jack Professor: That's, boy, I love that question, because it's one that I try the use to my advantage. I think it's the fact that I don't come
from the traditional academic background. I don't follow the traditional model. I’m not a cookie-cutter professor. And I worked in a lot of different areas that have nothing to do with academia. The fact that I come from a poor working-class background, I can bring experiences and analyses into the classroom that are non-traditional. I've done all kinds of menial labor, worked in factories, I worked as a truck driver, and worked at sort of a pariah level of our society, and come from that level of our society. That's helped shape how I think about things. Also the fact that I was not a good student in high school, and not like a goody-two-shoes kind of student that was always playing favor and always doing what the teacher wanted. And those things I used to my advantage. So I bring a kind of the non-traditional background into the classroom. … My students find it, I think, some students find it refreshing, because it may coincide with some part of their background. Other students probably find it distasteful that I'm not pristine in a White middle-class sense; nor do I want to be.

New Jack Professor comes from what he terms “the pariah level of our society.” While this background is unusual for academicians, New Jack Professor has no desire to be archetypal, even if some students find him “distasteful.” Instead, he uses his experiences to his advantage and appreciates how they have shaped his thinking and academic work.
Referring back to hardships of their earlier lives for strength and motivation is a theme these scholars repeated. Like New Jack Professor and Academic Warrior, Renaissance Intellectual also draws on her background.

And maybe it's because I grew up without, in such a small world, and I didn't have you know, parents who were professors or, you know, middle-class or professional. I mean they didn't, over the dinner table, talk about all these different issues. That's not what I grew up in. I grew up in a really tiny, real tiny [world], and so I think it is part of what inspires me.

Much of Renaissance Intellectual’s childhood was “really a lot about survival.” She not only grew up in “incredible poverty,” she raised her children in “very difficult circumstances.” As a mother, however, she was able to utilize social services that were unavailable to her in childhood. For instance, she relied on welfare as she completed community college to become a nurse and earn a salary.

Her work as a nurse in local communities, as well as her community organizing endeavors, brought her into contact with people who had experiences similar to her own. The firsthand knowledge she had from her life experiences allowed her to not just understand and empathize, but to know their situations. She explained:

I was doing a lot of parent education in the community, but it was parent education my style. We were engaging in issues that they had, and we were trying to think of it culturally in terms of working tasks of Spanish-speaking parents and what their needs and issues were. And I loved it.
Later in the interview she described her experience of trying to share her specific knowledge (*savoir*) of the community with her employers.

I began to challenge some of the things that were happening in the clinic.

It was like for the first year and half I was their little darling. But once I started speaking up, they became very concerned about what I was doing.

Because of her work in the community, this particular employer sought her out and convinced her to come and work for their clinic. She was able to interact in the community in ways that they could not, and at first this was very appealing to them. When she tried to bring knowledge from the community into the clinic, she was no longer a valued employee:

Renaissance Intellectual: It was, unfortunately, the end of my time there.

It was very uncomfortable. I was so disappointed because I was so happy with what I was doing.

Huckaby: What sort of things were you speaking up on?

Renaissance Intellectual: About racism, and class privilege, and the ideas that were being used to or the criteria that was being used to diagnose families. You know, Euro-American, middle, upper-middle-class therapists, who had no idea what was happening in this community…. It was a problem that rather than learn from what I had to tell them – I mean, I had come from the community. It was the community I had been living in – they chose to try to negate me, and that was really painful.
Despite the fact that she failed in her attempts to educate the clinicians about her community and was unable to remain in this nursing position, Renaissance Intellectual has continued to value the knowledge shaped by her experiences of being a member of the community. This steadfastness is a key dynamic for these five specific intellectuals. In many ways giving up their specific knowledge and learning to operate in dominant institutions in ways that would put those who do not understand the experiences of local communities at ease would have been advantageous for these scholars. Instead of acquiescing to dominant knowledge, the scholars continued to focus on the interests of local communities.

**Attending to Needs of Specific Communities through Academic Work**

These scholars acknowledge needs of specific communities and prioritize community needs in their work. For example, Fringe Academic knows that what is in the best interest of society may “not necessarily be in the interests of the community.” Fringe Academic continued her line of thought:

You also have to ask this question, “In whose interest is the question?”

I’m interested in my community, so I ask questions that I think are in the interest of the community. But some people, I think, their interest is almost, I’m going to say a secular interest. Maybe for them it’s an intellectual exercise. I think for me it’s more of a, again I don’t want to be melodramatic and say life and death, but… it seems to me it’s in the vested interests in the long-term well being of the community to ask
certain questions. It’s not an academic exercise for me. It’s not so much a career-building exercise. It’s what is in the vested interest of the community.

When she looks to her community, she still sees suffering and speaks strongly to those who can ignore the conditions and ally with other groups. She says to them, “Y’all can walk. I’m sticking with the brothers. I’m sticking with the bloods. I’m sticking with the community; so there.” Instead of walking away from the interests of their communities, these scholars have worked to bridge or negotiate the differences between local experiences and those of institutions of the dominant society. Two U.S. Supreme Court justices offer a relevant, although polemical, analogy. The professors have chosen the route more typified by the actions of Thurgood Marshall and contrary to those of Clarence Thomas. Justice Marshall brought the issues of his community and other marginalized communities to the courts as a lawyer and into his deliberations and public discourse as a judge, while Justice Thomas at best ignores the life experiences of the people of his same race, African-Americans. Fringe Academic drew on this reference to express the difference between authentic and appointed leaders in her discussion about the need for authentic community leaders, as she states that specific communities struggle:

with the notion of authentic leaders that come from the community versus these leaders that are nominated, that are given to the community.

Clarence is nobody’s leader… He won't lead anybody, because he loathes the community.
I believe these scholars have not even considered Clarence Thomas’ approach. They have simply dismissed it. They work under the assumption that their hard work could improve their lives, and that they would work to improve the lives of people in their communities.

One approach to this goal is through the demystification of language, a strategy of importance to Fringe Academic:

I don't want them to think that hegemony is a big word; it's not a big word. *Diaspora* is not a big word. These are words that you simply haven't heard before; they're not big words. They're not profound. It's not “acting White.”… The first time I heard the notion of hegemony…somehow I'd taken my fresh self and I was in the U.N. listening in one of those chambers. The Chinese were talking about the hegemony of the Bear [Soviet Union], and I thought it was a lovely phrase, myself. . . . But I guess my point is …I don't want people to be mystified by language. Language and mathematics particularly have been the consummate gatekeepers for us. When you break this language down, it is not that complicated. If you never hear it, and you're not familiar with people using it, then it becomes mystifying. . . . I love Maxine Greene’s notion of mystification. We're mystified when we are blinded to what is going on. So it's almost like, I feel that it is my challenge and my role with my community to do the work that needs to get done so that we’re not mystified.
Fringe Academic knows what it is like to be both mystified by language and able to understand language, and has personally been through the process that moves from one experience to the other. Thus, she knows the power of language and the limitations of not understanding it. In order to succeed in the dominant society and its institutions, she believes members of her community need to understand the workings of society.

Renaissance Intellectual believes that knowledge construction, whether it is forming ways of understanding society or other forms of knowledge, is a community endeavor. It is not purely the work of individuals. It is, therefore, not surprising that community for her is much more than the experiences with people in a location. Community is an activity of making and maintaining, a process she describes as “working in community.” By this definition, living in a neighborhood is not being in community. Renaissance Intellectual works in community even within the realm of scholastic activities.

**Huckaby:** You’ve mentioned as you were talking just recently, and before, a lot about listening, paying attention, and finding ways to create spaces for other people’s voices. . . . I also noticed you doing that in some of your writing. So there are places when you’re writing that you insert things that come from the community or from your students -- sometimes in very raw ways, you know, the way they presented it or the way they wrote it. Like in *Reinventing Freire*, in the back there are pieces that students wrote. And I’m wondering if you can talk about that aspect of
your work. I mean, I'd say probably, maybe 30 to 50 percent of your work it's not just you. You bring in others.

**Renaissance Intellectual:** You know, again, I don't think I ever deliberately thought about it or consciously thought about what I was doing. But now that I listen to you, what comes up is that I've always seen my work connected to other people. I haven't ever seen my work as a product of, you know, [myself], period. You know where something is, “Because I say this, it is important.” The only reason why anything I have to say is important, that I could perceive of it or conceive of it as important, is because it is linked to other people. It's linked to experiences. It's linked to a larger reality than just myself as an individual. And so keeping with that, then it's very important that our writing have some link to actual situations, or concerns, or experiences.

This link of scholarship to direct experiences in communities is non-traditional for members of academia and defines the specific intellectual. Such intellectuals merge their specific experiences in communities and their academic work. Radical Scholar even suggests that educators in general need to know the experiences of peoples. He states, “It is important for any educator to spend time with real people, in real life struggles, to understand how they engage with society from the bottom up. . . . to be part of struggles outside of the seminar room” (McLaren, 2003a, p. 4).
Another way they negotiate divergent worlds is through work with their students who also come from backgrounds that are atypical for predominately White institutions of higher education. Academic Warrior describes his interactions with students, saying:

And then you have the community on campus, too. I’m very involved in undergraduate teaching. . . . I teach two courses for the center for Mexican-American studies, which are cross-listed with educational psych. The first course is *Mexican-American Schooling Process* and next semester *Chicano Educational Struggles*. They typically averaged 35 students each, and I would say 80 percent are Mexican-American students. So that's another level of interaction I have. I think they look to me as a role model in some cases. I'm able to talk on a personal level sometimes, to be friendly with them at times. I have a shared identity with them. Oftentimes they come in to talk with me about their futures.

So I think at the student level I'm very involved.

Academic Warrior knows that being a “minority” student in a predominately White institution is not an easy experience for students, even though they make up more of the population (about 14%) than he did when he was a student. He was one of 14 Chicano students on a university campus of 14,000 students; that’s one tenth of one percent (0.1%) of the student population. The Mexican-American students in the classes he teaches today can make up 80% of a class of 35 students, which was a virtual impossibility during Academic Warrior’s days as a student.
Being there for students from similar backgrounds is more related to symbiotic relationship than altruism. Specific intellectual academicians are able to offer support to students, and vice versa. New Jack Professor described one such instance:

A student wrote me a letter, African-American woman wrote me a letter last year, and it had one line on it. It said, “Thank you for being you.”

And I saved that letter. I keep it in my archives. It just made me feel so good. “Thank you for being you.” She grew up in a kind of environment that she can connect with my life. So, you know, you need that. You need that kind of reinforcement.

The work of helping students from backgrounds similar to their own succeed in higher education is an important means to building community. This community is a sub-population of both specific and academic communities and is a community that exists in the contradictions and tensions. Fringe Academic talked about this bridging of worlds:

I really feel in my heart, and I say this to my students [student teachers], “The ancestors did not bleed and die so that I could get here and fail. So you’ve got, you know, a moral obligation to not get up to these places and look like an ass. You have a moral obligation to those who have come before you, and those who will follow you. . . . When you get out of here, if you do nothing else remember you have to – like I did you, if I had to drag you kicking and screaming – if you have to drag them by their throats kicking and screaming, you drag them, because you owe the next
generation to get them through.” So that’s what I demand of them – that you will get these people through.

They are thus involved in the work of changing the boundaries of community, and like Fringe Academic, none of the participants in this study wants to leave students hanging in the gaps between worlds. They want them to succeed in the academic world and help in the work of building solid bridges between their local communities and the academic world.

Bridging Back to Communities

In their scholarship, all of the professors in this study draw on the experiences and concerns of people in specific communities, and most of them find ways to then connect their work back to communities. The process is not easily achieved through a natural or innate process. The specific intellectual has to work in order to maintain community connections. As New Jack Professor expressed, “I'm trying to remain connected to the community, and I’m trying not to just be in the ivory tower.” New Jack Professor used tentative language to describe this connection. He did not seem overly confident that he has succeeded in maintaining that connection, but he continuously tries to keep it by focusing on building community connections and limiting his life in academia. He does not want to be in the ivory tower all the time. Including the community as an important audience and co-architect is one way New Jack Professor stays connected to the community. For example, he broke down the boundaries of the
university and community to build a new type of community for a conference on DuBois:

I try to find venues and activities where town and gown can come together, and the DuBois conference was an opportunity. Since I was the program chair, I had a lot to say in how the program developed. I wanted, and did, bring in people from the community to present papers. And I brought in undergraduates to present papers. Nontraditional academicians were invited to participate in this. We had moderate success with it. It’s something I wanted to do more of, because there are a lot of people floating around who don't have the credentials or the connections to be a part of the academy, and yet they are doing things in their own way, in their own venue.

These scholars truly value and respect the knowledge of specific communities, which are also their own communities in most cases. This specific knowledge inspires their work.

The work of the specific intellectual differs from the work of others who study specific communities. Instead of just studying a group of people and bringing the knowledge gained into academic settings, specific intellectual scholars work to blur the lines between the intellectual/academic world and the community. In some ways this blurring is an extension of their own lives that transgresses borders. The scholars find that their scholarship is also pulled from academia into specific communities. New Jack Professor, for example, has been published in Black Enterprise, invited to discussions...
with *Black Paideia*, and appeared on local radio and cable access shows. Thus, specific intellectuals cross community borders.

This space between defined boundaries is neither community nor academia. It is a place of tension that pulls between the life of the scholar and the community. Renaissance Intellectual pointed out that academia is an individualistic institution that promotes competition and maintains limitations around possibilities of solidarity. Therefore, working in community and developing a collective vision in institutions of higher education is at least difficult and at most nearly impossible. These specific intellectuals, as scholars from traditions of participating in communities, exist in the individualistic academic world.

Radical Scholar is the one participant who is not a person of color. He comes from a working class background and identifies with that background more so than the middle-class status his father eventually acquired and the upper middle-class life he now lives. To use his words, Radical Scholar enjoys, likes, and really loves people in general. However, he has “a generalized dislike for the bourgeoisie, especially bourgeois White folk.” When Radical Scholar described his childhood, he offered detailed memories of parents, friends, and relationships. He did not describe connections to broader communities of which he was also a member. His connections to communities and their struggles came later in his life. His experiences with children in the Jane Finch Corridor was one of his first encounters that led him to connect scholarship with the struggles of a community. I believe it is fair to characterize Radical Scholar’s feelings about the children in the Jane Finch Corridor as caring. He was
sincerely interested in their lives and their futures, and he spent time visiting their homes and meeting with parents in the Canadian projects.

Despite his caring and concern for the children and their families, Radical Scholar made some mistakes in how he represented the community in a book that became a best seller in Canada. He described what happened after the success of *Cries in the Corridor*:

A leader of the West Indian community did criticize me for demonizing the community. She praised my teaching and my work with the students. She said that the community appreciated that, but I was getting all this notoriety and fame and all because I had used their pain and suffering for my own benefit. And I rejected that for the longest time, but it gnawed at me and I realized eventually that she was probably right, that I had not discussed anything positive about the community, that I had not visited one single group of parent-activists. I had simply talked about what I saw in the classroom and had heard on the streets.

The impact of this book became more clear to Radical Scholar when he heard a commenter on a radio talk show recommending the book and advocating for changes in immigration laws and school policies to keep immigrant children and youth out of public schools. It is not easy to write about a community and its members’ educational struggles, particularly while maintaining their interests and not harming (or further harming) the ways society sees them. Radical Scholar learned this lesson the hard way.
Since this study, Radical Scholar has not completed any qualitative studies, and decided to be very clear and detailed about his particular position. He knows that he cannot control his readers’ interpretations but insists on making his position clear. His book *Life in Schools* is one such explicit presentation of his position as a critical scholar, as well as a public self-criticism of his book *Cries in the Corridor*.

I mean, the whole criticism of the book (*Cries in the Corridor*) is in my book, *Life in Schools*, where I reproduced the diary and challenge the teacher, Peter McLaren of the 1970s. I challenge that teacher from the Peter McLaren as a critical theorist. So it's a pedagogical book. People are sucked into the diary section, and then I ask them to pause and rethink the diary after they read the rest of the book.

Radical Scholar is now conscientious as to what he chooses to write about, and how he approaches his work. He looks for what he calls “organic connections” to different groups and social movements, and these connections offer him the passion and energy he needs to sustain his writing. He explained his move to writing about revolutionary politics:

What moved to me to write more about revolutionary politics was definitely my meeting with people in Latin America, there's no question about that. In my visits to Brazil, all over Mexico, I began to read about the Zapatistas and the different revolutionary groups, and I begin to read more and more and study more and more of the history of the US clandestine wars in Latin America, and elsewhere their support of death
squads and fascist military dictatorships. You know, the revelations about Fort Benning, the school of the Americas, the US exporting instruments of terror all over the world, teaching Latin America dictators how to torture and suppress people. . . . So obviously I'm angry a lot, and then I go down and see it even further confirmed. You see the casualties are obviously here. The casualties are everywhere. Go down into the middle of LA, drive down to LA, go downtown and you'll see tent city, you'll see the casas de cartón, you know the cardboard homes that go blocks and blocks and blocks. They’re just everywhere. You can see the casualties of corporate capitalism, global capitalism here, obviously. I mean we don't have to go to Latin America to see the casualties. We don’t need to do that, but you see different kinds of casualties when you go to Latin America. I meet people all the time whose families were killed by US-backed military in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Argentina, Brazil – you name it.

Radical Scholar has made several changes in how he connects to communities and writes about their struggles. He still responds to crises and casualties that stir passion and anger in him. His writing, however, focuses less on describing the catastrophic conditions of the lives of people – the mistake he made in Cries in the Corridor. Now he turns his attention to the circumstances that cause these casualties. Specifically, he criticizes capitalism and demystifies the ways it functions. Radical Scholar is not alone in facing tensions between the community and scholarship.
Focusing Energies and Merging Activities

One of the tensions the scholars face is how to focus their energies. There are many draws on their time and talents, but as humans there are limits to what they can accomplish. In our interview, Academic Warrior explained how he worked out this conflict by merging his scholarship with community interests.

Huckaby: Can you talk about your involvement in the Mexican-American community, your community in general now?

Academic Warrior: That’s a good question, because it makes you think what we mean when we talk about community. To me, my work at the community level has been in terms of my scholarship. Yeah, the vast majority of my writing deals with the Mexican-American community…In terms of doing things in South or East Austin, I seldom go over there and do work in the community. But my work on high-stakes testing, it’s always on my mind…and East Austin is always there. So it’s more than an intellectual endeavor.

For most of the scholars, their current choice is to focus on their scholarship and to merge it with the interests of their specific communities. They have been in communities previously and for some of them, their future work may take them back into a community on a more active, grassroots level. Renaissance Intellectual has merged her academic and community interests with her speaking engagements. She frequently asks the coordinators of academic lectures to arrange opportunities for her to meet with parents, school personnel, or community members in addition to her lecture or
keynote address. She uses these opportunities to listen and connect to communities and
to share her ideas.

For Fringe Academic one of the tensions between community and academia has
been much like a *Sophie’s Choice* (Styron, 1992) on a community-wide level.

The point is that it seems to me that I don't really believe that as a
community we’re that far away from where we could be. I'm afraid
though that if we keep seeing ourselves as children of a lesser god that we
will never get to where we need to be. There are some of us – God help
me – there are some of us we may not be able to save. But let us then at
least try to save the ones we can, so we will save somebody. Right?
Because at this point it's like we're not saving anybody. So let's try to
save somebody.

She knows that her efforts and the efforts of others in her community may not
realistically be able to extend to everyone in her community, and she therefore feels like
she needs to focus her attention. In doing so, she knows she will ignore some.

A second tension shared by Fringe Academic is how her adaptation to academia
has made her forms of communication less accessible to some members of her
community.

Somebody called up [on a radio talk show] and said, “She's using all them
big words.” And I'm thinking, “What big words?” I think I said *diaspora*
and *hegemony*. Then what I realized within myself is I talked to people
like me. I talk to you. I talk to my son. . . . What I would realize in
myself is that the language I use is normal language for the group that I'm in. But if I go into the community and I start talking about hegemonic forces; and when they say what do you mean by hegemony and you try to define hegemony, it gets worse. What that means for me is, it may well be better to put me behind the scenes and don't let me talk to people.

Instead of going into the community via radio talk shows, Fringe Academic writes and teaches about the issues facing the African-American community. She wants her work to influence educational institutions so that they become places where youth of color can succeed. She is quick to acknowledge the contradictions she faces in the nexus between her community, her academic life, and her personal life when faced with choices about her son’s education:

So I am not at all adverse anymore to segregated schools. Now, having said that understand that we are not inside Columbus [location of her home]. This is Worthington, one of the suburbs. So my son goes to a White suburban school. And not speaking as an academician, but speaking as a mom – to me it's a double-edge sword. Intellectually I know he's getting what he needs. And I want to kick him because I keep thinking, you know, you should be in algebra II this year, not just geometry. … Knowing full well that the Black kids in Columbus… many of them are still in pre-algebra. I mean it is horrific. It is absolutely horrific. So I am talking out of both sides of my mouth, but I think that's part of the dilemma. On one hand, I want him to go to the best possible
school and be pushed. On the other hand, he has no Black role models.

Do you know what I'm saying? Except the football coach, ahh-gee, at the least be the physics teacher, too.

Fringe Academic lives in a suburban neighborhood that began as a middle-class, African-American community. In recent years there has been some integration of the neighborhood. Her son, however, attends a predominantly White high school because she wants him to have the best education possible. She realizes that her educational choice for him will privilege him academically and disadvantage him culturally in terms of his daily interactions with the Black community. On the reverse side, students in the city’s predominantly Black schools will have more cultural interactions daily, but not the academic advantages.

While the scholars are very much interested in their work benefiting local communities, they are also faced with the limitations of human existence. They cannot do everything and pursue all possibilities. They, therefore, make choices about where the expenditures of their energies are better suited. These are not easy choices, and they openly acknowledge the contradictions they face at times.

*Theory as Critical Lens and Socialization*

Each scholar described events and experiences of the world that sparked their interests and propelled them into their life work. Their understanding of these events became connected with their studies in colleges and/or graduate school. Fringe
Academic describes the influence of worldly experiences on their intellectual development:

You were in, not just the politicized world, but coming to figure out who you were and how you fit into the scheme of things, and then understanding your history. I think trying to figure out, not just understanding your history, but how you, yourself as a person, how that intersected with all of this historical and contemporary. So Madison did change my life. . . . I remember writing my master's thesis. . . . I was interested in curriculum development using what I've come to term cultural knowledge.

Fringe Academic experienced a coalescing of experiences – the historical and contemporary in terms of her personal experiences and memorable civil rights events, as well as academic and social experiences. An exchange during the interview with Renaissance Intellectual further illustrates this point, as well as the importance of finding words for previously un-named experiences:

Huckaby: Do you have a sense of when that [political nature of communities, questions of economics, and antiracism] became your interest, your work?

Renaissance Intellectual: You know, I think that issue has always been there in my life, but when I started working at the Headstart program it began to really surface. And then it really solidified in my marriage, family and child studies program, because I had a professor who’s an
African-American woman who worked in child development. . . . I took several courses from her. And it was with her that I really began to be able [to give voice to] my own ideas and really name what my angst was, and what I was struggling with. So, that was very instrumental. . . . So by a year and a half I had already begun to be much more socialized, and just had the opportunity to examine these issues with other people; an opportunity that I had never had before. … So yeah, in that period of time, those elements – the working in the community in which I was also a member of said community. Then having a professor who really… understood the angst that I was coping, with and the things that I didn't understand, and helped me to find words for it.

Renaissance Intellectual had what she called an “angst” that she could not name, which eventually became her “very political” work. She did not identify a single event that shaped her path and interests but instead described experiences that coalesced – learning from a professor, naming her angst, examining issues with others, and working in the community of which she was a member. Even though she was a member of the community and struggled with feelings and experiences, she did not have words for these experiences and did not have the opportunity to discuss and examine them, until graduate school. Fringe Academic described the time of her intellectual politicization more in terms of events in the world that changed her life.

Well, that was in the time of the ‘60s, just finishing the ‘60s and ’70s. And there was really a very interesting political awakening. In high
school I remembered walking home and talking to folks about the bus caravans to integrate the south. I was in high school, when those three little girls were bombed and killed – so all of this was happening. It was sort of like [my] greening; like this coming aware; this becoming aware of the world [and] myself in it. I think I got a lot of that in New Haven (college), because New Haven was radicalizing itself. At that time, there was a lot of stuff going on in New Haven – some good, bad, and ugly. In fact, I think it was my junior year that I got rid of my process and got my afro. I got me a little pick. I had my little earrings, and those were the days you didn't wear bras. . . . The Germans used a wonderful term – it was the \textit{zeitgeist}; it was all in the air. . . . Having grown up in Jersey, I remember going into Harlem and seeing Malcolm X speak. I was in cotillion practice the Sunday that he got killed, and he was on the radio. So, all of these things were happening. You were in, not just the politicized world, but coming to figure out who you were and how you fit into the scheme of things, and then understanding your history.

Events happening in the world introduced the scholars to societal injustices, and their academic experiences offered them theoretical tools of sense making. They each were not content with simply knowing about such discrepancies. This knowledge sparked career interests and serious thinking on practical action steeped in their theoretical considerations. The initial pedagogical sparks for these scholars were unexpected and they did not intentionally seek them out. Nevertheless, the knowledge
they gained through personal experiences became a springboard to further pursuits. The
conditions of the world and the ways the scholars experienced them in real and material
ways influenced them pedagogically. The world enveloped them in terms of their
learning about little girls being killed in racially motivated church bombings, the
experiences of students of color in school, being on university campuses with fractional
percentages of students of color, connecting with others, becoming socialized in terms of
their racial identities, and living through the peak of the civil rights movement and the
Vietnam War. Their experiences with the world and their scholarly interests merged in a
pedagogical form of care of the self. It is a form of learning received by happenstance.
Unexpected experiences initiated this form of learning, but the scholars continued its
formation through intentional constructions.

The forming of the specific intellectual, in these five cases, was not just a process
of coming from a community, and moving through higher education and then into
academia. For each of them there was also a time during which they could consider their
experiences and the material conditions of their communities through theories and
critical lenses. Fringe Academic describes this reflective process as “becoming aware of
the world; myself in it.” She continued:

You were in, not just the politicized world, but coming to figure out who
you were and how you fit into the scheme of things, and then
understanding your history. And I think trying to figure out, not just
understanding your history, but how you, yourself as a person, how that
intersected with all of this – historical and contemporary.
For Academic Warrior, the process involved becoming “socialized to the Chicano movement” at a time when he was also beginning his academic career.

My development in terms of my scholarly work coincided with my socialization as a Mexican American. All of those things came together and coalesced and that crystallization pushed me so fast into wanting to deal with these issues – to deal with my people and also students of color. So, the politicization, the events that were occurring in society regarding minority students, and my own deep desire to go on to graduate level all came together.

Renaissance Intellectual’s experiences echoed those of Academic Warrior and Fringe Academic. In addition, she found “the opportunity to examine these issues with other people” in her classes helpful. It was “an opportunity that [she] had never had before.” New Jack Professor acknowledged that he had had experiences with “the master plan to exploit, contain, and oppress,” but it was through higher education that he could support and connect these experiences to theory. This re-examination of their specific experiences and understandings of the world through theory has been instrumental in their development as specific intellectuals.

*Same Position, Local Truths*

The scholars in this study occupy academic positions traditionally associated with the universal intellectual, who stereotypically sat in the ivory tower writing as the universal consciousness for justice and truth. While occupying this institutional
position, the specific intellectual explores local, instead of universal, truths and justice as conceived through the daily struggles of peoples.³ Because they are from particular communities, specific intellectuals have experienced these struggles on a personal level. Their role differs from that of the more traditional academic. Instead of occupying the role of the universal spokesman, specific intellectuals through their intimate connections with the populace challenge universal truths with the experiences, realities, and theories formed among subgroups of the populace. They have what McLaren (1995) has called counterhegemonic border identities. Scholars, such as the ones in this study have remained connected to their localities practically and philosophically, even though their academic positions have changed their circumstances economically, geographically, and institutionally. While Foucault’s writings on specific intellectuals define them and offer insights into their roles within games of truth, they do not inform us on how specific intellectuals carry out this work. In this section, after introducing the five scholars, I have extended Foucault’s interest in specific intellectuals and begun to address this question of how.

In terms of their research approaches, philosophies, methodologies, and paradigms, these five scholars are diverse. The diversity of this sample of five scholars does not represent the full spectrum of paradigmatic variation but does include positivism, participatory action research, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism. While they may disagree to varying degrees about what knowledge is

³ This word is pluralized to acknowledge that there are many groups that make up the collective, the people.
and what evidence is necessary for knowledge claims, their conclusions about the nature of society and the injustices experienced by poor people and people of color converge. They each brought a critical perspective to their work, challenged the status quo as though it were not inevitable, and approached their scholarship with hope and potentiality. They saw their work as part of the process of influencing change. Such scholarly works of the radical humanist paradigm, which challenge the regulatory arrangements of society, rarely see print in major journals (Milam, 1991). These scholar-participants have found publication outlets in journals and publishing companies more aligned with their critical orientations, as well as the “first tier” journals. They have become adept at crossing the borders of the academic world, their experiences, and the experiences of specific communities. In their border crossing, both academically and in their personal lives, they have found ways to avoid the inevitable and make the impossible feasible. They followed the routes that were open to them, found themselves being pushed and pulled down roads by mentors, and made sacrifices to continue and maintain their academic hopes and lives. One should not underestimate the role of their tenacity and desires to persevere.

The scholars formed firsthand knowledge about the lives of poor and working class people and people of color through life experiences and work in communities. Through these experiences they gained implicit knowledge about the lives and struggles of peoples in local communities in real and material ways. This savoir informed their work as community members, workers, and organizers, as well as university scholars. They have chosen to maintain their specific perspectives and remain connected to local
communities and their struggles. Implied in this choice is their resistance to becoming specific intellectuals who support and continue to construct universals. They instead have worked to create space for specific voices and perspectives that counter and interrupt the status quo. Their understanding of specific experiences is not simply experiential; it is also theoretical and critical. Through an explicit process, they used their savoir to inform their more formal understandings or connaissance. Theory has helped them understand their lived experiences, and the practicality of their lives has informed their theoretical considerations. By focusing their work on the needs of local communities, the scholars bring the interests of local communities into the purview of the university and alter how academics play games of truth in their arena. These mergers of local experiences with the professoriate have allowed the professors to attend to the needs of communities and to bring their “working in community” into the academy.

The scholars in this study, like all scholars and people, do not have unlimited time, energy, or resources. Therefore, they have had to make choices about how they focus their energies and what they will let subside. They have been unable to do everything the communities and the universities might desire of them. Thus, they have had to make choices. They have chosen to merge their scholarship with the interests of local communities, to bring the interests and knowledge of local communities into more public conversations, and to take academic ideas into communities. They have also encouraged students and local intellectuals to interact with and succeed in the academy. In a sense, they serve as a bridge between the community and the university.
theoretically, by bringing local knowledge into the academy, and practically, by facilitating the development of future specific intellectuals.

This bridge is a two-way link between the academy and the community, and specific intellectuals also bring knowledge from the university into local communities and serve as representatives of both local communities and the university. The image of this bridging process in my mind’s eye is not that of constructing an architectural structure with a defined path that crosses the border. It is instead a process of crossing the border, encouraging others to cross, and finding that others have created alternate paths. Thus, I see the bridging not as a strong singular structure constructed across borders, but as a complex, even chaotic, process of wearing multiple paths that change the terrain of the border.

Specific Intellectuals and Epistemological Communities

The scholars in this study are, as are all scholars and arguably all people, members of epistemological communities. Such communities place boundaries around what types of knowledge and what forms of evidence justify knowledge claims within their communities. Through a process of adjudicating counter knowledge claims Pahre (1996) argues that evidential processes excluded from one epistemological community become those of another. In the case of specific intellectuals, however, counter claims and evidence are brought into disciplinary and academic arenas. The boundary work (Gieryn, 1983) of disciplinary communities is a sociological process of excluding (Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Knorr-Cetina & Mulkay, 1983; Knorr, Krohn, & Whitley, 1980;
Pahre, 1996; Woolgar, 1988). The specific intellectual approaches the boundary work by blurring the boundaries of specific local communities and the academy’s disciplines. The work of these scholars is an illustration of how a segment of society informs epistemological communities and knowledge construction while resisting the constraints the academic and research worlds have placed on their local communities.

Pahre (1996) argues that scholars cross epistemological boundaries because the truth, facts, and theories are germane to their epistemological community. A discipline can metaphorically borrow knowledge from another, or incorporate another’s methodology, but such appropriations do not necessarily change or transform knowledge community boundaries. It appears as though specific intellectuals borrow from and give to their academic and specific communities. Thus, instead of creating a hybrid epistemological community, they offer the possibility of hybridizing both local are academic communities. In a sense, their processes of blurring boundaries resemble a process of cross-pollenization.

Pahre (1996) considers epistemological classification schemata arbitrary, and argues for a consideration of the social constraints on knowledge and the ways knowledge transforms communities. His suggestion ties nicely into this study, and supports Foucault’s theories. Specific intellectual scholars challenge boundaries that their disciplines have worked to establish and maintain. Instead of working to define what work and evidence to exclude, they challenge their disciplines and provide justifications for why the epistemology of specific communities should infuse their work, influence their discipline(s), and inform their communities. They challenge the
processes and rules through which knowledge claims have been excluded. Social, political, and demographic changes (Popkewitz, 1997) that have provided them with access the academy also influence the processes of knowledge production via specific intellectuals. In the section that follows, I explore how the five scholars blur boundaries. I specifically look at how they became situated within power relations, engaged games of truth, and constructed themselves as specific scholars through practices of the self.

The question for this study is: How are these specific intellectual educational scholars positioned within games of truth and knowledge, and how do their strategies for speaking freely compare to that of the Parrhesiastes (ancient Greek citizen who spoke freely)? Theoretically and methodologically grounded in Foucauldian care of the self (interpretive diagnostics) and genealogy (interpretive analytics), this study seeks to identify the apparatuses of power-knowledge and the strategies used by five (5) specific parrhesiastic scholars. The results of this study offer a theoretical understanding of how these scholars navigate the academic systems and institutions that construct, suppress, modify and appropriate the forms of knowledge that determine educational truth(s), shape education and schooling, and influence society. Practically, the results should assist scholars who speak or hope to speak dangerous truths through their scholarship.

One participating scholar, Radical Scholar, expressed his opinion about this study:

A topic like yours is a really powerful one. I mean people coming into the academy, junior faculty, senior faculty too, but especially junior faculty, want to know how they can stay in the academy, make a difference, and survive. What’s going to face them, and how some people have
negotiated around these issues. I’m not saying that you’re writing a self-help book, I’m just saying that there is a diagnostic aspect to it; there’s also a prescriptive aspect to it. (Radical Professor)

While this dissertation does not explain to faculty how to survive in the academy, it does explore in some depth how tenured faculty have pursued parrhesiastic scholarship with integrity while maintaining and succeeding in their academic roles. Emerging and experienced scholars, I hope, will be able to learn from the experiences of these five scholars, and translate specific parrhesiastic strategies with the language of their particular circumstances.
BOOK 2: FOUCAULT AS CHORUS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Why are we concerned with truth, and more so than with the care of the self? And why must the care of the self occur only through the concern for the truth? (Foucault, 1997e, p. 295)

Knowledge is power (Peltonen, 1996): what a wonderfully strategic discursive aphorism. It has produced a form of thought that at once invests knowledge with power, bestows social privileges on knowledge and those who know, and establishes a common sense linkage between holding knowledge and wielding power. This dissertation reconsiders Francis Bacon’s famous statement through Foucault’s conception of power-knowledge, and inquires into how power and knowledge function concurrently. Specifically, this study considers the intersection of the apparatuses of power-knowledge and the academic practices of five (5) tenured professors of education who have directly and explicitly challenged racism, sexism, class exploitation, and other forms of systematic and systemic oppression in educational discourses, policies, and practices. These professors have been critical of how dominant social forces use education to block alternative discourses and maintain states of domination, concerned with undoing the practices and effects of hegemony on peoples, and transforming hegemonic social systems into systems of equality. They have explored and produced bodies of scholarship antithetical to systems of domination, while working within, succeeding and thriving in institutions that support and maintain the very conditions they challenge. The question, then, for this study is: How do these specific scholars fit within this particular
“game of truth” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 281), and how do their particular positions, roles, and ways of being compare to that of the Parrhesiastes? (Foucault, 2001).

**Specific Intellectuals and Parrhesiastes, Foucault’s Conceptions**

The emerging role of the specific Western intellectual became important for Foucault. The specific intellectual is a transformation of the universal intellectual that began in the 20th century, most likely with the neo-Darwinists, Foucault suggests. The previous form of the universal intellectual was the master writer and spokesman for our collective conscience and consciousness, who wrote a master narrative of truth and justice (p. 126). The newer, transformed, and emerging intellectuals Foucault names as specific are situated within the “immediate and concrete awareness of struggles” (p. 126) through the specificity of their own lives and work. Because they face and have faced the grassroots struggles in real and material ways, they are drawn closer to the proletariat and their specific experiences than the assumed universality of elite experiences. In this sense, the specific intellectual appropriates her specific knowledge and position within truth games for the purposes of political struggles. Foucault believed discounting such intellectuals was “dangerous” because of the strategic and specific position they occupy in “relation to local forms of power” (Foucault, 2000, p. 130).

In this role, the multiplicity of specific intellectual experiences, what Foucault (2000) called the “polymorphous ensemble of intellectuals,” and the university are crucial junctures for the “multiplication and reinforcement” effects of power (p. 127) through their specific knowledge. Their role offers the possibility of “constituting a new
political truth” (p. 133) not through changing others’ thoughts, but by altering the institutionalized modes of determining truth. Foucault (2000) states:

It’s not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power … but of detaching the power for truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time. (p. 133)

The specific intellectual struggle is not for truth, but for the “status of truth and the economic and political role it plays” (Faubion, 2000, p. 132; Foucault, 2000, p. 132). For example, feminist knowledge has altered the field of primatology, and Bleier (1986) argues that it has actually effected corrections in the field. Because of the historical and cultural position, earlier primatologists fit existing theories of gender and gender relations into their observations of primate behaviors and further reinforced asymmetrical relationships between genders. They were literally unable to see social interactions outside of male hierarchical relations. Bleier argues that primatologists noticed alpha male behaviors and were unable to see relations shaped by female primates because of how they were situated in the world and how the resulting perspective formed what they knew and did not know. In short, researchers do not divorce themselves from their biases, values, and cultures.

Like feminist primatologists, the specific intellectual brings other forms and ways of knowing to academic endeavors, and can expose knowledge unavailable to universal intellectuals. This form of diversity among scholars offers a self-correction process, Bleier (1986) argues, through the challenging of assumptions and ideas
(Namenwirth, 1986). Since knowledge and power function co-currently, the insights brought forth by specific intellectuals affect relations of power. Thus, Foucault acknowledges that specific intellectuals may serve the state or be against it and that their strategies may be beneficial or destructive to life. In other words, even though specific intellectuals are connected to local communities, their actions may serve or harm these communities; their work becomes political and can also be used strategically for political purposes. Specific intellectuals face dangers and pressures. On the one hand, they are susceptible to being manipulated by political apparatuses that offer them support and advancement. On the other hand, they may become unable to shore up sufficient outside support to continue or maintain their efforts. Because of these challenges, the specific intellectual with a mission to challenge hegemony must become astute as to how she is positioned and functions within power relations and the construction of knowledge. In other words, she needs to attend to what extent she is free and to the limitations she faces.

**Care of the Self**

Practices of the self specifically focus on relations of care of the self and political activity, pedagogy, knowledge of oneself, and relation to others, including a master (Foucault, 1997c, pp. 231, 235). The self, for Foucault (1997e), is a form, not a body, thing, substance or identity. Instead of focusing on the material self, Foucault attends to how individuals actively constitute themselves in different forms. Practices of the self are then the ways one exercises oneself within relations of power in order to
intentionally form oneselfs into a desired way of being. Foucault’s work on the care or practices of the self is concerned primarily with freedom. In regard to techniques of the self, Foucault (1997a) asked:

What should one do with oneself? What work should be carried out on the self? How should one “govern oneself” by performing actions in which one is oneself the objective of those actions, the domain in which they are brought to bear, the instrument they employ, and the subject that acts? (p. 87)

To care for the self is to “make freedom your foundation, through the mastery of yourself” (p. 310). It is not preparation for living in a particular role. One must take on the self as a continuous, constant practice or form of living before attending to the government of others (Foucault, 1997b, pp. 94, 96). In this sense, practices of the self transform the self from subject to object. Put another way, in the practicing of the self, one makes the self “one’s own object” (p. 96).

Foucault’s later work began to focus more on relations of power and technologies of the self through the strategies individuals employ toward freedom. Because Foucault viewed power as relations of power diffused throughout society, his conception of freedom was also relational and therefore everywhere. Thus, many states of power relations, including reciprocal freedom, are possible. Technologies of the self, then, present ways for individuals to execute power on themselves with the intentions of becoming/being a particular type of person in power relations.
In his work on care of the self, Foucault draws on ancient Greek texts. His interest here begins with Socrates, in Plato’s *Apology*, who is concerned with *souci de soi* (care of the self) in how he conducts himself. Socrates also encourages others to care for themselves. This notion of care of the self, Foucault reminds us, was of prime importance, even more so than *gnōthi seauton* (know yourself) (Foucault, 1997c, p. 226). His work on care of the self in antiquity (Rome and Greece) is one area in which Foucault addresses the question, not of truth but of the role of the *Parrhesiastes* in truth games. Pearson translated Foucault’s 1983 lectures at the University of California at Berkeley into the text *Fearless Speech: Michel Foucault* (Foucault, 2001). In these lectures Foucault explored ancient Greek practices of the self through the notion of *parrhesia* (free speech or frankness in speaking truth). The *parrhesiastes*, through practices of the self, becomes one who speaks freely. *Parrhesia* (παρρησία), translated from Greek to English, is “free speech,” and is an activity described in the Greek texts (Foucault, 2001) of Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*), Plato (*Republic, Gorgias, Apology of Socrates, and Laches*), and Euripides (*The Bacchae, The Phoenician Women, Hippolytus, Electra, and Ion*). Not all ancient Greeks were able to engage in *parrhesiazesthai* (παρρησιάζεσθαι) – the activity of free speech, truth-telling, saying everything. The *Parrhesiastes* was a free citizen, not slave or female, who took on *parrhesiazesthai* (the activity of speaking freely) in a manner that preserved their future rights to *parrhesia*. *Parrhesiazesthai* was a risky proposition. If one truly spoke freely, one might lose not only the right to speak freely, but also one’s life.
As conceived by the ancient Greeks, *parrhesia* is not the only form of free speech. For example, Harriet Jacobs describes parrhesiastic actions by enslaved people in the United States in her autobiography *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Jacobs, 2001). She not only describes her exercises in resistance and free speech, but she also utilizes reflections on her life through writing – an important parrhesiastic strategy for the ancient Greeks – as an act of *parrhesiazesthai* by writing the autobiography and publishing it in 1861. In one instance, Aunt Marthy, Harriet Jacob’s grandmother, was denied the three hundred dollars owed to her and the freedom promised to her in her mistress’s will. Instead, the executor of the will, Dr. Flint, the mistress’s son-in-law, refused to pay Aunt Marthy and planned to sell her:

> On the appointed day, the customary advertisement was posted up, proclaiming that there would be a “public sale of negroes, horses, &c.” Dr. Flint called to tell my grandmother that he would prefer to dispose of her at private sale. My grandmother saw through his hypocrisy; she understood very well that he was ashamed of the job. She was a very spirited woman, and if he was base enough to sell her, when her mistress intended she should be free, she was determined the public should know it. She had for a long time supplied many families with crackers and preserves; consequently, “Aunt Marthy,” as she was called, was generally known, and everybody who knew her respected her intelligence and good character. Her long and faithful service in the family was also well known, as was the intention of her mistress to leave
her free. When the day of the sale came, she took her place among the
chattels, and at the first call she sprang upon the auction-block. Many
voices called out, “Shame! Shame! Who is going to sell you, aunt
Marthy? Don’t stand there! That is no place for you.” Without saying a
word, she quietly waited her fate. No one bid for her. At last, a feeble
voice said, “Fifty dollars.” It came from a maiden lady, seventy years
old, the sister of my grandmother’s deceased mistress. She had lived
forty years under the same roof with my grandmother; she knew how
faithfully she had served her owners, and how cruelly she had been
defrauded of her rights; and she resolved to protect her. The auctioneer
waited for a higher bid; but her wishes were respected; no one bid above
her. She could neither read nor write; and when the bill of sale was made
out, she signed it with a cross. But what consequence was that, when she
had a big heart overflowing with human kindness? She gave the old
servant her freedom.

At that time, my grandmother was just fifty years old. Laborious
years had passed since then; and now my brother and I were slaves to the
man who had defrauded her of her money, and tried to defraud her of her
freedom. (pp. 13-14)

Aunt Marthy did not speak to Dr. Flint; however, she made a statement by placing
herself on the auction-block as a slave for sale. Even though she was a woman and a
slave, her actions were not dissimilar to those of the parrhesiastes.
I share this example for two reasons. First, it expands the ancient Greek conception of *parrhesiazesthai* by illustrating how women, and even slaves, may employ a parrhesiastic role. Second, it offers an example of free speech through action, not just spoken words. This expanded view of the *parrhesiastes* and her *parrhesiazesthai* is important for this dissertation because most of the scholars in this study have heritages of oppression, exploitation, and/or marginalization in North America. Additionally, before they were granted tenure, citizenship within their universities was not guaranteed. Lastly, free speech may be statements made without spoken words. With this caveat, I find Foucault’s exploration of the parrhesiastic role appropriate for this dissertation.

Parrhesiastic rights are comparable to those of tenured faculty. Tenured professors gain lifetime rights, at least technically, to their positions. They may participate as full citizens within their academic community, yet they function within the constraints of this social existence. Lastly, the traditions of *parrhesia* and higher education in the United States both have roots in Greco-Roman traditions (Foucault, 2001; Lucas, 1994). The relationship between *parrhesia* and tenure, however, is not parallel, but orthogonal (see Table 2). One can be untenured and practice speaking dangerous truths, just as one can be tenured and avoid *parrhesia*.
Table 2: Orthogonal Relationship between Tenure and *Parrhesia*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenured &amp; Practices <em>Parrhesia</em></th>
<th>Untenured &amp; Practices <em>Parrhesia</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenured &amp; Avoids <em>Parrhesia</em></td>
<td>Untenured &amp; Avoids <em>Parrhesia</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Foucault’s Work: Questions, Methods, and Theory**

Foucault explored the broad question of how humans understand themselves within specific “truth games.” Though there are transformations in his work, this interest exists through his works, and is integrated among his questions.

…I would like to know if your current philosophical approach is still determined by the poles of subjectivity and truth.

M.F. In actual fact, I have always been interested in this problem, even if I framed it somewhat differently. I have tried to find out how the human subject fits into certain games of truth, whether they were truth games that take the form of a science or refer to a scientific model, or truth games such as those one may encounter in institutions or practices of control. … In my lectures at the Collège de France, I tried to grasp it in terms of what may be called a practice of the self; although this phenomenon has not been studied very much, I believe it has been fairly

---

4 He used the term games to indicate his focus on rules, strategies, and techniques as opposed to a lack of seriousness, frivolity, or playfulness.
important in our societies ever since the Greco-Roman period. (Foucault, 1997e, p. 281)

Foucault’s life work is interrelated in that he addresses a core question from different vantage points. In many ways, each of Foucault’s works, and the concepts contained within, can stand alone and seems as though it is complete, yet the interrelatedness of his works and theories is rich. He does not dichotomize theory and practice. Instead he avoids:

- every problem concerning the anteriority of theory in relation to practice,
- and the reverse. In fact, I deal with practices, institutions and theories on the same plane and according to the same isomorphisms, and I look for the underlying knowledge [savoir] that makes them possible, the stratum of knowledge that constitutes them historically. Rather than try to explain this knowledge from the point of view of the practico-inert, I try to formulate an analysis from the position of what one could call the “theoretico-active.” (Foucault, 1998, p. 262)

Foucault is less concerned with practices that are unmoving and static, and focuses his questions and analyses on the dynamics of the theoretical. For Foucault, knowledge is productive.

Foucault identifies multiple layers of technologies, strategies, and states. For example, four technologies are central to his work: (1) technologies of production, (2) technologies of sign systems, (3) technologies of power, and (4) technologies of the self. He points out that the four are interrelated and rarely function separately (Foucault,
The former two technologies (production and sign systems) are concerns for the sciences and linguistics, respectively. Humans produce, manipulate and transform things through technologies of production, and the technologies of sign systems allow for the use of symbols, signs, and significations. My understanding of Foucault’s methods is that these two technologies are more closely related to archaeology, the methodology he developed in his earliest works (Foucault, 1967; Foucault, 1972, 1994). Archaeology addresses the question of how the taken-for-granted has come into being. While it was suitable for analyzing local or minor knowledges by Foucault, scholars have adapted and applied archaeology more broadly, as in Scheurich’s policy archaeology (Scheurich, 1997).

Much of Foucault’s work focuses on the latter two, technologies of power and the self. Genealogy is the methodology for technologies of power. These technologies focus on the objectification of the subject, what determines individuals’ behaviors, and what submits them to particular types of domination. Foucault turned to genealogy as a method of analysis of the tactics and practices that subjugate local knowledge (Foucault, 1990; Foucault, 1995). Genealogy is concerned with the struggles and conflicts that disqualify or disparage some knowledge(s) and discourage their use, while perpetuating others (Foucault, 1972; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Within his analysis of power, he identified three levels, strategic relations, techniques of government, and states of domination, which are explored in detail later in this section (Foucault, 1997e, p. 299).

Technologies of power shape individuals into certain ways of being, and are enacted on individuals as they interact with others and within social institutions and
systems. Individuals constructed through these technologies simultaneously interact with others and apply technologies of power that shape others. Technologies of the self also shape individuals into certain ways of being but are enacted by the self on the self and sometimes with the assistance of others. Technologies of the self permit individuals to transform themselves through operations on their ways of being, bodies, souls, actions, and thoughts. Practices of the self are forms of self-formation of the subject; an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself and attain a certain mode of being. However, these practices are not inventions of the individual but models from one’s social group, culture, and society (Foucault, 1997e, p. 291). The method for studying technologies of the self is what Foucault called care of the self or practices of the self. Practices of the self became important in his later works, (Foucault, 1990, 2001) when he considered the relations of games of truth with the self and the forming of self as subject (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005).

Through his work, Foucault has offered new vocabulary – power-knowledge, power relations, biopower, biopolitics, truth games, discursive object, archaeology, genealogy, practices of the self – and created a discourse. As a pragmatist, he did not want the language of his ideas to be ends in themselves. Thus, his concepts are also “tools to aid in analysis” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 120). Power-knowledge, for example, is a word constructed by Foucault to portray the concurrent importance and impact of knowledge and power and is also “an instrument that makes it possible to

---

5 Foucault chose terminology that both named the phenomenon he studied and his method of inquiry.
analyze the problem of the relationship between subject and truth in what seems to me the most precise way” (Foucault, 1997e, 290). Similarly, power relations both describe and offer a means to study Foucault’s theory on the nature of power in society. His language is specific and many terms, translated from the French and borrowed from other philosophers, do not employ their everyday English meanings. For example, even Foucault acknowledged that his everyday thoughts about knowledge differed from his theoretical understanding:

I know very well, and I think I knew it from the moment when I was a child, that knowledge can do nothing for transforming the world. Maybe I am wrong. And I am sure I am wrong from a theoretical point of view, for I know very well that knowledge has transformed the world. (Riggins & Foucault, 1997, p. 130)

Because of these differences between the everyday and theoretical definitions, I have tried to be conscientious and careful, particularly in developing an understanding of and expressing the concepts of power relations, power-knowledge, truth games, technologies of power, technologies of the self, governmentality, practice and care of the self, and specific intellectuals, which are most central to this study. Because scholars interpret Foucault’s work in different ways, readers should understand how my understanding of Foucault’s work informs this study.
Foucault disrupts our common sense ideas about power. We are used to thinking about power as something owned by or bestowed to certain people, and inherent in positions of authority. When I’ve asked graduate students of education, “What is power?” they see it as something to be attained and exerted, as well as something easily abused. From Foucault’s theoretical and analytical perspective, power is not given, taken, exchanged, or recovered. Nor is it simply a matter of economics or application of force. For Foucault, power is in social relations among individuals, groups, institutions, systems, and any combination of these entities. His questions, therefore, seek to understand the rules resulting from the implementation of power relations, particularly in the production of truth (Foucault, 1980c). His focus is on tactics, devices, and tools, not positions of privilege occupied by the one who names, the signifier (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xv), or arrangements of domination specified for the one who is named, the signified. Additionally, the notion of power as solely repressive is inadequate for Foucault. If power were merely repressive, it would be weak (Foucault, 1980d). To be strong, it must be effective on the levels of desire, knowledge, and production.

The struggles, conflicts, and effects of power relations are inextricably entwined with Foucault’s analysis of knowledge construction (Gordon, 1980). Power does not function alone, but is entwined with the construction and effects of knowledge, thus the Foucauldian term, power-knowledge. Knowledge and power operate concurrently. While knowledge operates on the level of the universal (what is true or real), power functions in the relations among individuals, institutions, and other entities. Foucault
was less concerned with the methods or content of science, and other forms of knowledge, and far more interested in its effects as a centralized and organized discourse within society. He (1980c) came to believe that our attempts to think in totalities or broadly accepted universals were a hindrance. Such totalities ignore contradictory forms of knowledge by relegating them to minor, subjugated, and hidden positions. These subjugated knowledges\(^6\) are the truths that have been buried, hidden, suppressed, and disguised so that a Truth could become the predominant discourse. When this predominant knowledge becomes totalizing, it also becomes taken-for-granted as truth in discourse and practice. While strategies of truth game construct a totalizing knowledge as predominant, they also render it susceptible to local criticism, and the reemergence of subjected knowledges. Truth, from a Foucauldian perspective, is neither true nor false. Instead his concern is with games of truth, as certain discourses with established rules—scientific, economic, political, educational, informational, legal, literary, and ideological— that societies accept and treat as though they are truth (Foucault, 1980c) through a variety of mechanisms. As a result, these mechanisms have the effect of power in laws, institutions, professions, rewards, and wealth (Foucault, 1980c; Foucault, 1980d).

While knowledge or truth in Foucault’s framework is totalizing, power is not centralized but diffused throughout the social nexus. Power is *always already*; it has no starting point, but yet has always been. For Foucault, power is not held by individuals, nor possessed by groups of individuals, nor consolidated in institutions. Instead, power

\(^6\) The pluralization of the word knowledge, acknowledges that there are multiple forms of knowledge, many ways to determine what is true, and varied beliefs about what is worthy of knowing.
is discursive. It circulates in discourse, the definition of which Foucault extends from communication into actions and practices (Foucault, 1980d; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Discourse is at once both productive and reproductive; someone or something is produced or comes into being in the social context through discourse, and the new unity or construction is then discursively reproduced.

Foucault suggests that we think of discursive power-knowledge as a net. Power-knowledge as *net* is functionally different from power as *force*. Within the conception of power as force, something or somebody is the agent of force who wields it to some extent directly, and the effect is a metaphoric blow on the target. Through a form of social physics, one can interpolate the target and agent in attempts to place blame or argue innocence. However, if power-knowledge is a net that is in many ways invisible, one must re-conceptualize the understanding of power. The structure of the net represents totalizing, yet invisible, knowledge that may block or trap us when we run into it. Individuals can also move through the openings in the net in such a way that, at all times, they employ and undergo power-knowledge simultaneously. The individual thus constructed through discourse as a vehicle of power-knowledge reproduces power-knowledge (Foucault, 1980b). Within this conception of power as a net, one can envision becoming entangled inadvertently or, in attempts to get free, one might inadvertently trap others. One could bind others intentionally by positioning sections of the net or find oneself moving freely through an area that has been cleared. Likewise one may become trapped over and over again in an area designed for entanglements.
Thus, totalizing knowledge as a net is an essential element in power relations that has the potential to both free and entangle us.

Instead of bodies being invested with power, power-knowledge is dependent on bodies – what they do and what they produce. As the vehicle and target of power-knowledge, individuals are constituted as identifiable bodies, discourses, desires, and gestures. In this sense, the individual is one of the “prime” effects of power-knowledge. In other words, discursive power-knowledge produces individuals, for example, the determinate man in *The Order of Things* (1973), the insane in *Madness and Civilization* (1967), the delinquent in *Discipline and Punish* (1995) or the sexually constituted in *The History of Sexuality* (1990). The constructed individual as a vehicle of power-knowledge in turn reproduces the construction in others (Foucault, 1980b, p.98).

Foucault warns that we should not think of power-knowledge as constituting individuals equally. Nor are individuals equally able to articulate power. Thus, power-knowledge in its distribution through bodies is neither democratic nor anarchistic. In the 18th century, statistics, census studies, demography, epidemiology, science of race, population studies, eugenics, and other technologies for knowledge accumulation came into use as technologies of power. Foucault termed these technologies *biopower* and *biopolitics*. Biopower allows for the management of categorical groups of people based on biological variations endowed with socially constructed meanings (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xi). The result of bio-technologies of power is that “vitality, longevity, morbidity, and mortality can be managed, administered, reformed, improved, transformed” (p. xii), and furthermore, managed differently depending on the identified
characteristics of the group. Thus, management of groups and populations has developed political value. Rabinow and Rose (2003) argue that it is now impossible to think of ourselves as political without also considering “the ways in which our politics has become a matter of life itself” (p. xii).

Power is also relational. According to Foucault, power relations are inherent in society, and society cannot exist without them (Foucault, 1997e, p. 298). Within these relationships individuals do not have total power over others who are void of any possibility of resistance or freedom.

If one of them were completely at the other’s disposal and became his thing, an object on which he could wreak boundless and limitless violence, there wouldn’t be any relations of power. (Foucault, 1997e, p. 292)

He argues that even in the more extreme exercises of power, there are power relations and therefore “at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 292). For example, there is the possibility of resistance through violence, flight, or deception. Such strategies are capable of reversing the power relations of the situation, offering temporary relief, or at least expressing resistance. For example, the demonization of dominant groups (hooks, 2003) is a technology of power that subjugated groups have utilized to modify power relations. To elaborate on Foucault’s net analogy, those trapped may find ways to disentangle or notice openings sufficient for escape, and in these efforts create knots that bind others. Likewise, it is possible for one to become entangled in the net while fashioning it to trap another. In other words, there
is resistance and some degree of freedom among all parties, for without them “there would be no power relations at all” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 292).

**Government, Government-ality, and Govern-mentality**

Power in and of itself, for Foucault, is not bad or evil, but rather comprises “games of strategy” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 298). The study of what he termed technologies of power became necessary for Foucault “because it is very often through such techniques that states of domination are established and maintained” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 299). He often used the term “technologies” as a way of naming the practical and intellectual devices, instruments, and tools used to command and guide humans into particular forms or ways of being (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xxi). Within the frame of technologies of power, Foucault was particularly concerned with strategic relations, techniques of government, and states of domination. He saw these technologies as dangerous because they were invisible or constructed as neutral (Gordon, 2000b, p. xv).

Foucault’s earlier work, in particular, focused on the technologies that lead to states of domination. Through power relations, technologies of power, and techniques of government, the establishment and maintenance of states of domination are possible. The term *government* in this context relates more to the practices of governing in individual relationships than the institution of government. Foucault did not perform his analyses of government by studying laws or government institutions, but rather by studying the individual relations in which one attempts (successfully or not) to control another or others. In this view, government is local and emerges not from a hierarchy
above, but from among individuals in relations. Governing for Foucault then is not 
forced down on individuals from the macro level, but emerges from among individuals,
and is exercised in relations of power on the level of the individual in relation to others.

Governmentality serves as an alternative to and critique of common notions of 
power (Rabinow, 1997) as held in institutions, classes, privileged positions, and 
ideologies imposed from above. Despite his perspective of governmentality, Foucault 
does not deny the existence of these entities. Instead, his work points to how the day-to-
day, person-to-person interactions function as strategies and tools for governing in the 
presence of Government structures such as the state, laws, and policies, and even despite 
them. As a tool of analysis, governmentality considers power 

rather as a domain of strategic relations focusing on the behavior of the 
other or others, and employing various procedures and techniques 
according to the case, the institutional frameworks, social groups, and 
historical periods in which they develop. (Foucault, 1997a, p. 88)

I have noticed that Foucault utilizes the term governmentality in two ways, and I 
have found it helpful to think of it as government-ality and govern-mentality. The 
concept of government-ality, explores the “relationship in which one person tries to 
control the conduct of the other” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 292). Govern-mentality, on the 
other hand, is the intersection of technologies of the self with technologies of power. 
With government-ality, power relations are used to control others. In govern-mentality, 
technologies of power are used to control the self either by internalizing technologies 
imposed by others, or through “the government of the self by oneself in its articulation
with relations with others” (Foucault, 1997a, p. 88). These versions of governmentality are not mutually exclusive, but they express differences in how we govern from the micro or individual level as opposed to being governed from above at or the macro level of institutions.

Since the practice of governing is acted out on the micro level with the individual in relation to others within their context, practices of the self do not originate in the individual. They are instead taken on from cultural and societal models (Rabinow, 1997). Thus, how individuals exercise themselves within relations of power becomes an essential question for those interested in societal relations. Before I address this question further, an understanding of the individual as a discursive object, one subject to in Foucault’s perspective, is necessary.

*The Subject as Discursive Object*  

The question of the subject is central to Foucault’s work. In his earlier work, his focus is on the constitution of the individual as object, not subject. He denies the object/subject dualism, and sees power and knowledge transforming individuals and making them “subjects to” (Foucault, 1983) the effects and influences of power-knowledge. For him the body is not itself discursive, nor is it discursive as either a thing or thought. Instead, the body exists within a discursive environment (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). This concept is analogous to Foucault’s notion that power is not in the person, but rather that the person exists within power relations. From a broad project that views power as a net-like construction, he focused on the net, looking into the
discourse of unnoticed, circulating power-knowledge. He treats the individual as a
discursively constructed object able to exert power only as a discursive instrument. In
other words, his interest was in studying the subject as something constructed through
discourse – a discursive object.

Foucault’s conception of the subject differs from other, more common solipsistic
conceptions. For him, it is not useful to fabricate the historically evolving subject. He
endeavored to get rid of the subject in order to “account for the constitution of the
subject within a historical framework” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 117). He chose not to
assume the positionality of the self-actualizing subjects who wrote themselves into
history, or the situatedness of subjugated subjects whom history renamed and redefined.
The subject in his work is one of many, who are naïve about Foucault’s thesis,
anonymous, and transcendent. This exemption of the human subject from his thesis has
been criticized as anti-humanist by those (Fraser, 1989; Haraway, 1988) who view his
subject, the discursive object, as an actor. From this standpoint, Foucault’s subject
transformed into object is another iteration of the “death of the subject” (Haraway, 1988,
p. 593). These other scholars argue that knowledge is situated in a community of actors
who are innovative, not by discursive chance, but by directed intentionality.

Foucault and Kristeva, for instance, are both interested in discourse and the
individual, and discourse is epistemic for both. Kristeva’s discourse, however, is
synonymous with communication, while Foucault defines it more broadly. Kristeva is
concerned with “already semiotic” drives that withdraw “the body from its homogeneous
expanse and turn it into a space bound to exterior space” (Ives, 2003). For Kristeva, the
mother’s body precedes and “mediates symbolic law” and becomes the “organizing principle” of social relations. She sees every attempt at language as trying to recapture the maternal relation lost after infancy (Butler, 1993, pp. 41, 69-70). While Foucault conceives of discourse as producing individuals, Kristeva’s conception is that of discourse constructed from within bodies. One could say that Foucault sees individuals constructed from the outside through discourse, and Kristeva views discourse as created by reaching out from within. The subject is ontological for Kristeva, while discursive power-knowledge is ontological for Foucault. In other words, Kristeva privileges the subject as what is real and thus the source of discourse. Foucault challenges this conception by arguing first of all that power-knowledge is always already in any social relation. Thus, power-knowledge has always, and will always, exist in human relations, and is his answer to the ontological question – what is real? With his interests in and advocacy for more symmetrical power relations, identifying power-knowledge as real may very well be a pragmatic response to this philosophical question.

Foucault’s work is not a study of the individual and the practices of the self through existentialism or phenomenology. He refuses to begin with a theory of the subject in his questions about how knowledge formation. What he wants to explore is “how the subject constructed itself, in one form or another … through certain practices” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 290). This theoretical framework does not mean that Foucault discounts the body. He conceptualizes the exercise of power as “more material, physical, corporeal” than anything else (Foucault, 1980a, p. 57). Power is dependent on bodies, what they do, and what they produce; it extracts time and labor from bodies
(Foucault, 1980a). The “problem of the body” is an effect of political struggles in that it is the body that is contested. While the struggles may indeed be political struggles over truth or based on truth, Foucault’s work illustrates the brutality exercised on the body in efforts to discipline (Foucault, 1995) and the extent of surveilling people’s actions and containing populations of people in efforts to manage and control behavior (Foucault, 1995).

Uncomfortable with the “modernist view of the human sciences and of man as simultaneously both the human scientist and the object of the human sciences” (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005, p. 858), Foucault offered a dual critique – of both modernism and the subject. Scheurich and McKenzie take his criticism seriously and thus criticize those who have adopted Foucault’s critique of modernism without also accepting his decentering of the subject. Foucault argues that the human sciences are caught in a “double obligation” of (1) interpretation based on a theory of signs and (2) formalization of the constitution of empirical orders (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, pp. 263-264; Faubion, 1998). In Classical knowledge, Foucault was surprised to notice that “man did not exist” but in the place later occupied by man stood powers of discourse that represent order verbally. As the Classical period turned into the 18th century, the order of things and their representations ceased to be transparent; man could thus be known “to the extent that he lives, speaks and works” (p. 264). Foucault summarizes this point by writing, “Man has existed where discourse was silenced” (p. 265). In his earlier work, Foucault intentionally treats human subjects as objects of discursive practices, thus engaging a silenced discourse. Through the structure of his inquiries and
his theorizing, he chose not to structure his work around, in, or through the human sciences. Instead he filtered his work through discourse (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 264; Faubion, 1998). By exploring how the human as discursive object was constructed, defined and differentiated discursively, Foucault decoupled the order of the world and its representations. He challenged human assumptions that our representations are indeed reality.

In his later work, however, Foucault took on the question of how the self is constituted through practices on itself. In these works, he addresses the question of the subject directly, while avoiding solipsism. He remained interested in the discursive construction of the subject, the active construction of the subject by the self, and the application of strategies, tactics, and tools to the self in its construction as a subject (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, pp.xix-xx). He avoided solipsism by not defaulting to a priori theories of the subject. He rejected such theories, and instead considered the constitution of various forms of the subject in relation to truth games (Foucault, 1997e, pp. 290-291). In other words, he was concerned with the subject as a specific form, even in the construction of the self through technologies of the self, not as a substance. For example, in his treatment of the parrhesiastes, an ancient Greek male citizen who spoke freely, Foucault was not so much concerned with the role of the truth-teller or the differences in the role in various societies (Foucault, 2001, p. 169); nor was he interested in looking at the truth-tellers through the human sciences. His interest lay in the discursive practices of truth telling as an activity. Specifically, he analyzed the
parrhesiastic game through considerations of *logos* (rhetoric), *poleiteia* (the political field), and *techne toubiou* (art of life) (Foucault, 2001, pp. 20-24).

Foucault’s work intentionally counters what he identified as a deterioration of the belief that “the sciences of man would be at the same time the liberation of man” (Foucault, 1998, p. 265). He instead acknowledged that through the development of the human sciences, man has disappeared. Thus, Foucault might counter those who claim that he has erased the human subject by stating that such erasure has been the role of the human sciences rather than man’s apotheosis. This insight into Foucault’s thinking adds credibility to Johnson’s argument (1997) that the subtext of much of Foucault’s work advocates for “symmetrical, reciprocal relations of communication” (p. 573), and encourages readers to notice they have access to more power than they realize. If individuals do indeed have more power, then the individual is not simply a discursive object produced by the discourse and simultaneously a vehicle of power-knowledge that constructs and reproduces similar individuals (Foucault, 1980b, p. 98). Foucault’s “erasure” of the subject as an actor was a way of illustrating how the individual is constructed by and subject to technologies of power, power-knowledge, and the self. Building on Johnson’s interpretation of Foucault’s conception of the subject one could indeed suggest a means of rearticulating power-knowledge for the purposes of enhancing the agency of the discursively constructed subject.

In many ways I find Foucault’s theories and earlier work surprisingly practical, because they offer conceptual insights into how discourse constructs individuals. His later works, particularly technologies of the self, offer strategies and technologies for
practicing oneself within the discourse with the intention of and effort toward specifically constructing the self. Through practices of the self, one may “play’ games of power and truth “with as little domination as possible” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 298). Foucault suggested that no one can disconnect from the discourse or construct themselves outside of discursive strategies, and thus he highlighted the risks one takes when resisting and countering such constructions.

Truth Games

The notions of Truth, truth, and truths are of much import in our society (Western, United States), and are sought out through all major social processes. We obtain and study evidence in our pursuit of and support for T/truth(s) in judicial, scientific, religious, political, and social arenas; we turn to witnesses, testimonials, physical remains, records, data, research methods, ancient texts, reinterpreted texts, news reports, fake news reporting, polls, and so forth in this effort. We look for, construct, and create evidence to support truth claims in so many aspects of our lives, I find it impossible to identify even one exception. Foucault questioned this modern insistence on truth. He observed that the discursive responses of those subjugated by claims to truth were typically to engage in truth games by playing another, different hand of the same game by engaging alternative epistemologies. He wondered why our focus was on truth and not on the practices of the self. After all, games of truth are played through practices of the self.
Games of truth, for Foucault, are not entertainment, sport, or pastime, nor are they simply the product of power. Instead they are “a set of rules by which truth is produced” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 297). Tactics and strategies employed to determine truth differ depending on the place and time in which one lives (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). In terms of place, the “truth” about how someone dies today in the United States may be attributed to a particular biological malfunction, while an essentially identical death today in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea is more likely considered a result of sorcery. As for time, the truth about the relationship between the earth and other celestial bodies differed before and after Galileo’s life. In these examples, the specific knowledge systems of the places and times determine what is acceptable evidence and proper processes for determining truth.

In answer to his question, “Who speaks the truth?” Foucault answered, “Free individuals who establish a certain consensus, and who find themselves within a certain network of practices of power and constraining institutions” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 297). Truth games, like knowledge, are inherently connected with power (technologies of power, power relations). The question for truth, then, is not a question of absolute Truth, relative truth, or even truths of positionality. Instead, at issue for Foucault were technologies of power and games of knowledge at work in the production of T/truth(s). In other words, for Foucault, What is true?, was the wrong question. For him, truth ultimately came down to technologies of power-knowledge enacted as though something was true or as if particular processes would determine it as true. These technologies focus on the behavior of individuals, particular forms of domination, and the
objectification of the subject (Foucault, 1997e, p. 299). For Foucault, the more appropriate questions addressed the intersection of practices of the self and technologies of power – how are free individuals constructed through these technologies, and how do they play truth games?

**Epistemological Communities**

Games of truth are played within and across epistemological communities. The scholars in this study are, as are all scholars and arguably all people, members of epistemological communities. Such communities place boundaries around what types of knowledge and what forms of evidence justify knowledge claims within their communities. Fuller (cited in Pahre, 1996) argues that instead of disciplines forming through a process of defining themselves on epistemic foundations, they have formed around procedures for adjudicating counter knowledge claims (p. 2), a type of epistemic defensive strategy. Those knowledge claims and evidential processes excluded from one discipline become those of another discipline that has likewise excluded the former. Consider, for example, the boundaries between the physical, biological, and social sciences. Thus, the formation of disciplines has been a process of excluding counter-claims instead of justifying their construction, formation, and creation of knowledge. This boundary work (Gieryn, 1983) makes intuitive sense in sociological terms.

The “sociology of science” and laboratory life observational studies have offered insights into the social dimensions of knowledge construction, and reframed science as “a particular form of social activity” (Pahre, 1996, p. 4). They have demonstrated how
the scientific process is social, constructed, contextual, and reflexive (Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Knorr-Cetina & Mulkay, 1983; Knorr et al., 1980; Woolgar, 1988). The learning of science and scientific approaches to research is, thus, an acculturation process influenced by recruitment and socialization of nascent scientists; allocation of rewards to practicing scientists among themselves; and selection for publication, among other processes (Pahre, 1996, p. 4). In academia, the process is reinforced through the curriculum, dissertation writing, tenure and promotion decisions, and funding. The sociology of science is a criticism of scientific rationality, technical competence, and social authority. It proposes that such rationality is a myth, a process of reflexive fabrication that yields science.

We cannot forget that scientific epistemological communities also exist within societies, and that scientists themselves are members of societies. Thus, society constrains science as science likewise constrains society. Processes of knowledge production, via intellectual movements, are not separate “from social, political, and demographic changes, but instead both respond to and are part of the changes presently taking place” (Popkewitz, 1997, p. 26). For example, disciplines are influenced by the material interests of capitalists, as well as the professional interests of scientists. It is in part due to material and professional interests in their continued survival that scientific interests have been able to exist independent of the external society’s interests (Pahre, 1996).

According to Mannheim (Pahre, 1996) granting the status of truth to any knowledge claim benefits some people at the expense of others. Epistemic justification
is really just another process of power distribution (p. 4). But power distribution in and of itself, however, is insufficient as an explanation for why a particular knowledge claim is accepted and others are not. Such explanations ignore efforts towards truth seeking. Thus, Pahre (p. 9) argues that a consideration of epistemological communities must entail the social forces of their boundary definition, as well as their truth-seeking efforts. To this end epistemological communities exist within boundaries of truth and truth seeking defined by their realities and beliefs that are co-constructed with socially constructed realities. And of course, the “realities” of “society” also influence epistemological communities through its needs.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that “reality for the person on the street” is “chameleonlike,” socially pervasive and dependent on consensual language (pp. 70-71). This view of reality is not unlike Foucault’s conception of how truth is determined, through “[f]ree individuals who establish a certain consensus, and who find themselves within a certain network of practices of power and constraining institutions” (Foucault, 1997c, p. 297). Lincoln and Guba continue their argument by describing four ontological positions of reality; (1) objective reality, (2) perceived reality, (3) constructed reality, and (4) created reality. Objective reality is supported by the philosophical stance that reality is tangible and can be known through experiences with it. While adherents of perceived reality believe that reality cannot be fully known, they assert that there is indeed a reality. Those who take the latter two positions, however, question the very existence of reality. Constructed reality may be construed as transient and ephemeral while advocates of created reality consider that any single instant may
only be a moment in a wave of possibilities blurring on and off as observed. Lincoln
and Guba (1985) contend that knowledge and science, as a specific form of knowledge,
are social constructs.

Becher (1995) argues for a synthesis of the poles of the metaphysical argument
between realism and relativism. He suggests that the “independent nature of knowledge,
evidence, demonstration and the attainment of valid findings” might coexist with “the
contingent nature of intellectual communities, argument, persuasion and the achievement
of ideological victory” (p. 397). Well established knowledge may later be determined as
false, and what is acceptable in terms of interpretation “may look suspiciously like the
consensual views of one’s professional peers” (p. 398). For Becher, the divide between
relativism and realism, as well as epistemological and social determinism, is not as sharp
as they seem. Indeed science, in part, creates reality (Namenwirth, 1986).

When epistemological or disciplinary boundaries are crossed, they are crossed
because of the truth, facts, and theories that are germane to a given epistemological
community. Additionally, the same “fact” can be interpreted differently depending on
the epistemological community, and divergent facts can be used to support similar
theories. Thus, epistemological communities exchange data without theory, and theory
and hypotheses sans data (Pahre, 1996, p. 10). A discipline can metaphorically borrow
knowledge from another, or incorporate another’s methodology, but such appropriations
do not necessarily change or transform the boundaries of knowledge communities. They
may, however, create new “hybrid” communities, or lead to one community’s
subsuming of another. Pahre (1996) argues that obstacles to forming communities
across epistemological boundaries for the exchange of hypotheses are social, while those for metaphorical exchange are epistemological.

Pahre (1996) considers epistemological classification schemata arbitrary, and argues for a consideration of the social constraints on knowledge, and the ways knowledge transforms communities. His suggestion ties nicely into this study, and supports Foucault’s theories. Specific scholars challenge boundaries that their disciplines have worked to establish and maintain. But instead of working to define what work and evidence the disciplines should exclude, they challenge their disciplines and provide justifications for why the epistemology of specific communities should infuse their work and influence their discipline(s). Thus, they challenge the processes and rules governing such knowledge claims.

Epistemological communities have been a contested topic in recent literature within the field of education. Within this game of truth, the concern focuses on the legitimatization and discrediting of forms of knowledge production. In November 2002 the American Educational Research Association devoted a special issue of *Educational Researcher* to scientific research. The impetus of the issue was not discourse among the fields of educational research, but federal legislation and policy. Three members of the National Research Council’s Committee on Scientific Principles for Educational Research were editors and/or authors of the report *Scientific Research in Education*. The article “Scientific Culture and Educational Research” (Feuer, Towne, & Shavelson, 2002) is worthy of being quoted and explored at length:
Our final caveat concerns an important and subtle distinction between education scholarship generally and scientific educational research specifically. We focus on the latter. (p. 5)

While being honest in their focus on scientific educational research, Feuer et al. point out that there are distinctions between their preferred scholarly approach and other forms of scholarship. However, they continue their argument by combining all forms of educational research and scholarship into scientific research without pursuing or considering any of the “important and subtle distinctions.” They continue:

Though we assume unapologetically that scientific research is an endeavor that can uniquely contribute to greater understanding and improvement of education, we do not intend to minimize the significance of humanistic, historic, philosophical, and other nonscientific forms of study in education. (p. 5)

Feuer et al. (2002) offer homage to other non-scientific forms of inquiry in education, but their aim is to “unapologetically” appoint (anoint) scientific research into the higher status and name it as the most capable for generating educational improvements. Such a move ignores the history of educational research that began with history and philosophy (Lagemann, 2000). It also ignores the experiences humans have had with science’s failure to solve problems and live up to its expectations in many fields. They further establish their argument:

We do believe, however, that the arguments we make about promoting a scientific culture can be applied to educational scholarship more broadly,
in the sense that establishing a stronger sense of community within the scholarly profession would propel the field forward. (p. 5)

In doing so, they continue not to acknowledge or take into account the subtle and profound differences between and among the differing knowledge communities of educational scholars. Applying the cultural norms of science to other educational scholars (philosophers, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, etc.) is not a process of “establishing a stronger sense of community” but of scholarly deculturalization, which Spring (2004) defines as destroying a people’s culture and replacing it with a new culture (p. 3). They further bolster their efforts, adding:

We therefore use terms like *science, research, scholarship, and inquiry* as essentially interchangeable in the specific context of discussing the norms and ideals of the educational research field while recognizing that these words have different meanings generally. (p. 5)

For the drive-by reader, this may sound like an epistemologically inclusive statement. With a more careful reading, however, it is not simply an interchange of words. These words have specified meanings within disciplines, fields, and areas of educational research. Feuer et al. (2002) are redefining research, scholarship, and inquiry, and renaming them as scientific research. Later they argue,

Why do lawmakers feel compelled to codify methods of educational research in federal statute? Perhaps it is because they do not trust the field to monitor itself. Indeed, one wonders if the policymakers would
direct epidemiologists on such matters in the authorizing statues for the National Institutes of Health (NIH), for example. (p. 8)

The authors lump all forms of educational inquiry together and expect them to function as a coherent scientific community. They use diversified modes of inquiry, which they define as a lack of cohesiveness, to justify legislating the processes for knowledge production in education. Yet they seek to compare this dynamic to a specific field in medical science, epidemiology. This analogy is not appropriate for even though epidemiologists have their disagreements, they are members of a more coherent knowledge community. Feuer et al. ignore other forms of medical research and branches of medicine – virology, internal medicine, osteopathic medicine, genetics, etc. – which if included would make the comparison more analogous. Why did they not choose drug research, funding, and publication as an example? Could not the entanglement of funding from pharmaceutical companies and research on the efficacy of drugs warrant federal regulation of medical scholarship, particularly publication guidelines and disclosures? Brown (cited in Quinton, 2004) suggests that research financially backed by pharmaceutical companies result in findings that are convenient to drug sponsoring drug companies monetarily (Quinton, 2004). This analogy between education scholarship and medical research could indeed be a more appropriate and fruitful one. But Feuer et al. (2002) have misappropriated a medical analogy in their text for the sake of argument. Medical sciences hold higher status than educational research, and are less vulnerable to regulations. Additionally, education maintains a function more closely tied to political ideology and more useful as a political tool than medicine. Despite the fact
that the analogy is misappropriated, Feuer et al. fail to consider the answer to their own question – “Why do lawmakers feel compelled to codify methods of educational research in federal statute?” Thus, their argument is reduced to polemics instead of scholarship. They continue:

We believe it is the failure of the field to develop such a community and to forge consensus on such matters as research quality and coordination of perspectives that has contributed to an environment in which members of Congress are compelled to impose them. … In stark terms, we believe that if the field is to argue convincingly that it is inappropriate for science to be defined by political forces – which we believe is true – then it is incumbent upon the field to cultivate its own form of life including, however difficult this may be, attention to bolstering research quality. (p. 9)

That is research quality as defined by a scientific educational community. A component of educational scholars has developed a community consensus around scientific principles, as other subsections of educational scholars have formed epistemological communities around historical, philosophical, postmodern, and other frameworks.

There are many ways to explore the situation. However, for the current purpose, this article serves as an illustration of a current truth game in education. In this particular hand of the game, the new trump card for determining truth is the culture of scientific research – that is more specifically the rules by which truth is established. Even though the authors intend to illustrate how the norms of sciences should be
predominant in educational scholarship, they are articulating a sociological process and mistakenly assuming it is epistemological. They are arguing for a socio-political intervention that benefits science instead of allowing the merits of scientific evidence and interpretation to sway educational scholars. Ironically, the tactics they advocate are better studied through anthropology, sociology, political sociology, political science, and history than science. These legislated rules for scientific educational research essentially disqualify inquiries that challenge the belief in science as the only approach to quality research. In fact, science, with its focus on the universal, is inadequate for considerations of the ways in which ideas are situated within particular contexts (Pierre, 2002, p. 25). With roots in imperialism and colonization, such research is susceptible to accusations of epistemic bias in terms of race and gender (Scheurich & Young, 2002; Smith, 1999 2; Stanfield, 1993). The historical links between science and domination directly challenge the objectivity of science and positions it as a technology of power based on subjective social phenomenon, not objective evidence.

**Educational Games of Truth**

Socially constructed and contextual, knowledge has continuously produced and reaffirmed Western society’s view of itself (Smith, 1999). The philosophical positions of scholars and scientists have aligned with the social history of the dominant groups in Western society, despite contradictory local or minor knowledges (Foucault, 1980b; Haraway, 1988). That is, some groups have employed their knowledge to judge and construct others, while discounting the knowledge of those thus subjugated. In a culture
like ours that values the notion of truth, particularly an absolute or objective Truth, those who can “impose their language on subordinate groups also have the power to define that which is considered ‘absolute and objective’ truth in the society-at-large” (Darder, 1992, p. 150). Scheurich and Young (2002) suggest that the reproduction of dominant knowledge is embedded in epistemologies (knowledge and justification), as well as ontologies (reality) and axiologies (ethics and aesthetics).

The support of racism through science and the influence of racism on science is an example of how the epistemological and social are interdependent. Racial categories used in research, for example, are grounded in pre-colonial folk beliefs about inherent phenotypic and genetic superiority and inferiority of populations. They were socially constructed within relations of power, particularly in regard to economics (Hilliard III, 2001). Their development as “justification for the colonization and plunder of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America” has been forgotten (Darder, 1992). Few social scientists fully comprehend this history, yet scholars frequently and uncritically use the categories (Stanfield, 1993, p. 17). Since the 1700s, scientific racism has been used to legitimize colonial practices, and has been inseparable from the political, economic, and historical struggles for wealth, rights social status and political privileges (Watkins, 2001; Valencia, 1990). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, theories of racial hygiene (eugenics) were used to support “medical practices that could weed out the poor, feebleminded, criminal, and other biological ‘misfits’” (Bleier, 1984, p. 11). Science has sought out, defined, and measured differences as explanations for the social positions of people based on their race, ethnicity, color, religion, economic status, and
gender (Bleier, 1984). It has also been used to “rationalize, justify, and naturalize” slavery, colonialism, capitalism, communism, sexism, patriarchy, and racism (Namenwirth, 1986, p. 29). Such issues persist today particularly with regard to economics and political issues (Rabinow, 1997). Biological determinists of the 20th century appear to be apolitical since they do not acknowledge cultural, social, and political factors that could account for the differences that so interest them.

In attempts to guard against subjectivity and ensure objectivity and validity, scientists have developed the scientific method that methodically proceeds from observations, forming hypotheses, and testing hypotheses. Each step of this process, Bleier (1986) argues, is “profoundly affected by the values, opinions, biases, beliefs, and interests of the scientist (p. 3). Bleier (1986) asserts:

As Fee writes … “By necessity, all of these power relations are reproduced within scientific knowledge; the scientist, the creator of knowledge, cannot step outside his or her social persona…. Reflected within science is that particular moment of struggle of social classes, races, and genders found in the real, natural, and human world” (Chapter 3). Each scientist has a particular history of experiences and social relationships and, therefore, a particular worldview and set of values, beliefs, hopes, and needs that are reflected – as they are for everyone else – in what scientists do, how they (we) perceive the world, how they view and experience social relationships and questions of power, and how they practice their science. (p. 3)
Even though these scientists deny that their theories support the *status quo* and are political, their scholarly assumptions, perceptions, descriptions, and conclusions offer "innumerable examples of the explicitly sociological and political content" (Bleier, 1984, p. 8). In efforts to ensure objectivity in the practice of science, scientists control for outside influences "of all factors *except* (emphasis in original) cultural bias" (Namenwirth, 1986). Namenwirth continues:

In truth, scientists are no more protected from political and cultural influence than other citizens. By draping their scientific activities in claims of neutrality, detachment, and objectivity, scientists augment the perceived importance of their views, absolve themselves of social responsibility for the applications of their views, and leave their (unconscious) minds wide open to political and cultural assumptions. Such hidden influences and biases are particularly insidious in science because the cultural heritage of the practitioners is so uniform as to make these influences very difficult to detect and unlikely to be brought to light or counter-balanced by the work of other scientists with different attitudes. Instead, the biases themselves become part of a stifling science-culture, while scientists firmly believe that as long as they are not *conscious* (emphasis in original) of any bias or political agenda, they are neutral and objective, when in fact they are only unconscious. (p. 29)

Despite the entanglement of social science knowledge constructions and technologies of power, the belief that research will solve problems, improve the human
condition, and make life more livable is strongly held (Huckaby, 2002). The notion that research is primarily beneficial is “so taken-for-granted that many researchers simply assume that they as individuals embody this ideal and are natural representatives of it …” (Smith, 1999, p. 2). Thus, the products of research cannot be adequately understood without analyzing their construction, for scientific innovations are not the result of chance, but of “intentional, directed work” (Knorr-Cetina, 1981, p. 12). The process and results of research are apparatuses of technologies of power and truth games, although the “players” may be engage in said technologies. That said, these results provide the evidence to determine T/truth(s), while subjugating other knowledge(s) and even individuals and groups.

Hooks (2003) argues that Western society is a culture of domination, and thus the belief that “domination is the foundation of all human relations” is an aspect of the socialization of all its citizens (p. 75). Foucault (cited in Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005) refers to this dynamic as one typical of human society:

Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination. (p. 852)

Many cultures have dominated others throughout history (e.g., Roman, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, African, Mayan, and Aztec, among others). The arguments of Foucault and hooks are relevant to this study because the participants are situated in the West and within Western traditions. As a consequence, it is not surprising that
racialized, gendered, and classist assumptions persist in educational practice and research as taken-for-granted assumptions. Even so, we are socially astute enough to determine when to publicly hide or how to discuss these assumptions. Our actions depend on who is listening (Pollock, 1991), and whether the topic is appropriate given the audience. In Foucauldian terms, people play games of truth differently depending on the players and how they are positioned in the game.

*Power-Knowledge and Biopower in Education*

Truth games in Western traditions, which have solidified the categories of race, citizenship status, language, class, gender, sexual orientation, and so forth, utilize biopower and biopolitics to demarcate the subjugated from those free from subjugation. While there are many themes in educational scholarship, one of my primary interests is the use of education as a technology of biopower. Biopower in this case is a process of establishing, maintaining, and exacerbating states of domination through educational practices and knowledge(s) on specific categories of people(s). In this section, I offer an exploration into how educational practices and knowledge have been used as technologies of biopower. This section of biopower in education serves as an introduction into the truth games that the scholars who participated in this study engage in their work.

The scholar-participants in this study address the inequities and injustices in our society. In this framework, education is a vehicle, formally and informally, that subjugates some and confers privilege on others. Education, of course, is not the only
vehicle, but it is the one that forms the members of our society (citizens and non-citizens) from the youngest ages, determines to a large extent the possibilities for their lives, and colonizes minds and behaviors into conformity with systems that may limit freedom and potential.

Woodson theorized in 1933 that when a man’s thinking is controlled, there is no need “to worry about his action. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his proper place and will stay in it” (Gordon, 1985, p. 11; Woodson, 1990, p. xiii). Woodson continues:

You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary. (p. xiii)

Hegemony in such ideological forms offers social models and a consciousness in the form of common sense and simply accepted suppositions, even by those relegated to the margins of society. In order to maintain this viability, such ideologies are dependent on their adaptability (Berry, 1994; Wade, Thompson, & Watkins, 1994), and the retained consent of the dominated masses (Apple & Weis, 1983). Thus, “agreements or settlements with disgruntled groups” (Berry, 1994, p. 3) often maintain or restore the status quo. This process of absorption or assimilation symbolically institutionalizes demands from those marginalized, while insulating the status quo from real economic and political concessions (Watkins, 1994). In this regard, hegemony constantly shifts ground and makes accommodations (Darder, 1991). As a result, ideologies are
frequently intellectually inconsistent and contradictory (Watkins, 1994), but are able to maintain functional coherence.

Public education in the United States is a prime illustration of contradictory ideology coupled with coherent hegemony. Rhetorically, it holds the “promise of upward social mobility, individual privileges, economic opportunities” (Darder, Torres, & Gutierrez, 1997, p. xii). Notions of education for all and education for democracy are explicitly espoused, yet the lived experience is inequality and differentiated inequitable education (Kozol, 1991). The practices of meritocracy, intelligence testing, norm-referenced testing, tracking, ability grouping, teacher expectations, fund allocations, segregation, and the like are technologies of power-knowledge that determine the criteria for success and failure of students and their subsequent opportunities in society. These technologies contribute to social inequality and result in disproportionate underachievement (in school and in life after school) of students socially subordinated based on their economic status, race/ethnicity, cultural background, language, and/or citizenship status.

Education (public and private) on many levels blocks relations of power into a hegemonic state, and functions to colonize the thinking not only of students in schools, but also of society on the role of education. From its inception in the United States, and even previously in Europe and Greece, education and schooling have been and remain a sorting machine (Spring, 1976). Even in Plato’s Republic (1991), Socrates envisioned education differentiated for those made of gold (guardians), silver (auxiliaries), and iron/bronze (farmers and craftsmen) (pp. 93-94). When established in the early colonies,
formal education, particularly higher education, was indeed a privilege for the most elite class as a means of preparation for civic and religious leadership (Lucas, 1994, p. 105). Since that time, education has become more available for people of other classes, races, and gender, but as in the *Republic*, it is differentiated for categories of people. The experiences of marginalized groups are “neither a temporary detour nor a momentary loss of direction” (Tejeda, Martinez, & Leonardo, 2000, p. xi); indeed they are historical and enduring. As Gordon (2000a) states,

“…what I realize now is that each generation must rise to the occasion and answer them anew. More often than not we are continually reminded that these are not simply old arguments and conversations; they are permanent conditions that require eternal vigilance…” (p. 24)

These theories of differentiating education for classes of people constitute a biopolitical reality. But Hillard III (2001) notes,

the ideology of “race” drives much of what happens in the world and in education. It is like a computer software that “runs in the background,” invisible and inaudible. However, our silent and invisible “racial” software is not benign. It is linked to issues of power or hegemony. . . . Race thinking has no reason for being except for the establishment of hegemony. (p. 13)

In many ways the history of education and that of the culture in the United States are impossible to disentangle (Johanningmeier, 1975). The differentiated treatment of students in terms of race illustrates how socio-economic, cultural, and political structures
entwine with the processes of schooling (Gordon, 1982). Race, Foucault acknowledged, was one of the categories constituted in the 18th century as a rationalization of the governing problems of specific groups (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xi). It did not previously exist in its current conception (Hilliard III; Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Hitler, as an example, was clear in his conception of race as an anti-historical fabrication and political tool of power. As Weinreich noted (cited in Hilliard III, 2001):

Hitler said to Rauchnigh, “…in the scientific sense there is no such thing as race, but you, as a farmer and cattle breeder cannot get your breeding successfully achieved without the conception of race. And I as a politician need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed on historic bases to be abolished and an entirely new and anti-historical order enforced and given such an intellectual basis… (p. 9)

The idea that race is a social construction has gained legitimacy in social science and educational research, and been reproduced in educational theory and practices. Yet, the production of educational knowledge has been and is primarily how racial hegemony as biopower has worked through education. National priorities and moods, and the objectives of funding institutions have determined the shifts in educational research (Lagemann, 2000). Politics and social science have allied in educational research (Cohen & Barnes, 1999).

Watkins (2001) explores the development of scientific racism and its significance to education in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Through scientific racism, darker peoples, especially those of African descent in the United States, have been classified as
inferior. Such classifications have been based on multiple theories including polygenism or differentiated species evolution, cranial capacity, imperfect hair, social Darwinism, eugenics, biometrics, inherent immorality, and intelligence hereditarianism. Research in support of racial differences in intelligence has relied on social conceptions of race, and theoretical applications have subsumed these biological inferences about heredity (Suzuki & Valencia, 1997, p. 1106).

The 19th century work of Sir Francis Galton, the cousin of Charles Darwin and the progenitor of intelligence testing (Watkins, 2001; Valencia, 2002), measured psychological processes. He did not separate his racialized and classist assumptions from the rest of his work as demonstrated in *Hereditary Genius*, which included a chapter entitled “The Comparative Worth of Different Races” (Galton, 1870; Valencia, 2002, p. 256). The subsequent work of Binet and Simon (early 20th century) has also been highly influential. Their intelligence test, after being modified through translation, cultural appropriation, and psychometrics, was standardized with a White middle class male population. It was, however, used to measure cognitive abilities of people of color and lower SES. The exclusion of people of the other races, ethnicities, socio-economic classes, and first languages from the norming process has continued for decades (Valencia, 2002). Thus, the use of scientific racism to justify beliefs about racial differences continues today, hidden in the histories and theoretical assumptions of instrumentations. Cultural theories have replaced biological explanations of inferiority (Menchaca & Valencia, 1990). The resulting inequalities faced by African American and Mexican American students are “not vestiges of past discrimination. Rather, they
are part of a historical pattern that is continually being reproduced” (Valencia, 2000, p. 446).

While IQ scores are “in many ways a measure of past learning,” they are principally considered and utilized as assessments of potential (Suzuki & Valencia, 1997, p. 1110), and schools consume more than any other entity (Suzuki & Valencia, 1997, p. 1108). The espoused theory is that test results are used to determine student potential. In practice, however, schools use the results to place students into special education and gifted programs. The combination of test bias, the disproportionally high referral rate of minority students for psychological and educational evaluations, and the high probability of special education once referred, further disadvantages minority and poor students (Suzuki & Valencia, 1997). The results, among other things, are a higher proportion of students of color and poor children in special education and non-academic educational tracks. This tracking “is a fundamental form of discrimination” (Hanson & Bailey, 1980, p. 21; Valencia, 1999). The other effect of this dynamic is that institutions often ignore and neglect gifted students of color and low socioeconomic backgrounds, because they do not fit the stereotypes of those capable of intellectual achievement (Valencia, 2002). Even the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which is taken by high school students and used as a criterion for college admissions, has a troubling history. McLaren (1995) explains:

One of the authors of this test, Carl Campbell Brigham, championed in his *A Study of American Intelligence* a classification of races which identified the Nordic as the superior race and, in descending order,
located the less superior races as Alpine, Mediterranean, Eastern, New Eastern, and Negro. . . . Not surprisingly, this hierarchy is confirmed in Brigham’s later comparative analysis of intelligence. The library at the Educational Testing Service compound still bears Brigham’s name. (p. 94)

Issues of test bias extend beyond the testing instruments themselves and into considerations of how tests are used, as well as their antecedents and consequences (Valencia, 2002). Such precursors and outcomes might include 1) cultural bias; 2) limited English proficiency of test takers; 3) under representation of students of color in gifted and talented programs; 4) negative outcomes from high-stakes testing; 5) inequalities in curricular offerings, and 6) adverse effects on admissions in higher education (Valencia, 1999, p.126). In recent years, some states have extended testing to become the primary or sole source for determining student promotions, retentions, and graduation, despite other criteria such as the grades earned in their courses. Pearl (2002) points out that the measuring of one’s temperature does not reduces a fever just as high stakes testing do not change life chances, especially since the predictability of such tests is poor beyond tracking, grouping, promotion, and graduation. Because tests are marketed and perceived as objective and scientific, they offer symbolic justification for differentiated schooling and school outcomes (Valencia, 2002).

Deficit thinking blames victims for their position within systems that predetermine their failure, and refuses to explore how political, economic, and school structures prevent some students from succeeding. Its language includes terms such as
disadvantaged, cultural deprivation, and at risk. Deficit thinking is integral to high stakes testing in that students and their families bear the burden of testing failure. Valencia (2002) argues that the notion of “deficit thinking” is based on a pseudoscientific notion that is a merging of ideology with science. These systematic barriers extend beyond the issues of testing. Valencia (2002), for example, noted that teachers of Mexican American students praised and encouraged them less, asked them fewer questions, and criticized them more than White students in classes. In response to this data, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (Valencia, 2002) concluded that in Southwest schools:

the discovered disparities in teacher behavior toward Mexican American and Anglos are likely to hinder seriously the educational opportunities and achievement of Chicano pupils. These findings raise disturbing questions concerning the ability of our schools to meet the educational needs of all students adequately. (p. 24)

Teacher certification is also important. The percentage of certified teachers and the percentage of economically disadvantaged teachers are negatively correlated, while the percentages of White students and certified teachers are positively correlated. In other words, teachers without certification are disproportionately placed in low-socioeconomic, urban, and proportionally high minority schools (Valencia, 2002), while suburban schools have higher percentages of certified teachers (Valencia, 2000). This trend means that the least prepared teachers teach the students with the greatest needs.
Marzano (2003) statistically demonstrates the effects of teacher and school effectiveness over a two-year period as summarized in Table 3.

**Table 3: Effects of School and Teacher Effectiveness on Student Achievement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>School &amp; Teacher (All students starting in Scenario 1)</th>
<th>Percentile after Two Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Average School &amp; Average Teacher</td>
<td>50th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Least Effective School &amp; Least Effective Teacher</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Least Effective School &amp; Most Effective Teacher</td>
<td>63rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Most Effective School &amp; Least Effective Teacher</td>
<td>37th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Most Effective School &amp; Most Effective Teacher</td>
<td>96th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Most Effective School &amp; Average Teacher</td>
<td>78th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He notes that if a student enters a school in the 50th percentile, in a two-year period, that student would drop to the 3rd percentile (scenario 2) if placed with the least effective teacher in a least effective school. This student’s percentile rank would rise to the 63rd (scenario 3) if placed with the most effective teacher in this least effective school. Comparatively, if this student were placed in the most effective school a percentile rank of 37 (scenario 4) could be expected with the least effective teacher, and 96 (scenario 5) with the most effective. Indeed, placement with an average teacher in the most effective schools, tends to yield higher percentile rankings of 78 (scenario 6), than that of the most effective teacher in least effective schools (pp. 74-75).

In recent years the No Child Left Behind Act (2002) has extended the test failure burden to underachieving schools through the application of economic sanctions, while
simultaneously awarding additional funds to test-passing schools, thus further increasing
the failure-success divide. Antedating the ill-fated saga of the No Child Left Behind
Act, *The Bell Curve* advocated for determining the valuing of people through testing.
Herrnstein and Murray (1994) describe the lowest scoring quartile in IQ tests, those
more likely to be people of color, as expendable and worthless people. Under a section
titled, “Facing Reality about the Underclass” they state:

> People in the bottom quartile of intelligence are becoming not just
> increasingly expendable in economic terms; they will sometime in the
> not-too-distant future become a net drag. In economic terms and barring
> a profound change in direction for our society, many people will be
> unable to perform that function so basic to human dignity: putting more
> into the world than they take out. … And unless such a revolution occurs,
> all the fine rhetoric about “investing in human capital” to “make America
> competitive in the twenty-first century” is not going to be able to overturn
> this reality: For many people, there is nothing they can learn that will
> repay the cost of the teaching. (p. 520)

This book is the final extension of the throwaway society for it discards whole groups of
people. The idea of pursuing such an “intellectual lynching” (Freire & Macedo, 1996, p.
424) seems absurd, particularly to those who would not imagine “going to a laboratory
in an effort to attempt to prove that Blacks are inferior to Whites or vice versa” (p. 425).
Freire and Macedo (1996) argue that we cannot isolate genetics for scientific study as
the basis of human inferiority without also considering “the material conditions” of
poverty and other forms of marginalization “that adversely affect cognitive and intellectual development” (p. 429). Yet, test scores are currently used without these considerations. This strategy benefits students and schools of the dominant culture while further marginalizing students whose experiences do not reflect the norms of the dominant culture (Darder, 1994). The No Child Left Behind Act implements this strategy. It adversely impacts the material conditions of “low performing” schools with financial sanctions, thus placing further disadvantages and burdens on these schools and their students. McLaren (2002) views such dynamics through a Marxist perspective and proposes that economic needs “dictate the principal aims of school education” to “produce compliant, pro-capitalist workers” (p. 1). Furthermore, the application of the resulting data limits life options. African American youth are incarcerated at a rate six times that of White youth “even when the latter has had similar charges brought against him and neither youth a prior record” (p. 22). Additionally, youth of color are more likely to be detained, tried, and jailed as adults. Darder (2002) argues that differences in incarceration rates are not at all surprising. Leaps to criminal explanations are assumed to be common sense, as class issues are redefined as crime, homelessness, and unemployment (Darder, 1995, p. 9). As McLaren (2001b) states, “It all boils down to freedom for the rich and increasing enslavement for the poor” (p. 3).

While I have focused primarily on racialized relations and education, similar strategies differentiate people on the bases of language, citizenship, social class, socioeconomic status, and other classifications. McLaren (1999a) points out that “[i]ndividuals and groups live class relations through difference (i.e., as raced and
gendered experiences), and live difference through class relations” (p.3). These strategies are blind to political explanations, and blame individuals for these biopolitical deficits, while discounting specific cultural knowledge as irrelevant and detrimental. These strategies facilitate the maintenance of the status quo, which blames and punishes those constructed as subordinate. Conservative victim blaming works to maintain current power relations. Liberal ideology often seeks to change students so that they function more effectively within the system that subjugates them (Darder, 1991). While the latter tends to allow room for the success of some members of marginalized groups, both stances maintain inequality. The latter also insulates inequality from systemic change through adaptation, absorption, and assimilation (Watkins, 1994; McLaren, 2003c). Even the seemingly simple and subtle switch in focus from social class to socioeconomic status has lessened the antagonism around class issues (McLaren, 1999b).

The economic connection to schooling practices cannot be ignored. Differentiated education has developed and maintained “a semi-literate force of cheap labor” (Darder, 1992, p.6). The dynamic is circular – the study of these differences has not changed “the fact that the economic, political, and social configurations of a racialized society impact directly on the economic, political, and social existence of individual members of that society” (Gordon, 1995, p. 189). In many ways the continued use of race as a category in research upholds the belief that race is a causal factor (Darder & Torres, 2000).
Unfortunately, within U.S. cultural traditions, educational practices have too easily incorporated the dynamics of domination. Those who resist static power relations and work to change them are seen as less objective and neutral, and more emotional, subjective, and political. Sleeter (1991) notes that appearing neutral and unmotivated is easier for those satisfied with the status quo, while it is difficult for those who seek change to remain unnoticed. They have to speak more forcefully and the demand for objectivity is a way to quiet their counter-establishment perspectives. Resisting then is met with repressive pressures. Education that does not “reinforce systems of domination” requires risk-taking and makes the practice of teaching “a site of resistance” (hooks, 1994, p. 21); education for freedom becomes an act of resistance to education for domination.

Foucault, Educational Truth Games, and Five Specific Parrhesiastes Scholars

The scholars who participated in this study counter dominant truth claims and uses of these truths in educational scholarship. They challenge the effects of this knowledge when practiced in education and society, and provide counter claims with uncomfortable truths. In this research project, I build an argument that their academic practices are akin to those of the specific intellectual and the parrhesiastes. They are not the “bearer of universal values,” but rather occupy a position “whose specificity is linked … to the general functioning of an apparatus of truth” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 132). In other words, as scholars and intellectuals, they are sanctioned members of institutions whose function is to produce knowledge and truth(s). But their positions within societal
power relations, connections to epistemological communities, and resulting challenges to broader social assumptions coalesce so that they function differently within games of truth. Because of their specific positions, their rules for determining truths draw more from their local epistemological communities, rather than their academic and disciplinary communities, while their roles place them and their constructions of knowledge in a broader sphere. In this sense they cross borders, and in their border crossing brings specific knowledge and uncomfortable truths from their local experiences into their academic roles. This process forms and transforms them into specific academics.

Foucault contends that “the positivity of discourse” limits and defines the space of communication (Foucault, 1972, pp. 126-127). It has both a formal *a priori* and a historical *a priori*. The formal *a priori* operates on the level of its meaning and truth determined through established forms of validation and judgment, and the historical *a priori* is a history of that which is given or “of things actually said” (Foucault, 1972, p. 127). Thus, Foucault argues that discourse is not merely formed by its meaning and truth, but also by its specific history, which limits and defines the space of communication. The scholars of study challenge both the formal and historical *a priori* with truths that are not simply uncomfortable, but discursively dangerous to the status quo.

Scheurich & McKenzie (2005) argue that Foucault incorporates one side of the binary, subjection/domination, while largely ignoring the other, resistance/emancipation. In this study I appropriate and interporlate the resistance/emancipation side of the binary.
On one hand, this approach could have been problematic for Foucault, in that he criticized humans for being simultaneously “both the human scientist and the object of the human sciences” (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005, p. 858). He also rejected starting with a theory of the subject and then “asking how a given form of knowledge was possible” (Foucault, 1997e, p. 290). Yet the language he uses – subjection, domination, power, resistance, emancipation, freedom – is both modernist and humanist. Foucault does not deny resistance or freedom; his theory of power relations explicitly incorporates both domination and freedom. While his earlier work focused on the subjection/domination side of the subjection/domination – resistance/emancipation binary (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005), his later work, particularly the practices of the self, at the very least begins to address the potential of discursive resistance and freedom. I believe the specific intellectual and the *parrhesiastes* are examples of this potential.

The focus of this study is technologies of the self as they intersect with technologies of power. One of the uses for Foucault’s term *governmentality* applies to this intersection of these technologies (Foucault, 1997d, p. 225). I believe that it is in this intersection that Foucault’s work comes closest to a utilitarian exploration of resistance to power and the formation of freedom. His other approaches offer knowledge into how subjugation and domination transform over time, but governmentality, technologies of power, and technologies of the self offer an understanding of how individuals negotiate their particular positions in truth games for resistance and freedom.
In the text that follows, I explore how five educational scholars challenge hegemony, particularly racism, sexism, and class exploitation, as well as other forms of oppression in education and society. Even though I find the scholarly arguments of these professors rather compelling, I am most interested in looking through the content of their work to their practices and care of themselves as scholars with 20- to 30-year careers in an area of study that challenges the practices and dominant knowledges of their profession. How do they sustain themselves for continuing this type of work? How do they do it in a way that is consistent with the topics of their scholarship? How do they negotiate their careers and their scholarship? How do they position themselves so that they know they are speaking for themselves and are speaking freely? What, specifically, does it mean to speak freely? I argue that they are merging of the specific intellectual and a contemporary form of the *parrhesiastes* into specific parrhesiastic scholars. That is, they are specific intellectuals, and in many ways their activities are much like those of the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes*. 
BOOK 3: APPLYING AND ADAPTING FOUCALUT’S METHODOLOGY

For this study, I have focused on a particular question – How do individuals who challenge dominant knowledge in education engage games of truth? This question is concerned with the practice of resistance in relations of power. Foucault (1997e) describes this dynamic:

If one of them were completely at the other’s disposal and became his thing, an object on which he could wreak boundless and limitless violence, there wouldn’t be any relations of power. Thus, in order for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides. . . . This means that in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all. (p. 292)

Before I proceed with describing the methodology for this research project, I must acknowledge Foucault’s desire. He wanted to get beyond questions of truth, as he asks us to attend more to care of the self than truth. Care of the self is a form of work that one does on the self with an eye towards forming mastery over the self and freedom. Through practices of the self, one makes the self “one’s own object” (Foucault, 1997b, p. 94, 96) by transforming the self from subject to object. Care of the self is associated with the ways one engages technologies of the self and technologies of power within
games of truth. Within the framework of this study and possibly within the limitations of my lifetime, I may not be able to attend adequately to Foucault’s question, “And why must the care of the self occur only through the concern for the truth?” Practices of the self, power, and truth are so enmeshed that one must seemingly play games of truth to employ practices of the self within relations of power. As Foucault maintains, the “technologies hardly ever function separately” (Foucault, 1997c, p. 225). In the context of this study, I explore the nexus between technologies of power and practices of the self. I closely explore how scholars, who argue with counter-knowledge and other truth(s), employ practices of the self while also considering how they are situated within relations of power. This approach requires several levels of activity, including Identifying and selecting scholars who engage in such activities; Developing sufficient understanding about the selected scholars’ works and experiences necessary to identify technologies of the self and power; Collecting data that provide examples and illustrations of these technologies; and Employing methods of analyses capable of identifying technologies of the self and power, and show explicitly what they are.

Scholars who attempt to apply Foucault’s methodology to other studies face a particular challenge in that Foucault carefully explains his methodological intentions, but not his methodological approach or processes. He offers carefully constructed texts on his theories, methodologies, and conclusions, but he does not provide explicit information on the details of his methods. Thus, the process of applying Foucault’s methodologies necessarily entails a translation of the methodological language into more
explicit methods. In the pages of Book 3 that follow, I explain more explicitly how I have translated and adapted Foucault’s methodology into method for this study.

**Applying and Adapting Foucault’s Methods**

As explained in Book 2, the concepts that Foucault presents in his works are both theories and methodologies. His language (e.g., power-knowledge and power relations) descriptively conveys how he conceptualized the workings of power, knowledge, and social interactions, while it also offers “tools to aid in analysis” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 120). Additionally, Foucault’s “method” identified discursive formations as the regularity described in a “number of statements” or “system of dispersion” – that is an order, functioning, or transformation defined by the types of statements, thematic choices, or concepts (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). *Thus, I have interpreted Foucault’s method to be a process of identifying illustrations of his concepts as they are embedded in text, dialogue, and narrative – qualitative data.*

Scheurich and McKenzie (2005) criticize Foucault’s work because the domination is so totalizing, there seems to be no way to escape. Because Foucault relied on the preserved, yet hidden or silenced, subjugated archives for much of his work, I believe he had more access to data about domination and subjugation than data on resistance and freedom. While records of resistance and the practices of freedom do exist, they are rarer than documents that chronicle domination, since the production of knowledge is so essential to the processes of power and domination and the establishment of truth.
In this study, I explore not necessarily a way out, but another view of relations of power through the resistance and freedom of power relations. In order to focus on this dynamic of power relations within the context of the academic experiences of five scholars, I move the gaze away from subjection and domination. In a sense I flip to the other side of the subjection/domination coin – resistance and freedom. This simple decision had a significant impact on the details of how I designed the study. By turning my attention more toward resistance and freedom, I do not believe it is incompatible with Foucault theoretically or methodologically; it seems consistent with Foucault’s expressed aim:

it is a case of studying power at the point where its intention, if it has one, is completely invested in its real and effective practices. What is needed is a study of power in its real and effective visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there – that is to say – where it installs itself and produces its real effects. (Foucault, 1980b, p. 97)

Foucault’s site was the discursive archaeological past of power and its target. The site for this study is the point of “direct and immediate relationship” of the discourse as it interacts with certain scholars. Thus, one way this study differs from Foucault’s works is its timing or historical context. Foucault’s topics were relevant contemporary issues, but he did not study current times, although this was something he considered:
I would very much like to come back to more contemporary questions to try to see what can be made of all this in the context of the current political problematic. . . . it seems to me that contemporary political thought allows very little room for the question of the ethical subject. (Foucault, 1997e, p. 294)

Foucault’s work focused on issues pertinent to the present through the distant past. His studies were archaeologies, genealogies, and practices of the self of times past. This work focuses on the present and recent past (late 20\textsuperscript{th} and early 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries United States) in comparison to a distant past (6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. Greece). I explore processes as they have been recently lived and compare them to similar ancient Greek practices of the \textit{Parrhesiastes}, a citizen who spoke freely with frankness, as analyzed by Foucault. I rely on individual scholars and artifacts produced by these scholars as well as others in response to their scholarship. Additionally, the scholars were present to explain the discursive pressures and technologies they faced. Thus, they could speak to how their desires were affected, and how the artifacts of their work were discursively modified.

Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) describe Foucauldian genealogy methodologically as \textit{interpretive analytics}, and practices of the self as \textit{interpretive diagnostics}. These approaches imply an interest in power relations and confrontation strategies (genealogy) (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 225), and relations of the self to political activity, pedagogy, self-knowledge, and others (practices of the self) (Foucault, 1997c, p. 231, 235). Interpretive analytics and diagnostics ask the questions “what means” are
exercised, and “what happens” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 217). Acting as an interpretive diagnostician and analyst, I concentrate on deciphering the “relations of power, knowledge…” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 105) and the self within the academic and scholarly lives of specific parrhesiastic scholars, when their work challenges the assumptions of their academic fields, disciplines, schools, and societal status quo.

In this study, I investigate how five specific intellectual scholars have been able to explore and produce bodies of scholarship that challenge hegemonic systems while simultaneously living and working within institutions, systems, and communities that uphold the very conditions they challenge. Through interpretive analytics, the study asks what means are exercised, and what happens when scholars produce works that challenge assumptions. The study also concentrates on diagnosing or deciphering the relations of power, knowledge, and the self within discourses of hegemony. This approach implies an interest in power relations, confrontation strategies, strategies that limit, shape, and institutionalize knowledge, and the ways actions modify others.

The question for this study is: How are these specific intellectual educational scholars positioned within games of truth and knowledge (Foucault, 1997e, p. 281), and how do their strategies to speak freely compare to that of the Parrhesiastes? (Foucault, 2001). The sub-questions for the study are:

- How do discourses limit and shape the works of these scholars?
- What confrontation strategies do these scholars use to negotiate research intentions within established discourses?
• How are the intentions for their works discursively modified?
• What are the power relations around the works of these scholars?
• How do the discourses produced by these works condition and limit the broader field of educational scholarship?
• How do they sustain themselves for continuing this type of work?
• How do they do it in a way that is consistent with the topics of their scholarship?
• How do they negotiate their careers and their scholarship?
• How do they position themselves so that they know that they are speaking for themselves and are speaking freely?

Why Compare Specific Intellectual Scholars to Ancient Greek Parrhesiastes?

Instead of simply considering specific intellectuals’ care of the self, I consider it alongside the practice of ancient Greek Parrhesiastes, as described by Foucault in Fearless Speech (Pearson, 2001). While my initial conceptualization of the study did not include this document, I have found it important theoretically and methodologically. I have included Fearless Speech as a document of analysis and for analysis. As a document of analysis, I consider how the practices of ancient Greek Parrhesiastes and specific parrhesiastic scholars compare. I believe its inclusion binds this study more coherently to Foucault’s epistemology. The practices of contemporary

---

7 I had already begun data analysis when I came across Michel Foucault: Fearless Speech (Foucault, 2001). Actually, I decided to purchase it for pleasure reading as a diversion from my dissertation until I began to notice parallels between this work and my analysis.
academics in the United States, I argue, are comparable to those of the ancient Greeks. They are also plausible considering that our institutions of higher education draw from and expand Greco-Roman traditions (Lucas, 1994). Foucault also argues that since the Greco-Roman period, the phenomenon of practice of the self has been socially important, although it was more so and more autonomous in antiquity (Foucault, 1997e, p. 282). This study explores the practices of the self of specific scholars who are in many ways similar to antiquity’s Greek parrhesiastes. Thus, I believe the study is stronger for its integration of Fearless Speech as a document of analysis.

Scheurich and McKenzie (2005) suggests that novice Foucauldian scholars read Foucault more than once before applying his methodologies, because the better approach to learning Foucault’s method is to study how he did it by studying his writing. By tying my analysis of the practice of the self as exercised by contemporary scholars to Foucault’s analysis of Greek parrhesiastes, I am extending Scheurich’s suggestion by working alongside Foucault to some extent. I have found that my incorporation of Fearless Speech as a document for analysis, offers a recursive reminder of Foucault’s methodology. I believe it has helped me to become more conscious of when my approach to analysis diverges from, and when my translation is more consistent with, Foucault’s. With the use of this document, I have more consciously considered why I was pursuing a particular direction.

Methodologically, Foucault tended to consider how the topics of his works transformed over time, while still maintaining similar functions. In Discipline and Punish (Foucault, 1995), for example, Foucault considers how behaviors were brutally
disciplined through the body in 18th century France and how the less physical, more humane forms of discipline in 19th and 20th century France remained technologies of power for the purposes of disciplining conduct (Foucault, 1995; Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). By considering the ancient Greek Parrhesiastes alongside these five scholars, I maintain consistency with this aspect of Foucault’s approach. I do acknowledge, however, that Foucault tended to explore time periods that were temporally adjacent, and that I am limited in this study, given that care of the self has not been widely studied. The use of Fearless Speech offered insights into Foucault’s selection of historical times, and facilitated my identification of how my study differs in this area. In this example, I continued my diversion, knowing it did not mimic Foucault’s processes specifically. In some other cases, I moved back to an approach more consistent with Foucault. That said, I know that aspects of this study that are inconsistent with Foucault’s method. My intentional and unintentional diversions are not necessarily problematic. As Scheurich and McKenzie (2005) point out, Foucault acknowledged “The only valid tribute to [anyone’s] thought … is precisely to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest” (p. 861). Moreover, Rabinow and Rose (Rabinow & Rose, 2003) suggest that what Foucault offers is not a methodology per se, but “a movement of thought” that one can modify and use in relations to particular problems and practices (p. xv).

Participants

Educational scholars chosen for this study entwine their work with the apparatuses of truth. For Foucault, such intellectuals are specific to the apparatus of
truth in three ways – class position, societal politics of truth, and their lives and work. I have chosen these educational researchers because of their links to the apparatus of truth (1) through their work as researchers and (2) the (potential) impact of their work when applied to educational practice and policy. These scholars exist within institutions historically vested with the roles of knowledge production and the academic preparation of professionals within our society, and as academics in institutions of higher education they are expected to apply that knowledge in their practice.

The activity of professional practice orders our society in particular ways through the manner in which individuals are constructed within such practices. For example, through diagnosing and treating patients, physicians actively, although not necessarily consciously, socially construct patients and our understanding of illness. Likewise, legal practices define our laws, defendants, plaintiffs, criminals, innocents, and victims. Thus schooling functions play a similar role in the production of good students, dropouts, teachers, administrators, and the like. The ultimate expectation of schools’ work does not stop with these effects. For ill or good, schools, teaching, and curricula have been endowed with the responsibility of developing citizens. Schools also construct students differently depending on their position in society and within school systems. The products of educational academicians do not end with the practices of their graduates or those who extend their scholarship into educational practice. The end and beginning of their work is a society constructed through its youngest members. Through their scholarly work, they become actively involved in the production of knowledge, and are key players in the truth games within the field of education and, more broadly, society.
In other words, they are a specific effect or constitution of power-knowledge, and simultaneously serve as a vehicle for power-knowledge within their institutions and society.

Through their academic and public work, the five tenured professors of education in the United States who volunteered for this study challenge hegemonic aspects of educational research and schooling, and the societal effects of both. While this work is embedded in the processes of societal constructions, they offer counter-knowledge, alternative educational practices, and other social visions. The broader educational field enables or even encourages inequalities based on race, gender, class, and other socially constructed divisions. These scholars view their work, however, as countering and breaking down these divisions and the resulting inequality; they challenge the status quo. Their works have not been applied broadly within academia, the field of education, or schools. Instead, the application of their work has influenced educational thought, practice, and policy in specific cases, and has the potential for additional applications in educational settings. The selection criteria for faculty participants were that they were tenured professors whose scholarship was visible in national publications; addressed issues of hegemony, privilege and oppression in their work, challenged hegemonic assumptions within scholarly discourses, and advocated for the abolition of differential treatment of students in education; and were willing to participate in a lengthy interview, to allow observations of their teaching and scholarly activities, and to provide access to documents related to their work.
The process of selecting these participants began with my soliciting nominations for potential candidates from professors and doctoral students of education familiar with this body of literature. I consulted eight (8) faculty of education and four (4) graduate students, and searched the online schedule of the 2003 American Educational Research Association annual meeting for relevant presentations using the keywords: race, gender, class, hegemony, privilege, oppression, discrimination, and critical. When referenced by more than one source, I visited the scholar’s website and conducted a preliminary database search for an initial look at his or her publications and topics of academic courses. If unfamiliar with a scholar’s work, I selected a sample article to read to determine relevancy to this study.

As educational scholars were identified as potential candidates for the study, I contacted them first via e-mail and then followed up with a telephone call (see appendices I and II). In the e-mails, I introduced myself and briefly described the study. During the telephone conversations, I further described the project, explained what participation would entail, and answered questions. In most cases, my communication with those who eventually agreed to participate in the study involved multiple preliminary e-mails and/or telephone conversations. In a couple of cases, it also entailed face-to-face meetings at the 2003 conferences of the American Educational Research Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies in Chicago, or in one case, a separate visit with the faculty member. There were several faculty that I wanted to include in the study who were unable to participate due to time commitments or events in their lives such as sabbaticals, research activities, and family
commitments. There were also a couple who agreed to participate, but difficulties in scheduling and communication about scheduling made their inclusion impossible for this first phase of the study. One interviewed scholar was excluded from the study. While his work included issues of oppression and hegemony, it was not as direct as the scholarship of the other scholars, and the topic was not as prevalent in the corpus of his work.

The number of participants was limited to five (5) because of the research design intensity and the exploratory nature of the study. The study was exploratory in that I was unable to identify explicit method descriptions, and had to create a methodological approach based on implicit discussions of Foucault’s methodology in his writings and other publications. The inclusion of more participants would have infringed upon the quality of the study, and precluded in-depth inquiry. Three (3) of the participants were male and two (2) were female. Their ethnicities were Black/African-American (2), Chicana/o/Mexican-American (2), and White/Canadian-American (1).

**Data Collection and Data**

The data for this study were qualitative. They included textual data (scholarly publications, curricula vitae, and archival resources, field notes from observations of teaching and scholarly presentations), and audio and observational data transcribed into text (audio-taped interviews and observations). *Michel Foucault: Fearless Speech* (2001) was also a source of data. Data were thus collected through archival searches, interviews, website searchers, and observations.
Archival Documents

Based on each scholar’s curriculum vitae, I collected as many of their written publications (dissertations, books, articles, book sections, conference papers, and works in progress) as possible, and spent three to four weeks carefully reading these publications, as well as criticisms of their works. For most scholars, I was able to read all of their publications with the exception of the few articles that I could not locate and publications written in languages other than English. I discussed with the two more prolific scholars which pieces they believed were more significant and relevant to this study, and read those pieces along with others I selected. In some cases, scholars also shared other samples of their work including videotapes, poetry, artwork, and student evaluations.

Interviews

Prior to each interview, I read enough of each scholar’s work to ensure sufficient knowledge of how it had progressed, and what it entailed. From these readings, I developed individualized interview protocols. As I developed the interview protocols prior to the interview, I kept the research questions in my forethought and utilized a physical reminder of the research questions in a right-hand column of each interview protocol page. These questions and the page formatting are presented in Table 4.
Table 4: Interview Protocol and Research Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Protocol Based on Readings, Vita, Etc.</th>
<th>Research Questions &amp; Sub-questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• How has your scholarship influenced your teaching? How have your teaching experiences influenced your scholarship?</td>
<td>How are traditional and emergent ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies, axiologies, and other research discourses realized, modified, and suppressed in educational researchers’ work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• You have clearly chosen some paths in your work. You have also happened across some paths in your work. What paths have you intentionally excluded from your work?</td>
<td><strong>Sub-questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• You wrote that you went to graduate school to attempt to understand how schooling really works and discovered theories that explained disempowerment, delegitimation. Can you share some of your views of schooling before and during Jane-Finch?</td>
<td>• How do discursive formations limit and shape these researchers’ work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What was your intent or political project before, during, and after Jane Finch?</td>
<td>• How do the discursive formations produced by their works condition and limit the broader field of educational research?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I reviewed each of the documents I had collected for each scholar, I wrote preliminary interview questions in the left-hand column. Prior to the interview, I sorted, combined, and ordered questions into a tentative structure. The topics and issues addressed in each of interviews were similar; however, the paths into the topics varied in that the scholars’ histories in the academic field of education and their scholarship were the springboards for interview questions. Below are the first questions asked from the interview protocols for each scholar:
**Newjack Scholar:** I want to start with your early education, your college education, because you started out in political science and pre-law. You ended up switching to education in graduate school. I was wondering if you can share with me some of how that came about, what you intended to do in pre-law and political science, and what your intentions with education have been and how they are similar or different.

**Fringe Scholar:** First of all, I'd like to talk with you about how you got into education, because I know your bachelor's was in English literature. Somehow you moved from that into education, and I'd like to know how that transition came about.

**Radical Professor:** I was wondering how you felt that you've been encouraged and discouraged through your educational life -- and even looking at elementary school or secondary school education, undergraduate education.  

**Academic Warrior:** I noticed from your vita that it seems you've been interested in being a psychologist and an educational psychologist for quite a while. You have four degrees in that area. So, could you tell me a bit about your interest in pursuing that avenue?

**Renaissance Professor:** You have had an interesting path. You've been a nurse; you've been a counselor; you've been a nurse in schools; and

---

8 This question is qualitatively different for this scholar because we had had several informal conversations before the first interview.
you've been a pediatric nurse. You went many different places before you became a professor. I would like to know how you chose paths at different moments in your life and how that led you to where you are now.

After the initial question, I then entered a process of responding to the scholar’s comments, considering the interview protocol I had prepared prior to the interview, and reflecting on the research questions for the study. To facilitate the coordination of these three sources of potential next questions

1) I listened attentively to the scholar’s answers and followed up with probing questions.

2) I kept a printed copy of the interview protocol in glancing distance. These pages retained the format of the interview questions in a larger left hand-column and the research questions in a smaller right-hand column.

3) I reviewed this prepared sheet with quick glances during the interview, quick considerations during short timeouts that I requested, and more lengthy readings during more formal breaks and transitions.

The interviews focused on the scholars’ history as educational scholars, personal and professional influences, their resistance and acquiescence to dominant scholarly discourses, and their scholarly projects. They averaged about five (5) hours with a range of 3.5 to 7.5 hours, and all were audio-taped. For three participants, the interviews were conducted on two different days, and for the other two participants they were conducted on one day, but in different sittings during that day. I personally transcribed the 24
hours of taped interviews using an audio-cassette player, computer word processing program, and voice recognition software.

Observations

The participants were observed in at least two contexts (1) teaching students in a classroom environment, and (2) presenting paper, keynote, or plenary addresses within an academic or disciplinary community. Additional observations with some faculty included informal interactions with students, presentation to school (elementary to college) faculty, and more casual interactions with colleagues. The intent of these observations was to see, hear, and be in the presence of the discourses of their works. My assumption was that the two contexts might offer insights into differing power relations – in the first context, a greater possibility that the researchers may serve as a vehicle for power-knowledge that potentially subjects individuals, and in the second context a greater possibility that the researcher might be subjected to power-knowledge within a subsection of their field.

The observations were audio-taped when appropriate and agreed upon by the participants; otherwise notes were written during or after the observation, depending on the nature and circumstances of the event. When notetaking would appear out of place socially, they were written or recorded in a digital audio-file after the observation. Transcriptions were made for one classroom and one disciplinary observation for each scholar. I personally transcribed two classroom observations, and hired out the other observation transcriptions.
Reflexive Journal

I maintained a digital audio-journal monologue, which was transcribed into text using voice recognition software. The journal was reflexive in that I commented and reflected on the research process. Attention was paid to my assumptions about this study, and I tried to unpack and revisit these assumptions throughout the study.

Fearless Speech

The text of Fearless Speech is an interpretive diagnostic, to use Dreyfus and Rabinow’s term. It details practices of the self by ancient Greek parrhesiastes based on texts remaining from antiquity. The analysis of the specific educational scholars was compared to this text as a method to consider how these ancient parrhesiastes and specific intellectual scholars have similar practices and how these practices have been transformed.

Data Management

The transcriptions of interviews and observations were each edited at least four times. After typing the initial transcription, I listened to the audio-tape while reading the transcript and made corrections, filled in left-out text, adjusted punctuation, and added bracketed interpretive notes based on verbal cues. The transcripts were then read a second time to correct spelling errors and to insert breaks for topical changes in the interviews and observations. In the third reading of the transcripts I continued to check for spelling errors, and I divided the text into data units (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) so that each cohesive unit of text was divided into its own section. At this point the pages were
reformatted. Headers were formatted to include an identification of the participant, type of transcript, date data were collected, pseudonym for the scholar, and page numbering in the form of “page # of # total pages.” Margins of one inch for the top, bottom, and left margins, and 2.75 inches for the right margin were also formatted. Additional formatting included line numbering with spaces left unnumbered and a paragraph symbol (¶) at the beginning of each data unit. This file was printed out on color-coded paper and saved. Each participant was assigned a color and all data for that participant were printed in that color with the exception of publications, which were bound in color-coded binders. Below (Figure 2) is an example of the formatting of data unit cards:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2222</th>
<th>Interview I 10-17-03 Radical Professor page 162 of 357</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2223</td>
<td>¶Radical Prof: And I think that as a White scholar I think that’s been really key; I mean, the thing is to be there with not for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2224</td>
<td>When asked, I will be there; when invited, I will be there. But I’m cautious because I have access to publishers, etc., you know my books have always come out, I’m aware that I could probably mount Major projects around Chicano cultural struggle in L.A. And I just feel that I’m not the right person to do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2225</td>
<td>But I don’t feel that I should be silent when it comes to speaking up and acting in solidarity with the Chicano community or the Latino community in general.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Example of Date Unit Card

Each scholar was asked how they wanted to be involved in the study, and as a courtesy, each was sent an electronic, paper, and/or disk copy of their transcripts. Some chose to edit their transcripts by taking out uh’s and uhm’s, and smoothing out the text.
I am of the opinion that the changes did not alter the content of the transcripts. In a few instances, participants asked me to delete sections of text, and in all cases these were references to people other than the scholar being interviewed or second-hand descriptions of events. Other scholars requested no changes to the transcripts. Changes were made to individual transcripts as requested.

The edited transcripts were then saved as new files with the word “cards” inserted in the file name. The page size and margins were then reformatted in these files so that each textual unit could be printed on an 5.5 inch by 4.25 inch card, while maintaining the lines and line numbering of the original transcript. These data units were printed on the appropriate color-coded paper cut to the above specifications. This arrangement of data allowed for data analysis that considered each data unit, and groupings of data units, along with comparisons of the data units within the context of the full transcript.

Analysis and Interpretation

The technical aspects of the analysis incorporated content analysis, particularly the processes of unitizing, categorizing, and constant comparison as described in Lincoln & Guba (1985), with some adaptations. This approach was used as a technique to identify what Foucault described as a “number of statements” or “system of dispersion.” In other words, I relied on unitizing, categorizing and constant comparison as a means to identifying an order, functioning, and transformations of the scholars’ experiences that were defined by the types of statements, thematic choices, and concepts (Foucault, 1972,
The organizing of data units into categories was conducted on two levels. The first level was a preliminary sorting of the cards based on content that was similar within each category. The next level of sorting focused on identifying the specific elements of technologies of the self and power described in Foucault’s theories. Table 5 follows and displays Foucault’s concept/methods that are related to technologies of the self and power, and were identified in the data.

Table 5: Components for Analysis of Care of the Self and Relations of Power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Care of the Self and ...</th>
<th>Relations of Power through ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knowledge of oneself</strong></td>
<td><strong>Not just repressive power</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What one must know about oneself in order to be willing to renounce anything</td>
<td>• Role in production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Strategies engaged to this end</td>
<td>• Desires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Relations of self-knowledge and truth</td>
<td><strong>Political tactics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political activity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Systems of subjugation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not necessarily politics</td>
<td>• Control of who does and does not have the right to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Forms of activity engaged and those avoided</td>
<td>• Determine what is permitted, excluded, and appropriated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relations of self to others and master</strong></td>
<td><strong>Political tactics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Domination of others</td>
<td><strong>Systems of subjugation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resistance to others</td>
<td>• Control of who does and does not have the right to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Submission to others</td>
<td>• Determine what is permitted, excluded, and appropriated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Symmetrical relations with others</td>
<td><strong>Political tactics</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data units for care of the self and power relations are not mutually exclusive since the care of the self is practiced by individuals who exist in relations with others. In other words, power relations are always already. This reality complicated the categorizing of data, and ultimately resulted in my combining the analysis of
technologies of the self and relations of power for those textual data units that shared technologies, and explained the interconnections in the writing of the results in Book 4.

Examples of Each Technology in Qualitative Data Units

Below I share excerpts from a section of the data for one participant. The selected data units serve as examples of the technologies of the self and power as outlined in the table above, and offer a more concrete example of the components of the technologies and the method I utilized in identifying the technologies. These excerpts deal with one participant’s efforts to address oppression through the courts early in his career. Academic Warrior was an expert witness in the Angeles case. About a year after he accepted a position at the University of California in Santa Cruz, the legal services group of Santa Barbara contacted him about “sensitizing the judge” in “a bench trial about the plight of Mexican-American students.” Academic Warrior then published an article about the case. His subsequent fight for survival in academia emerged as he was preparing for tenure while colleagues criticized his work as too political. Three years after the Angeles case, he could apply what he learned to his expert testimony in the Castro case.

*Technologies of Care of the Self and …*

**Political Activity; Not Necessarily Politics**

**Academic Warrior:** I had a contact there who worked in the district, and this person, in a clandestine meeting – just like a spy movie – she or he
gave me a list of all the parents from those closed schools, he or she. At that point, I identified the parents, and I got a grant and I hired three assistants. There were like 300 families affected and I sampled 50, which is really a nice sample size, 1 in 6…. So, that study was done out of my own personal desire to show that these hypotheses, that you can present as an expert, can be confirmed. [Interview 415-421]

Researcher’s Note: This interview excerpt represents political activity as a technology of the self. Academic Warrior joins his specific interests in the Chicano/Hispanic community, the disappointing ruling in a school closure case, and his research. This action is a political one in that he was interested in exploring a question and offering knowledge to answer that question, not as a disinterested social scientist, but for the sake of future cases and rulings. He wanted to produce knowledge that others could use for future decisions, and which would govern the lives of Latino/Latina school children and families in regards to their school options.

**Political Activity: Forms of Activity Engaged and Avoided**

**Manuscript:** In this lengthy document, I have attempted to share with the reader the type of thinking that went on in my mind and how such thoughts became converted to my actual testimony in court. It is not a stream of consciousness approach, but a methodical, detailed presentation as to how I conceptualized the issues of discriminatory intent and impact against the Chicano and Black students. You will probably notice that
my logic encompasses a type of social scientific “detective” approach (e.g. questioning; the evidential bases; linking variables together; generating alternative hypotheses). This approach can be seen in the first major section (“The Issue of Intent:…”). The second major section (“The Issue of Impact:…”) consists largely of my thought on theory building concerning how minority students may be negatively affected by closures. To some readers, parts of this section (e.g., the literature reviews; conceptualization of my major concepts) may appear to be digressions. They are not meant to be. Rather, the purpose of these parts is to share with the reader the universe of social science knowledge from which I drew to develop my theorizing and my eventual, compressed testimony in court. (Valencia, 1984, p. iii)

Manuscript continued: Based on the school-by-school ratings in the Criteria Report, the 11 high schools in the PUHSD were rated for closure according to the total number of criteria points…. The [final] rankings shown in Table 1 revealed that “minority” schools surfaced as most conducive for closure. In contrast, the “Anglo” schools consistently were ranked toward the bottom, meaning they were judged to be least conducive for closure. The author subjected this eye-ball observation to a statistical analysis (Spearman rank-order correlation) and found a highly significant relation between rankings of total criteria scores and ethnic enrollment percentages ($p = .90$, significant < .01). (p. 11)
Researcher’s Note: In this text Academic Warrior is explicit in describing what his political activity – his text – is and is not. He wants his reader to know how he produced this knowledge; what he did not do and what he did. He directly states that it is not “stream of consciousness,” and continues to describe what he does specifically as it conforms to the boundaries of his discipline. He also wants to reader to know what it is, and what it is not. This document is the result of research steeped in the methods that ensure objectivity. Its purpose is to redress a political concern. While Academic Warrior could have taken another approach (protest, court appeals, testimony, and the like) that would clearly be seen as political activity, he chose to address the issue on the level of knowledge.

Pedagogy: Forms of Learning Considered as Duty

Academic Warrior: I had laid out some hypotheses on the Angeles case, and I felt that I was almost compelled to see if these hypotheses would hold up under social science research scrutiny, because they were conjectures and I wanted to test them. [Interview 404-428]

Researcher’s Note: Pedagogy as an aspect of care of the self employs learning as a type of duty. It is a personal sense of duty that emerges from the scholar (in this case) as opposed to a sense of duty imposed and regulated by external forces. In this case, Academic Warrior’s interest in learning more, studying the effects on the community as a result of the case was not just an interest; he felt “compelled” to pursue this study.
Pedagogy: Forms of Learning throughout Life

Academic Warrior: Well, it really started about 1970. I was a graduating senior from the University of California in Santa Barbara…. And at the same time I was making that shift into my graduate career, in 1970 there was an exposé that was being developed regarding the overrepresentation of African-Americans and Mexican-American students in EMR classes in California and also the national level…. So the Anna case and the Covarrúbias case and the Guadalupe case -- I got really fascinated with it in 1971, when they started to appear. So that was really my first interest in becoming an educational psychologist, and I think that was the point were my interest really started about 33 years ago…. And then after that my career just took off in terms of testing issues, primarily testing issues. And over the years it has not only been testing issues, but issues that are germane to minority education, particularly Mexican-Americans – issues dealing with litigation, segregation and so forth. So it really begins when I was a senior in College. Yes, when I was graduating.

Huckaby: And something happening in the world as far as some cases having an impact on you.

Academic Warrior: There were 14,000 students at UCSB and there were 14 Mexican-American students – 14 Chicano students. And there were a couple of fellows from East Los Angeles that formed a group called
United Mexican-American Students, which actually has its roots in Loyola University in 1967. So chapters were gradually getting off the ground. They were going around and trying to identify all 14 of us to see if we wanted to join. And so finally in 1968 I became socialized to the Chicano movement. And at that time you know the civil rights movement had started to hit its peak. The Vietnam War was on. And so I was, my development in terms of my scholarly work coincided with my socialization as a Mexican American. All of those things came together and coalesced and that crystallization pushed me so fast into wanting to deal with these issues --to deal with my people and also students of color. So, the politicization, the events that were occurring in society regarding minority students, and my own deep desire to go on to graduate level, all came together. [Interview 182-238]

**Academic Warrior** continued: I had a good handle on that because of my six years, I had been teaching for six years, so I really had a good sense of the plight and the struggle of the Mexican-American population in terms of education. [Interview 329-332]

**Researcher’s Note:** In this selection of Academic Warrior’s interview he describes other forms of pedagogical experiences. The media introduced him to the overrepresentation of students of color in classes for the “educable mentally retarded.” He was not content with simply knowing about such a discrepancy; it sparked his career interests in educational psychology and eventually led to his role as an expert witness. In this form
of learning, the instigator was unintentional and unexpected, but Academic Warrior used it a springboard to pursue broader related interests. The conditions of the world and the way Academic Warrior was situated in the world also influenced him pedagogically. The world circled around him in terms of his learning about experiences of students of color in school, experiencing being a minority with 0.1% representation on the university campus, connecting with other Mexican-American students, becoming socialized as Chicano, living through the peak of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War. His experiences with the world, and his scholarly interests, merged in a pedagogical form of care of the self. His role as a teacher was also a form of learning that prepared him for this particular situation. It is a form of learning that he did not simply receive or obtain by happenstance. This learning was a foundation that he constructed for himself.

**Relations of Self to Others: Domination of Others**

**Academic Warrior:** But, as you know, for scholars of color there are often times in our career that we walk a thin line with getting promoted and so forth, and working pretty much in almost an exclusive White university. Over my career, there are some matters that have come up that I need to be careful about mentioning. I am now a full professor; I do have a lot that I could probably share…. But I need to be a little cautious in terms of burning bridges. [Interview 73-82]
Researcher’s Note: Even though Academic Warrior had earned the rank of Professor and had been tenured for over 10 years at the time of the interview, he expressed a sense of caution about how what he might say could affect relations he has with others. He seems to have experienced power relations in which he was dominated by others and a system of tenure and promotion. He had to proceed through these processes of judgment in order to achieve the rank and position he desired. Practices of the self take into account how one engages power relations.

Relations of Self to Others: Resistance to Others

Academic Warrior: And also, one of the reasons that I did this [Angeles case analysis] is because there were some rumblings in my own department that my work in the school closure area was becoming too politicized, and I was an advocate as opposed to a social scientist – which I disagree with. So, the follow-up study, I think, set the record straight.

Huckaby: Can you talk about being accused of being too politicized and how you see the difference between being an advocate and a social scientist?

Academic Warrior: My school closure work came up at my mid-career review. I’m not sure if it came from inside my department or outside because it was very involved at the mid-career level. We actually sent out and requested letters of people; it was not only internal. It was external. And I think those perceptions came from somebody on the
outside, saying that [Academic Warrior]’s work is too politicized and it does not have enough rigor to it in terms of social science. I thought my follow-up study was superb in terms of research. … I said, “Whoa, I’m going to have to defend myself.” [Interview 430-459]

**Researcher’s Note:** The other side of domination is resistance. Academic Warrior intentionally engaged power relations around his tenure decision through an act of resistance. He defended his work in court cases and his subsequent research and writing, because he knew that to not do so would mean his “exile” and loss of his academic citizenship at the university. In this situation, his practices of the self as resistance through research and writing was a way of maintaining and advancing his rights to his academic voice and freedom.

**Relations of Self to Others: Submission to Others**

**Academic Warrior:** And the reasons I got tenure, I believe… I put a lot of time into getting tenure. It took time trying to get time off to write, selecting certain journals, and so forth. Because when I started, I had a book review. And nowadays, assistant professors are coming up with two, three, four [publications] and most of these are published with their mentors, their doctoral supervisors. I did not have those opportunities. Scholars of color, some of them have those opportunities, but I did not 30 years ago. So I had to really dig in and carve my own way. [Interview 507-537]
Academic Warrior continued: But it was difficult, still difficult to, because – see – I got tenure in 1986 at [another university] and if I stayed in the system I would have [earned full professor] probably in 1993, many, many years ago. And what happened is by getting this joint appointment here it was almost like starting over again, and it should not have been that way. Because I was teaching all undergraduate courses, two for Mexican-American studies and two for the people here, big huge courses. It was like starting over again. Well, I said, "I’ll try it for awhile and see what happens," and maybe start teaching graduate courses here. And it really took a long time before I started linking up with doctoral students. And I thought that being here after four years I would be eligible for full professor –Unh,Unh [sound of negation]! They said no. It became very, very negative. And many times I wanted to leave, because -- I guess a lack of respect. I felt that some of my colleagues here were creating difficulties for me that should not have been there--trying to get full professor. I didn't get full professor until four years ago-way, way late. I should have gotten it back in 1993, you know? … There [are] sensitive things in there too in terms of my interactions with some people here on my department -- may need to be real careful about getting into. But it is something that I wish I had known way ahead a time-- what the expectations were, because I would have beat the bushes to start linking up with doctoral students here. [Interview 687-714]
Researcher’s Note: While Academic Warrior did not explicitly describe any of the power relations in which he engages as relations of submission, his choice to stay in academia was an act of submission to the tenure and promotion rules and processes and to those who make tenure and promotion decisions. The process occupied his time and shaped his activities, and submitted his work and himself to the judgment of others. In some ways Academic Warrior did not know exactly what he was submitting to because the rules for his judgment were not explicit until he was denied the rank of Professor. For whatever reasons (conscious, unconscious, malicious, forgetful) the rules for becoming Professor were hidden from Academic Warrior. Despite the difficulty, he chose to stay and work under (within) the system, and the strained relations between him and colleague(s) remains an area that he approaches with caution when he talks about that time.

Relations of Self to Others: Symmetrical Relations with Others

Academic Warrior: It just so happened that in 1982, at the end of my fourth year [mid-career review], I had this wonderful opportunity to do my work on the Castro case. Same old situation – closing high minority school (African-American and Latino). At this time I was really seasoned in the school closure stuff. So in that case, I was called into Phoenix by this Chicano law firm who took the case. And I was there almost a whole month. I lived with this lawyer and his family and we were developing
arguments, exhibits constantly. I was there for a whole month. [Interview 461-468]

Researcher’s Note: Academic Warrior describes relations of power with a colleague in this interview selection. They work across fields for the same purpose of defending the rights of school children and their families. The relationship is one of symmetry, and was one of the few relationships described in the interview, aside from one with a mentor, that seems balanced and symbiotic.

Knowledge of Oneself: Relations of Self-Knowledge and Truth

Academic Warrior: I'm no longer interested in doing conventional, mainstream publications that a very small group would read. We start becoming talking heads talking to one another. I have no interest in that at all, and I don't think I ever had. In my early career I could've probably gone into straight child psychology or child development. It would be following in the track of so many conventional child psychologists, and just becoming sucked into this vortex of redundancy, and God, that would've been so sterile. That's why I gravitate, that's why I love doing what I love, minority education. And very few people actually do it, I've been finding out. Sometimes I think about that. Had I gone just a conventional, traditional route in my career, how different my life would be. I'd probably end up writing textbooks. . . .
Researcher’s Note: By making the decision of what to avoid, a form of self-testing, Academic Warrior was able to turn his attention to his true interests, which always seem to connect back to specific communities. He has taken on the task of “exposing the underbelly of oppression,” and is interested in getting people “to think about ideas that they have not had the opportunity to become familiar with and make them think.” But engaging this role is not always about what one does, establishes, and preserves. Sometimes it is choosing to avoid certain activities. He has also identified what he is no longer interested in pursuing: the conventional and mainstream.

Relations of Power through ...

Political Tactics: Not Necessarily Politics

Academic Warrior: Interesting though, I got blacklisted from the district [for pursuing the Angeles case]. See, I got my dissertation from using their students and people knew me. So when I testified against them they held it against me. So the word came out that [Academic Warrior]’s never going to do research in this district again. The politics – I said, “My goodness, this is not right.” But this is the politics of the political economy of education. [Interview 409-415]

Researcher’s Note: In this selection from his interview, Academic Warrior describes how he engages relations of power through a political act of testifying in court. Of course, no action exists in a vacuum and the dynamics of his relationship to the school district changes when he is exiled from the schools.
**Academic Warrior:** My testimony, did I share with you the monograph on that?

**Huckaby:** On the Castro case? No, I did not get that one.

**Academic Warrior:** I’m getting this one for you. In fact, I lost my original version, but I’ll get this to you. I think this is going to be very useful to you. We won the case. Yes, we won the case! I was the only witness for the plaintiff, and oh, we knocked their socks off. Wait till you read the report, how I set it up. I used all their data showing that the criteria they used for closing the schools was *a priori* going to select the minority schools. It’s over 100 pages; it’s a little monograph Stanford published. And when you read it, you’ll say, “My goodness, this reasoning is very interesting and quite sound.” And the judge bought all my arguments, and if you read the judgment you’ll see that he basically lifts the language from some of my arguments. That’s what judges tend to do, because their clerks will zero in on that…. Anyway, after the case, I felt so darn good, and always haunting me in the back of my mind was that person or persons unknown accusing me of being political. I’m dealing with the political matter, of course, adversarial political economy here – picking on poor people, picking on people of color – and I want to do something about it. So when I wrote my monograph, I had all that in mind. Right in the preface I say I am digging deep into my social science knowledge and social science research, and I’m using that to let the
reader know how I developed my arguments using social science research and theory and findings. So, I made a point of that, and I leave all of that in there deliberately [laughs], because I had to. I had no choice, you see, to make it as scholarly as possible. [Interview 475-503]

Researcher’s Note: This excerpt from the interview illustrates layers of power relations. Academic Warrior describes relations among the plaintiff and defendant, the court, the courts ruling, the schools, social inequalities, those reviewing his tenure file, his text, and himself. His acts are political in that he participates in a court case on an issue of “adversarial political economy,” and the subsequent ruling is politically beneficial to students of the school that was not closed. All of this is brought into his academic writing that he intentionally constructs for an audience of social scientist to support his tenure decision favorably.

Desires: Not Just Repressive Power, Role in Production

**Academic Warrior:** See, getting tenure, for everyone, you have to be highly motivated. You have to put out the research. You have to publish in journals. But there is also this thing called good fortune – knowing who you know, getting breaks. I had this opportunity in 1985. I was asked to serve on the flagship journal in my field, *Educational Psychology*. In 1984, I started reviewing, because I was in Stanford visiting on my Ford post-doc. And so a year later [the editor] asked me if I wanted to become associate editor. I am the first person of color since
the founding of the journal back to 1911. Between ‘84 and ‘87, I also
published two major pieces in there, yeah. I deliberately did that because
I was coming up for tenure. You see, because publishing in a tier-one
journal really is important and looked at very closely. [Interview 507-524]

Researcher’s Note: The desire to achieve tenure (and promotion to professor) works
through the desires of the assistant and associate professor. In this power relation,
Academic Warrior was willing to submit the these systems of judgment because he
wanted the outcome. Thus his desire bound him to this particular relation of power.
Additionally, the expectations for obtaining tenure served to shape Academic Warrior
further into a social scientist through how he spent his time and what he produced.

Systems of Subjugation: Control of Who Does and Does Not Have the Right to
Speak

Academic Warrior: If this is injustice, people need to know, because
throughout the nation they’re picking on poor people’s schools, poor
Black schools, poor Latino schools, and poor White schools…. So what I
wanted to do was in the boundaries of social science research. I wanted to
make a case for the plaintiffs – why we should win this one; why we
should not pick on vulnerable populations. Share the burden. And so I
tried to do that in the article I wrote, The Analysis of the Angeles Case
(1979)…. Just let the people know that in the Mexican-American
community there’s this new form of denial. In the past we had inequities upon inequities – school segregation, school financing, low teachers expectations, poorly certified teachers teaching in our schools. Now upon all of this, another obstacle is laid. They are taking away our schools, which is not fair. So, I wanted people to know about this, so I published in *Urban Review*. [Interview 382-397]

Researcher’s Note: Academic Warrior describes a situation where groups of people (poor, Latino, Black) are not able to speak for themselves effectively and preserve their schools. The avenues through which they can speak were not effective. Through his research and publications, Academic Warrior takes on their struggle, which is also his struggle, and “speaks” through his writing. He intentionally utilized research methods and language to ensure that his findings are published. While *Urban Review* may not be read by court personnel, judges, and school administrators, the fact that Academic Warrior published in it adds credibility to his argument.

**Systems of Subjugation: Determine What Is Permitted, Excluded, and Appropriated**

**Huckaby:** How did you come to decide to write about your experiences in those cases?

**Academic Warrior:** I was lecturing yesterday … and telling my students that out of that came a publication…. So I began my lecture saying I testified a number of times as an expert witness. And I’ve always felt that
it was important to share what transpired with anyone that wants to know about it – lay public, academics, students. With the Angeles case, see, we lost that case. It was the first time I testified in a case, and I thought it was [an] injustice. I thought we should have won the case. [Interview 342-356]

**Manuscript:** In closing, I want to recall the purposes of this monograph: to share with the reader how I was able to draw upon various social science theoretical and empirical bases in order to help the court to understand the claims of discriminatory intent and impact brought forth by plaintiffs in the Castro case. Hopefully, I was able to accomplish this charge within the guidelines and by the rigorous standards of social science. [p. 104]

**Researcher’s Note:** Academic Warrior’s “speech” is indeed an expression through the written text, shaped by the rules of how authors must present texts for acceptance in social science venues and court proceedings. Also, Academic Warrior brings information from court proceedings and records into other forums (journal publications, classes, *et cetera*) that have a broader readership.

Data units from data of all scholar-participants, as well as data from Foucault’s Berkeley lectures in *Fearless Speech* (2001) were similarly categorized into groupings of technologies of the self and power. The data units from the scholar-participants were printed on index cards as described above and these cards were used in the categorization process. The text, *Fearless Speech*, was carefully read and marked with
tabs and notations in the page margins to indicate categorizations. Once the aspects of
technologies of the self and power were identified and data unit categories refined, each
grouping was bound together with a binder clip and labeled with an index card placed on
top of data unit cards. These bound stacks of data unit cards were then ordered into the
outline for the section. As I wrote sections of the results, I unbound the cards and
opened the Berkeley lectures and wrote directly from these organized data sources.
Close attention was paid to similarities, transformation, and differences in forms,
processes, and productions of the participant-scholars and Foucault’s Greek textual
analysis of *parrhesia*. 
Thus, one escaped from a domination of truth not by playing a game that was totally different from the game of truth but by playing the same game differently, or playing another game, another hand, with other trump cards. I believe the same holds true in the order of politics; here one can criticize on the basis, for example, of the consequences of the state of domination caused by an unjustified political situation, but one can only do so by playing a certain game of truth, by showing its consequences, by pointing out that there are other reasonable options, by teaching people what they don’t know about their own situation, their working conditions, and their exploitation. (Foucault, 1997e, pp. 295-297)

In this section, I explore how five specific intellectuals present dangerous truths about the experiences of local communities in their roles as professors. Their actions of free speech in regards to dangerous truths, I argue, are similar to those of the ancient Greek parrhesiastes. This word parrhesiastes was used to describe the person, a male citizen in ancient Greece, who had and used his rights to free speech or parrhesia. The activity of speaking freely, parrhesiazesthai, however, was not without its risks, because the Greek parrhesiastes, like the scholars in this study, spoke dangerous truths. I argue that the five scholar-participants are specific parrhesiastic scholars. They are specific intellectuals in their relations with academia, communities, and movements; and
parrhesiastes in their actions to assure their rights to and exercise of freedom. Their parrhersiastethai takes on a specific nature in that their free speech and telling of dangerous truths are very much connected to the communities from which they come and for whom they advocate.

Clearly, scholars are not the only people who engage in parrhesiasthai. People from all walks of life can take on this activity. Additionally, there are no limits on the perspectives of Parrhesiastes. While the scholars in this study maintain specific and critical perspectives, it is equally possible for people with other perspectives to occupy similar roles. It is even possible for people who oppose the views of the scholars in this study to be parrhesiastic. In fact, it might be interesting to compare such individuals to scholars like the ones in this study. For the purposes of this study, however, I give my full attention to five specific intellectuals and their parrhesia. I focus on how they negotiate their work, as well as how their actions compare to those of ancient Greek Parrhesiastes.

The Case for the Specific Parrhesiastic Scholar

The position of the specific intellectual is similar to that of the parrhesiastes of antiquity where the intellectual is able to establish and maintain the right to speak dangerous truths. The parrhesiastes was one who practiced parrhesiazesthai, the activity of taking risks to freely speak truth. As discussed in section two, care of the self as practiced by the ancient Greek parrhesiastes enabled him to use parrhesia to speak freely and for himself in games of truth. He risked life and freedom in his parrhesiazesthai. Thus, his
speech was dangerous to the *status quo* and also dangerous to himself. Yet, he engaged in the activity of *parrhesiazesthai* despite these consequences.

**Negative Parrhesia**

Even though every male Greek citizen had the right to *parrhesia*, most Greek citizens were not considered *parrhesiastes*, for *parrhesiastes* were rare individuals. As the messenger in Euripides’ *Orestes* (408 B.C.) recounts the events of Orestes’ trial to Electra, he distinguishes the *parrhesiastes* from other speakers (Foucault, 2001):

Messenger: …When the full roll of citizens was present, a herald stood up and said “Who wishes to address the court, to say whether or not Orestes ought to die for matricide?” At this Talthybius rose, who was your father’s colleague in the victory over Troy. Always subservient to those in power, he made an ambiguous speech, with fulsome praise of Agamemnon and cold words for your brother … and with every sentence gave ingratiating glances towards Aegistus’ friends. Heralds are like that – their whole race have learnt to jump to the winning side; their friend is anyone who has power… (pp. 57-58)

The messenger’s description of Talthybius and other heralds illustrates a willingness to alter one’s opinion given a change in power. Because they were subject to those in power, they were not free. They could not speak freely. In their servitude to others, they met the needs of others, not their own; and they spoke on behalf of others, not themselves. One key characteristic of a true *parrhesiastes* was his “stability and
steadiness regarding his choices, his opinions, and his thoughts” (p. 136). The

*parrhesiastes* did not change to fit circumstances.

The messenger continues his account with an illustration of the negative form of

*parrhesia* – free speech as in endless chatter or ignorant outspokenness:

Next there stood up a man with a mouth like a running spring, a giant in
impudence, an enrolled citizen, yet no Argive; … putting his confidence
in bluster and ignorant outspokenness, and still persuasive enough to lead
his hearers into trouble. He said you and Orestes should be killed with
stones; yet, as he argued for your death, the words he used were not his
own, but all prompted by Tyndareos. (p. 58)

This character knew no difference between what he should say from what he should not
say. He put his faith in speaking everything. Even though he unskilled in discourse, he
was able to elicit emotional responses. This negative form of *parrhesia* lacks wisdom
and learning (*mathesis*), and is dangerous, despite its haphazardness, because it is
persuasive.

*Positive Parrhesia*

In its positive form, *parrhesia* was based on *mathesis* or *paideia* – moral or
intellectual formation (p. 66). The messenger continues by describing the last speaker:

Another arose, and spoke against him – one endowed with little beauty,
but a courageous man: the sort not often found mixing in street or market-
place, a manual laborer – the sole backbone of the land; shrewd, when he
chose, to come to grips in argument; a man of blameless principle and
integrity…. His words seemed sensible to honest judges; and there were
no more speeches. (pp. 58-59)

This speaker represents the positive, true parrhesiastes. Clearly the messenger sees him
as principled. He worked his own land and was neither a peasant nor a great landowner.
Because this man did not mix in the market place, he was neither politician nor beggar.
On this particular occasion he chose to speak. The parrhesiastes owned his opinion,
despite what others might think in terms of agreement or disagreement. He did not hide,
but expressed exactly what he was thinking. Thus parrhesia was enacted in such a way
that the relationship between the speaker and his words was clear; the parrhesiastes was
both the speaking subject and the subject of the opinion. Foucault argues that the
parrhesiastes did not simply think he was telling the truth, but what he said was indeed
true because the parrhesiastes was sincere and believed that it was true (Foucault, 2001).
It was true, not because of an absolute or even relative truth, but because of the
parrhesiastic practice, which included moral and intellectual formation, as well as a
steadiness that did not change in response to circumstances. One could argue this
Parrhesiastes was considered to speak the truth because his statement was sensible in
this case. This however, is an external or communal judgment of what was said, which
is not parrhesia. In Foucault’s analysis, a public or those in power could also portray
the parrhesiastes and his statements as nonsensical or illogical. The parrhesiastic
statement, however, is judged by its truth to its speaker more so than its logic or
sensibleness to those hearing it.
The exercise of *parrhesiazesthai* as a *techne* required art, skill, and technique in practice (Foucault, 2001). *Parrhesiazesthai* attempts to connect and shape the individual to himself philosophically by bringing the truth and practice closer together. Foucault uses the example of Socrates to illustrate why he was a *parrhesiastes* and the other sophists were not. Like the sophists who taught rhetoric and philosophy to potentially prominent ancient Greek citizens

Socrates is able to use rational, ethically valuable, fine, and beautiful discourse; but unlike the sophists, he can use *parrhesia* and speak freely because what he says accords exactly with what he thinks, and what he thinks accords exactly with what he does. (Foucault, 2001, p. 101)

Socrates’ *parrhesiazesthai* occurred in relations between two people, but *parrhesiazesthai* as a political, philosophical, and personal activity is also practiced in relation to a sovereign, a small group of people, a community, or the public. Thus, *parrhesia* can be practiced in opposition to the will of a monarch, the wishes of the majority, and the desires of the self (Foucault, 2001, pp. 101-108). In other words, the *parrhesiastes* not only speaks, but also faces dangers and risks, as Foucault describes:

Someone is said to use *parrhesia* and merits consideration as a

*parrhesiastes* only if there is a risk or danger for him in telling the truth.

For instance, from the ancient Greek perspective, a grammar teacher may tell the truth to the children that he teaches, and indeed may have no doubt that what he teaches is true. But in spite of this coincidence between belief and truth, he is not a *parrhesiastes*. However, when a
philosopher addressed himself to a sovereign, to a tyrant, and tells him that his tyranny is disturbing and unpleasant because tyranny is incompatible with justice, then the philosopher speaks the truth, believes he is speaking the truth, and, more than that, also takes a risk (since the tyrant may become angry, may punish him, may exile him, may kill him.)… So you see, the parrhesiastes is someone who takes a risk. Of course, this risk is not always a risk of life. Parrhesia, then, is linked to courage in the face of danger: it demands the courage to speak the truth in spite of some danger. And in its extreme form, telling the truth takes place in the “game” of life or death. (Foucault, 2001, p. 15-16)

The ancient parrhesiastes served a critical and pedagogical role as he “attempts to transform the will of the citizens so that they will serve the best interests of the city” (Foucault, 2001, p. 82). The specific parrhesiastic scholar’s role, in some cases, could be the same as the parrhesiastes, but in the case of these five scholars they are arguing for changes in “the city” for the benefit of citizens whose interests have been ignored or trampled. Foucault acknowledged that the work of specific intellectuals could benefit the state to the detriment of local communities or could work to transform the state to include the interests of specific communities. Specific parrhesiastic scholars choose the latter. These five scholars have worked in academia for 20-30 years, and from the beginning, with their dissertations, addressed issues that challenge social relations of power and the knowledge that support these arrangements.
At first glance, the professoriate with its perquisite of academic freedom, seems like an ideal position. It is a respected position, and the public expects that its occupants are highly educated and knowledgeable. The commonly held belief is that academic freedom insulates colleges, universities, and their faculties from public, private, and political opinions and pressures, and consequently institutions of higher education and faculty are free and healthy (Rorty, 1994). Yet threats to academic freedom are continually documented (Berry, 1994; Lincoln, 2004; Menand, 1993; Shils, 1991; Trow, 1985; Tuppy, 1979). The problem with this conception of freedom is that parrhesia, according to Foucault, cannot be given or institutionalized through rules, policies, or laws. Even though academic freedom offers institutional protections to the professorship, it does not guarantee rights to practice parrhesiazesthai, nor does it insulate professors from social and community pressures. Those who challenge dominant ideologies through their expertise – social scientists in particular – are in what Slaughter (1980) calls “the danger zone” when they combine their scholarship and outspoken politics. There are no decrees that can determine who will become a parrhesiastes, nor are there edicts capable of fully protecting the parrhesiastes (Foucault, 2001). Similar to the institutional protection of academic freedom, ancient Greek male citizens were formally guaranteed parrhesia. This citizen’s right, however, did not ensure that all citizens became parrhesiastes nor did it fully protect them once parrhesiazesthai was exercised.
Citizenship

Greek citizens had to be born from parents who were both citizens. It was important for the *parrhesiastes* to know his genealogy and how his social status afforded him the rights of *parrhesia*. Contemporary scholars need not be as concerned with their genealogy in this sense. They do, however, need to consider how they have positioned themselves and obtained the status to speak freely. Establishing academic citizenship has been an important dimension of *parrhesiastic* activity, particularly for scholars in the United States who face tenure decisions. In some cases it has been an issue of national citizenship, and in others it has been a process of forming an institutional or disciplinary citizenship.

Establishing citizenship, for Radical Scholar, occurred on many different levels. On a national level, he applied for dual citizenship in the United States along with his original Canadian citizenship. Like the ancient Greek *Parrhesiastes*, having the status of citizen entitled him to certain rights that would not exist otherwise. Radical Scholar was quick to express the responsibilities that he believed accompanied this acquired citizenship:

> You know, I’m happy to be a U.S. citizen, and what I’m going to do to show my gratitude is to be one of the many people who are going to try and turn this country into a real democracy.

He believed his criticisms would carry more weight as a citizen, and his citizenship reduces the possibility of his being deported for his writing and activism. Radical Scholar also faced the establishment of his citizenship within disciplinary communities.
If I had started out as a revolutionary Marxist educator, nobody would know my work right now. . . . I published so much as a radical Deweyan, a post-Marxist, a postmodernist, or a critical postmodernist – and that was okay. So, you know, I got a lot of stuff out. Then I started writing as a revolutionary Marxist humanist, and people say, “Well, he’s published so much, we’re happy to publish his recent work.” It’s because of my prior identification …. I’m able to get revolutionary Marxist work in the journals. . . . But if I had started out there, then I think it would have been really difficult. I would be much more marginalized than I am now. So in a way, maybe it is not a bad thing that I came to this perspective a little later in my work as a professor.

He readily acknowledged that establishing his reputation with his earlier work initiated his right to publish his later work with few questions.

For Academic Warrior, the route toward institutional citizenship through the tenure and promotion process was a struggle. He figured out that the unpublished and unexpressed rules used to deny him promotion to professor were unavailable to him prior to this denial. He described how his limited work with graduate students affected his promotion:

I got tenure in 1986 and if I stayed in the system [of the other university] I would have [rank of professor] probably in 1993 – many, many years ago… By getting this joint appointment here it was almost like starting over again, and it should not have been that way. Because I was teaching
all undergraduate courses, two for Mexican-American studies and two for the people here, big huge courses, it was like starting over again. Well, I said, “I’ll try it for awhile and see what happens, and maybe start teaching graduate courses here.” It really took a long time before I started linking up with doctoral students. I thought that being here after four years I would be eligible for full professor – Unh,Unh [sound of negation]! They said no. It became very, very negative. Many times I wanted to leave, because [of] a lack of respect. I felt that some of my colleagues here were creating difficulties for me that should not have been there… I didn't get full professor until four years ago (2000), way, way late. But it is something that I wish I had known ahead a time… because I would have beat the bushes to start linking up with doctoral students here.

Like Academic Warrior, Renaissance Intellectual faced difficult relations among her institutional colleagues that infringed on her *parrhesia* and longevity at the university. Fringe Academic established institutional citizenship in a university that she described as her destiny, and despite many obstacles maintaining citizenship has been essential for her. Through their struggles for gaining and maintaining academic citizenship, and even despite these struggles, the five scholar-participants have found ways to be parrhesiastic scholars.

*Parrhesiazesthai* for contemporary intellectuals and Greeks of antiquity is a practice of the freedom to speak dangerous truths. Foucault’s concept of freedom is as a form established through mastery of the self in relation to others, and as a practice
entails both technologies of the self and technologies of power. As introduced in section 2, Foucault uses the term governmentality to describe this intersection of technologies of domination of others and those of the self (Foucault, 1997c, p. 225). An explicit understanding of governmentality has the potential to offer strategic insights into how individuals negotiate in truth games for domination, as Foucault’s work primarily considered, and for freedom a this study addresses. Governmentality and its role in domination, submission, and resistance is as important in practices towards freedom for the specific parrhesiastic scholar as the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes*.

In the next sections, I tease out and identify technologies of the self and power, and illustrate how these technologies are engaged by scholars in their formation of freedom and resistance to domination. How individuals exercise themselves within relations of power is an essential question for those interested in balancing asymmetrical societal relations. For these professors, the scholarly work – writing, academic presentations and addresses, and community engagements – is their *parrhesiazesthai*. Their practices of the self concentrate on forming the conditions for freedom around the activities of engaging their work, producing knowledge, and sharing their scholarship. For the ancient Greek *parrhesiastes, parrhesiazesthai* was an activity of speaking freely for oneself. The specific intellectual, however, is uniquely connected to specific communities. Thus, care of the self in the practice of *parrhesiazesthai* takes on a unique form. It is not individualistic, but part of a collective act. The works of these scholars comes from, responds to, and pushes further the interests of specific communities. In
this regard, their *parrhesiazesthai* combines the role of the specific intellectual and the
*parrhesiastes* into the specific parrhesiastic scholar.

**Care of the Self & Relations of Power**

Care of the self, for Foucault, does not focus on the material body. Instead it considers how one constructs, governs, and practices the self in the establishment of freedom.

Foucault’s analysis of care of the self incorporated the following aspects:

- Forms of political activity, which are not necessarily politics, engaged and avoided;
- Relations of self to others through domination, resistance, submission, and symmetrical relations; and
- Strategies to acquire self-knowledge, particularly in relation to truth and governing the self.

As for power relations, Foucault sought to understand the rules implemented in the production of truth (Foucault, 1980c). His notion of power was not solely about repression but also considered the effectiveness of power on the levels of desire, knowledge, and production. Foucault’s analysis of power relations included:

- Political tactics, but not necessarily politics;
- Desires in the role of production instead of power as simply repressive; and
- Systems of subjugation that control who does and does not have the right to speak, and determine what is permitted, excluded, and appropriated
Techniques of the self are inextricably linked to relations of power and are exercised within power relations (Rabinow, 1997). In other words, care of the self and relations of power cannot be decoupled. Thus, freedom for the parrhesiastes and specific parrhesiastic scholars is not something bestowed, received, or inherited. It is the formation of freedom through care of the self within power relations of domination, submission, resistance and symmetry. In the case of the specific parrhesiastic scholars, it is a dual activity of engaging power relations in the formation of freedom for oneself and for specific communities.

In this section of my analysis, I explore the experiences of the five specific parrhesiastic scholars who participated in this study, and their practices of the self within power relations in the following thematic groupings:

I. Self-knowledge and Power: Resisting Repression, Seduction and Desire

II. Political Activity and Tactics

III. Relations of the Self Within Systems of Subjugation

This structure differs from Foucault’s analyses. As I understand Foucault (see bibliography), he explored relations of power in some texts and care of the self in others. Even though care of the self is implied in his earlier works, it is not explicit until his later work. This latter work on care of the self acknowledges relations of power but his analyses stay with care of self primarily. While he acknowledged that care of the self is practiced within power relations, he does not explicitly study care of the self and relations of power in tandem. I am building upon this space that Foucault opened to study care of the self and relations of power in tandem. In the results that
follow, aspects of care of the self and relations of power that were so closely linked that separation seemed artificial and imposed have been combined into analytical categories as follows in Table 6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Care of the Self</th>
<th>Power Relations</th>
<th>Results in Tandem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Self-knowledge in truth and self-governing</td>
<td>1) Desires and repression in production</td>
<td>I: Self-knowledge and Power: Resisting Repression, Seduction and Desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Forms of political activity</td>
<td>2) Political tactics</td>
<td>II: Political Activity and Tactics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Relations of the self to others</td>
<td>3) Systems of subjugation</td>
<td>III: The Self Within Systems of Subjugation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**I: Self-knowledge & Power: Resisting Repression, Seduction and Desire**

In terms of self-knowledge, the specific parrhesiastic scholar addresses Foucault’s question, “What must one know about oneself in order to be willing to renounce anything?” (Foucault, 1997c, p. 224). The answers to this question provide the scholars with a foundation from which to make decisions about how they will expend their energies, what they will give up, what they will protect, and where they will not compromise. Such considerations help them clarify their positions, as Renaissance Intellectual explained, “I’ve become more clear about my political ideals and more solidified, more conscious of what I stand for.” Simply knowing what one stands for, however, is insufficient and does not guarantee that one will be positive and effective in
parrhesiazesthai. Foucault identified three aspects of askesis, practical training, employed by ancient Greek parrhesiastes. Askesis translated from Greek to English “has a very broad sense denoting any kind of practical training or exercise” (Foucault, 2001, p. 143). In the Greco-Roman philosophical traditions, it denotes a goal of establishing a relationship of “self-possession” and “self-sovereignty” in one’s relationship with the self. The three broad techniques of askesis are (1) solitary self-examination, (2) self-diagnosis, and (3) self-testing (Foucault, 2001).

**Self-knowledge through Practices of Askesis**

Foucault defines self-examination as a process of identifying mistakes that are “inefficient actions requiring adjustments between ends and means” (p. 149). In the play, *On the Tranquility of Mind*, Serenus consults Seneca as he engages in a self-examination exercise:

> When I made examination of myself, it became evident, Seneca, that some of my vices are uncovered and displayed so openly that I can put my hand upon them, some are more hidden and lurk in a corner, some are not always present but recur at intervals; and I should say that the last are by far the most troublesome, being like roving enemies that spring upon one when the opportunity offers, and allow one neither to be ready as in war, nor to be off guard as in peace. (p. 151)

Serenus describes the difficulty of knowing oneself as he describes the patterns he has noticed in when and how his vices appear. Self-examination is not about identifying
misdeeds and reproaching oneself. Instead, its purpose is to identify errors so that one may act more effectively in the future. Through self-diagnosis, one addresses the questions “what are the things that are important to me, and what are the things to which I am indifferent?” (p. 159). Paying attention to the ways in which unimportant things interfere with the pursuit of the important is also an aspect of self-diagnosis. The purpose of self-testing is to ensure self-mastering by identifying every representation in the world and only allowing those “subject to the sovereignty of our will” to intrude (p. 164). Epictetus in *The Discourses as Reported by Arrian* enacted self-testing as follows:

> Go out of the house at early dawn, and no matter whom you see or whom you hear, examine him and then answer as you would to a question.
> What did you see? A handsome man or a handsome woman? Apply your rule. Is it outside the province of your moral purpose, or inside? Outside. Away with it . . . .
> Did a consul meet you? Apply your rule. What sort of thing is a consulship? Outside the province of the moral purpose, or inside? Outside. Away with it, too, it does not meet the test; throw it away, it does not concern you. If we had kept doing this and had exercised ourselves from dawn till dark with this principle in mind – by the gods, something would have been achieved! (p. 164)

As an exercise, self-testing focuses attention and actions towards those things that are inside one’s province, purpose, and concern. Renaissance Intellectual’s considerations and self-testing echo that of Epictetus:
I don't want external factors to dictate my work. I don't want grants to determine my work, “Oh, well I'll do this now, because there's money to do this.” I mean, I don't want to be swayed that way. Or, “I’m going to do that because everybody else is doing that.” You know, I don't want to be swayed that way. I want to stay very much, as much as I can, along a particular trajectory that is evolving in relationship to where my scholarship is moving and how it is developing.

While the five scholar-participants did not conduct daily exercises to attain self-knowledge, their attention to knowing themselves and their intentions has been a key element in the decisions they have made about their work and their lives.

**Self-examination**

Part of Renaissance Intellectual’s response to my question, “What personal characteristics do you think have been helpful to you and your career or hindrance for you in your career?” was self-examination. She replied, “I am very self-vigilant. I’m very watchful of my life, myself, and what I’m doing.” In her parrhesiastic role, she criticized policies and practices that are detrimental to students and communities of color and lower economic status. She was aware that her offering of critiques may feel personal to some, and distinguishes her goal of challenging detrimental ideas and practices from criticizing the person:

I'm not interested in alienating people. You know that if I disagree with you I'm not interested in alienating you. You know I'm not interested in
cutting off conversation. I'm not interested in dehumanizing you. I'm interested in somehow being able to maintain my position, critique what I don't agree with, but still do that within the context of honoring my humanity and the other person's humanity. That's a lot easier to say sometimes than to do, but I'm conscious and I'm vigilant.

She utilizes self-examination to inform her interactions in relationships, which always involve relations of power.

I'm attentive, if I’ve stepped out of line. . . . Let's say I don't like what they're saying or I’m bothered by the way they said it or something. You know, and then I respond to it all of a sudden. I see that the [person] is withdrawn, shut down. . . . I will want to talk with them, and sometimes I will do it publicly. . . . I will say, “Remember last week when we're talking and so-and-so said, you know, I think I responded too rashly, and I was too brash, and I apologize. You know, that wasn't my intention. I think whatever it was that you said kind of took me aback or something.”

Her attentiveness to her actions and their impact on others afforded her opportunities to redress asymmetrical relations of power that she instigated. Renaissance Intellectual offers examples of self-examination, a process of identifying one’s errors and misdeeds for future change.
Self-diagnosis

Radical Scholar has relied on self-diagnosis by determining what is and is not important to him. He was aware of his artistic interests and how they may mask the intent of his scholarly work:

And sometimes things get a little bit out of balance. For instance, sometimes my desire to bring a little bit of artistic drama into my writing has perhaps clashed a little bit with my political message. In other words, I have a kind of dramatic flair sometimes that is maybe a little overbearing in some of my work. . . . There’s a bit of a performance artist inside me, and that sometimes really gets in the way. I’ve had to curb, I mean really restrain, myself in terms of how I comport myself.

In this example, Radical Scholar utilized self-diagnosis to determine whether his means in the form of dramatic artistic writing achieved the ends he was seeking. He has paid attention to the times it has not, and altered his approach in later work. He has also utilized self-testing to create boundaries and maintain the integrity of his work. As he stated, “If I did everything everybody wanted me to do, … I think that my strengths would be compromised.” He adds,

When I'm not doing something to further an agenda that has social justice as the goal, in every respect, I feel somehow that that I could be doing more. By the same token, I sometimes get a little defensive when people expect things of me that I think are unreasonable. That's the other side of it. The teacher-activists will say, "McLaren was not on the picket line
today,” or "we didn't see him at this conference," or "he doesn't
write…something accessible or something practical.”

Unlike Epictetus, Radical Scholar does not just put the things that are outside of his
purpose aside. His interest is in social justice, and there are many ways to work towards
this goal. Thus, he is “haunted” by his desires to do more and self-protective when
others expect him to do more than he can. Through practices of self-diagnosis, Radical
Scholar identifies those things that are of personal importance and insignificance. He
then uses this information to determine how he will and will not expend his energies,
and to judge whether his works achieves the desired result.

Self-testing

The scholars resist the pressures that promise success. New Jack Professor, for
example, has “fought” to maintain his independence and authenticity.

I feel authentic. I feel like, you know, I’ve never had to alter positions to
make people happy. I don’t try to make my dean happy. I don’t try to
make my department chair happy. I don’t try to make my mentor happy.
I just try to tell the truth, as I know it for me – that kind of authenticity.
And it may be hard edged once again, and it may be even hard hitting.
But yeah I’m very proud of that. ‘Cause I’ve seen too many people get
easily sucked into other people’s agendas, and I’ve seen people who have
risen right up the totem pole of success by doing that.
He is acutely aware that paths that may promise success would also derail him from his purposes. He has been concerned about the choices he makes, and knows that the choices of what not to do are as important as what he chooses. He has avoided positions that would take him away from his scholarship, but has attended more to another type of pitfall, he explained:

I think probably the things that I've avoided most are ideological pitfalls. I've always had people say, “You’d go a lot further in the profession, if you were not so strident in certain areas; or if you're not so outspoken in certain areas; if you’d just become a safe multiculturalist; if you wouldn't embrace such hard edged critical theory.” So I've avoided, in addition to positions, I've avoided ideological distractions as well.

While activities outside of his purposes would distract him, succumbing to ideological pressures to produce safe scholarship would quiet his parrhesiastic voice and destroy his sense of authenticity. The desire to stay true to one’s work and not to be seduced away from it was repeated with each of the five professors. Renaissance Intellectual considered these seductive forces as risks:

But then there’s the risk that has to do with your own work. And for me, the only thing that I’ve found to minimize my risks in the institution is to be real clear about my work – to stay true to my work. The reason I say that is because I don’t want external factors to dictate my work.

The risk for these scholars is being pulled away or redirected. External forces, however, have not always been the seductive force. Internal desires might also sway specific
scholars away from their purposes. Through self-testing New Jack Professor and Renaissance Intelectual are able to focus on their determination, will, and self-sovereignty.

**Self-knowledge and Desire**

After writing his ethnographic dissertation, Radical Scholar decided not to pursue another ethnography. His decision was not based on methodological issues, but stemmed out of a situation that would have taken him away from his deeper purpose:

I've never written about this, and maybe I can précis it for you, but I would never write about this, myself, and profit from it. But I guess it's OK to tell the story, which is a bit of a heavy story about why I don't do ethnography anymore. . . . I was researching the topic of strippers . . . and I was interested in the work of Lacan at that time, Jacques Lacan. I was interested in also the notion of the gaze… the male gaze . . . I was more into phenomenology than I am now, and hermeneutics and I thought well when you go to a strip club the women seem to exercise a certain amount of control. They can humiliate a man who's watching … and he undergoes a kind of willing humiliation. And the women seem quite in control. And I thought, how does that feeling of being in control further institutionalize them into a set of larger patriarchal relationships? Because you have to give them the feeling of false autonomy in order to secure them into patriarchy. If they really felt that they were oppressed
by patriarchy they may decide to challenge it more directly. Well, that was my provisional thought.

To himself, Radical Scholar thought, “Wow!” and wondered if he could do a full-length study. He began the study by interviewing women who worked in strip clubs in Ontario, many of the women had moved to Ontario from Quebec in attempts to make a better living. He began interviewing one of the performers to whom he gave the pseudonym, Jasmine.

I was feeling uneasy because I realized that I was there because I was doing the research and there’d be little reason for me to be there otherwise. I was being a little insincere in terms of complimenting her. I felt like I was doing what I have to do so she'll open up to me and I'll acquire as much data as I can about her life.

One day he received a desperate call from Jasmine.

I felt that I should be there; she was crying and upset about something. She seemed really desperate and I went into her apartment…. And there she was. She removed her shirt, and she had been severely burned all over her body by cigarettes…. She made her livelihood with her body, and her body was effectively destroyed. We’re talking serious; someone had tortured her.

He took her to the hospital and on the way back, asked her who had done this to her. Her boyfriend had been away and was upset that she had been spending time talking with a professor while he was away. He retold the experience:
And she said, “Well he’s been in Québec doing a major drug deal and came back and he asked me what I’d been up to, what I was doing while he was away. And I said that this professor – this smart guy who just liked being around me and he thought I was smart; didn’t hit me, didn’t put a hit on me; wasn’t interested in sex or anything like that – he just really wanted to talk and hear what I had to say…”

And [the boyfriend] said, “Well you know what I think about your professor friend.” And he started to beat her.

So I felt that I had, that I was responsible; that I had befriended somebody I normally would not have befriended; that I had given the impression that we were friends in order to – and I liked her, but I knew that our relationship was driven by my study. And that I really, I thought this was going to be the ethnography of ethnographies. I just thought to myself, wow… I knew I was a strong qualitative researcher, critical ethnographer. Look at the topic – captivating topic, captivating, eccentric women; and it was going to be a feminist ethnography written by a man.

Radical Scholar was seduced by the idea of this study and the potential success it promised. He had not considered its consequences or impact on the lives of participants. Faced directly with an unimaginable consequence to Jasmine, he explained his next actions, “I went home and I burned all my notes, and I've never done any qualitative research since. … I just felt [pauses] that I really messed up. And that [pauses] and that somebody, somebody suffered tremendously.” Radical Scholar
believed that he could not profit through the attention he thinks the study would have attracted, or through book royalties from such an experience. If his other works were indications of the reception this ethnography might have received, it would have been as captivating and attractive to a broader readership. He, however, did not regret his decision to put aside ethnographic studies. The experience with Jasmine was not the first time he had directly faced the consequences of his work. The unintended impact of his first book was expressed by the mother of a student, who criticized Radical Scholar for only portraying the problems and suffering of the community. Because of the experience with the community portrayed negatively in *Cries in the Corridor*, Jasmine’s horrible situation “was a shock of recognition.”

And here I was about to commit the same crime, scholarly crime, and I wasn't about to do that again. And I decided there never to do an ethnography again, I would make a promise to myself, to the community that I would stay in there and support their efforts, whatever that might be, and that I would not do … drive-by ethnography. No more drive-by ethnographies.

Instead, he began to criticize “the whole role of the anthropologist” and ethnographic work that focuses primarily on the research without consideration of the research participants. He acknowledged that “good qualitative research” can be done, but at the time of his interview, he had not attempted another study, and even turned down offers for financial support for anything he wanted to study. Radical Scholar has become conscientious about what he chooses to write about, and how he approaches his work.
His focus has been less on describing the conditions of people’s lives, and more on the systemic circumstances that cause inequitable conditions.

Money is clearly an object of desire and seduction in the United States. The desire for money and the things it can buy has become internalized for many members of this capitalistic society. It can also be used to seduce workers into working for others, instead of working for their own purposes. While these scholars acknowledge the need for an adequate income to sustain their lives, they do not allow financial gain to be the determining factor in their decisions. Renaissance Intellectual, as an example, has taken cuts in pay on a few occasions because she was interested in a particular job or project.

So I took a cut in pay again, because it was even less. But I felt that the work I was doing – you know, I had enough money, and so I felt it would be okay.

Because she had experienced poverty and was able to raise her children on less money, she knew she could live with less pay. Doing the work was more valuable to her. In her negotiation for her current position, she limited the scope of her work as well as her salary, before she accepted the positions. She stated, “When you asked what I hadn’t gone into – you know I decided not to go into chairing a department or directing. When I came here, they wanted me to become director of Latino studies.” This position is not what she wanted, because it would take her away from the work. One of the pieces she negotiated was removing the administrative duty from the offer, which reduced the salary by about $30,000. She believed the extra money for the administrative role would not have been worth what she would have to give up in terms of her scholarship. New
Jack Professor has also turned down lucrative assignments to sustain the focus on his work.

Well, I've avoided administration. I have avoided any position that would take me away from scholarship. And believe me, there are always things dangled in front of you, such as participation in grants, administration, special projects, and consultancy. People have always dangled various enterprises in front of me that would be lucrative, nice little side money, but would be very labor intensive. For example, a dean that I know about three years ago invited me to spend the summer in his city evaluating a project. I was going to be an outside evaluator . . .. They had a humongous grant, and while it was tempting, both for the research possibilities and the lucrative financial arrangements, it would have definitely distracted from what I wanted to do. So I've avoided those kinds of things.

Such activities would have been lucrative, but they also would have taken away time that he wanted to devote to his scholarship. In one instance, New Jack Professor made a compromise, that I believe preserved his scholastic time while providing a venue to share his scholarship. The cable access network had asked New Jack Professor on many occasions to establish his own show. A weekly show, however, would be “too much of a tether,” so he agreed to serve as a guest on shows from time to time. The opportunity to do a lot of media work provides New Jack Professor with a medium for remaining connected to the community and sharing his work with audiences beyond those who read
academic works, but the weekly show he refused would eventually have constrained his research time – a cost he was unwilling to bear, a seductive opportunity shunned.

**No Excuses**

The specific parrhesiastic scholars do not use any lack of resources as an excuse to put their scholarship aside. They pursue their scholastic interests even when they have no additional resources, as New Jack Professor explains:

Curriculum is not a big grant-generating field unless you're writing a curriculum, or piloting a curriculum, or writing some sort of remediation curriculum. But if you're a curriculum historian or engage in general curriculum research, it's not like special education where there's a fertile area for funding. And I have not been very successful. I've been successful in side projects, like I raised money for my DuBois conference and for other little projects. But, it's been difficult. *The White Architects* I've financed myself. . . . Much like you're financing your doctoral study. I called in IOUs, family members, I begged, borrowed and stole, I slept on people's couches . . . . So, I understand about how to do these things off a shoestring. Funding is a problem with your work, especially if you're going to do that kind of work that takes you out to other places. These professors seem to avoid dwelling on the barriers they face, as New Jack Professor’s summation to the above thought indicated, “Well, that's all I have to say about funding.”
Even when they have sometimes lacked a resource more essential than money, time, they maintained their focus. New Jack Professor stated:

But I guess you find time for the things that you like. And if you're passionate about it, I don't see it as work, and it's what I wanted to do. I mean, I'm enjoying this ride. And I enjoy being a professor and an academician and writing and speaking. The fact that I do most of it either for so little or no money is because I really love it. I’m one of those few people that agencies can call on, you know and they don't have the $10,000 to get Cornell West, when they’ve got $150 they can call Bill Watkins. . . . It's not just about being an opportunist. But it's about having some passion. I think that what I do and what we do in education is important. Adding that there's a lot at stake. I see education as connected to the whole world of power, where knowledge [is the difference between] life [and] death. I mean I take this very seriously. So it's more than just a professor. I mean this is my life as a citizen, as a radical, as an African-American, as an oppressed person among other oppressed people in a society that is becoming more oppressed. So I think the task of those folks who want to make change is becoming even more demanding and more urgent as our society closes down more.

The work for equality and social justice in education and the broader society is their primary interest. They have protected their work from external forces and internal drives, and maintained it even when they did not have the support that would have made
the work easier. They were not immune to their desires, and their desires did in some ways influence their work. They were, however, very much concerned with controlling their desires, as well as ensuring that they focus on their purposes. They were interested in staying true to their work, maintaining their integrity and authenticity, retaining their voice, and avoiding the seductions that will take them away from their purposes.

**No Selling Out**

Along with their concerns for maintaining their integrity and authenticity, and controlling their desires, these scholars are very conscious of not selling out. Radical Scholar explained:

> I was always drawn to stories of people who had sold out, and I always thought, God, how could somebody sell out their ideals? – for security or advantage, sell out their friends, sell out their neighbors, sell out their politics for advancement. And I always admired people, who, for instance, went before the House of Un-American Activities and took the 5th Amendment and refused to fink on their friends, and refused to sell out. . . . And of course, somebody that I think embodies that political ideal is Che Guevara. . . . I would never compare myself to someone like that, of course, because I am a speck of dust on his boots, but… I think he is a good role model. . . . But that kind of life, you live a complete life of conviction, coherence, and authenticity. . . . And I have been open to
change, and open to revise my thinking, but I was not willing to bend
when it came to what I thought was right and just.

He considered the possibility of succumbing to pressures to sell out as a form of torture.

I just felt that the worst thing in the world is to look back on your life and
feel that you compromised, and you sold out. That you sold out, sold out
on issues of race, class, gender. You sold out your brothers, your sisters,
your friends, your comrades. You sold out the struggle for social justice.

. . . You allowed yourself to be bought off. . . . But that would be the
worst possible torture and torment that a person could go through – that
you let down your friends; you let down the people that were suffering
and needed you. . . . I want to make those honorable choices.

Radical Scholar, as I have stated earlier, was not a specific intellectual in terms of his
race or ethnicity. He came from a White working class background. He was concerned
for communities within the United States and abroad who have been marginalized, and
has had a particular affiliation to Latin America.

An important aspect of this group was their attentiveness to forces that would
morph their work toward a status quo they hoped to change. They were conscious of
how they interact with others, and attentive to relations of power even in their subtle and
seemingly benign forms. They knew that selling out can come in many forms, and that
at its foundation is the relinquishing one’s purposes and goals for others. Fringe
Academic noted:
And you know I see people come, go at this institution. I've seen people who have success; and I've seen people who have failed here. . . . I do believe some of it came, especially with the failure stuff, because people were so worried about what other people thought. It seemed to me that one of the ways in which you can be controlled is by worrying about what other people think. And I'm not saying that you’re so callous, you don't care, but I think that you can waste a lot of time worrying about [what others think].

New Jack Professor has also avoided the trap of being concerned about what others – students, peers, or readers – think about him and his work. Instead, he tries to remain true to his history.

I think some of my students find it refreshing, because it may coincide with some of part of their background. Other students probably find it distasteful that I’m not pristine in a White, middle class sense, nor do I want to be. I’ve worked with a lot of minority professors, who wanted to be accepted as in the White middle-class sort of model and so they’re denying their background or their revising their own historical story, and I’m not trying to do that. I’m just trying to be me all the time.

He continues to describe how he fights to maintain his independence and integrity:

I’m not beholden to anyone. I’m not beholden to people’s ideologies.

So I’m independent. . . . So I fought very hard to maintain independence.

. . . When you are on the university faculty, there are some centripetal
forces pulling at you ideologically and personally. There are people who want you to be on their team; there are people who want you to see things like they see things. . . . My desire to be independent is to not be co-opted, and to not be able to say what I want to say when I want to say it. His resistance is a fight against relations of power that would co-opt his work by stripping it of its specific qualities. It is a resistance against colonization:

**New Jack Professor:** No one has colonized me, although many have tried. And for African-American professors, we are the targets, all of the time, much like the real world. They wanna colonize Africa; they wanna colonize African-Americans for all sorts of reasons.

**Huckaby:** Could you talk about the way you see African-American scholars being colonized?

**New Jack Professor:** I think that very often White scholars need people of color to support their positions, to legitimize their positions. They also would like to have scholars of color to interact with to prove how democratic they are, and how democratic the academy is, and how democratic their process is. Plus, sometimes people of color are fashionable to befriend. Everybody wants one Black friend, perhaps not two, but at least one. So Black folks have to be very careful, Black faculty have to be very careful about being colonized.

New Jack Professor is quick to acknowledge the colonization of faculty of color is not the same as the colonization of nations. It is not as violent in the physical sense. Instead
of destroying lands and annihilating or marginalizing indigenous peoples, the colonization of specific intellectuals destroys or minimizes the specific intellectual’s ideals, ideology, and voice. The replacing of community-specific approaches to governance with copies of Western forms of governance is transformed into teaching the specific intellectual to devalue his own judgment and to replace it with opinions filtered through colonized eyes. While the forms and processes of colonization differ, both the colonization of nations and the colonization of intellectuals result in the destruction of other ways of knowing, the stripping of culture and values, and the transformation of those remaining into White-washed copies of who they were previously. This colonization of the specific intellectual is not necessarily separate from seduction, as New Jack Professor described:

After awhile you can like it. I mean, again, there’s much in academia to seduce you. This can be a cushy life filled with great rewards, with travel, with great prestige, recognition. And it’s easy to succumb to that stuff – the applause of the crowd, honors, rewards, accolades. There is much to be careful of in the academic life.

While Fringe Academic also expresses concern for maintaining her integrity, she does not describe protecting her integrity as a resistance against colonization. Her concern for not compromising herself was expressed as a metaphor of not falling and scraping her knees.

**Huckaby:** What things have you done to protect your knees?
Fringe Academic: To protect my knees? That’s a toughie. I think I would say, Fran [pauses]. I’m an only child and my son is an only child. So I’ve never had the experience that I wish I had had in many ways, the experience of siblings… and therefore, I always have to figure out ways to take care of myself, and I guess I did figure out ways to take care of myself without compromising myself. So I’ve sort of learned how to hunker down, and it’s not – “life ain’t been no crystal stair” – trust me.

But I never begged. I take my licks, never beg, and keep moving.

Her metaphor harkens back to times of slavery when slaves could not protect their backs from lashes but exhibited enough control to remain standing. For Fringe Academic, the notion of integrity is specific. It is not integrity towards the self in isolation but integrity towards community. Thus, being silenced is not being without words or unable to find a forum; it is “when you no longer write about, or care about, or feel valid enough about your people to write. . . . I think with Black folk we have to be true to ourselves; we have to be true to our community.” Like Fringe Academic, Radical Scholar has tried to maintain his focus and “not back off on the crucial issues” or change ones writing and scholarship by “backing off” and “tempering your critique:”

So I’ve always felt that when you’re given a chance to take certain stands in life, you should. … If it means you might lose your position, or you might not get the jobs that you want, or you’re compromising your own livelihood and that of your family – these are tough decisions to make.
Just hope you make the right ones. But again, you’re right, you hit the
nail on the head. I’ve always felt that I had options.

Thus, the specific intellectual adopts a parrhesiastic role that differs from its ancient
Greek counterpart. It is a claiming of free speech for a community; it extends beyond
the individual and brings forward a collective voice. The purpose for the academic work
of these scholars is not personal success, but integrity and authenticity for themselves
and their communities. For New Jack Professor, it was a striving to maintain the
authenticity and integrity of his work.

And I probably could be a lot further along. I’m sure I could be making
more money, if I were safer, if my positions were more patriotic and
sanitized and less strident and militant. Yeah, I would be a lot further
along, but I wouldn’t be as happy. I am happier with my own
independence. I’m nobody’s boy; I’m nobody’s. I’m not in anybody’s
camp. I’m not beholden to anyone.

Such independence, as New Jack Professor acknowledged, is not free of risks. The
activity of speaking freely, parrhesiazesthai, is a risk, and to some extent these scholars
knowingly engaged in this risk. They acknowledged an awareness of what they are
doing in terms of their work and an unwillingness to compromise it.

Choosing What to Avoid

Engaging the parrhesiastic role is not always about what one does, establishes,
and preserves. Sometimes it is choosing to avoid certain activities. Academic Warrior
has taken on the task of “exposing the underbelly of oppression.” He is interested in getting people “to think about ideas that they have not had the opportunity to become familiar with and make them think.” He has also identified what he is no longer interested in pursuing:

I'm no longer interested in doing conventional, mainstream publications that a very small group would read. We start becoming talking heads, talking to one another. I have no interest in that at all, and I don't think I ever had. In my early career I could've probably gone into straight child psychology or child development. It would be following in the track of so many conventional child psychologists, and just becoming sucked into this vortex of redundancy, and God, that would've been so sterile. That's why I gravitate, that's why I love doing what I love, minority education. And very few people actually do it, I've been finding out. Sometimes I think about that. Had I gone just a conventional, traditional route in my career, how different my life would be. I’d probably end up writing textbooks.

By making the decision of what to avoid, a form of self-testing, these scholars are able to turn their attention to their true interests, which always seem to connect back to specific communities.

**Huckaby:** I think I'm seeing, in your work, that you have some intentions. There are things that you want to show. You want to show discrimination. You want to show the different forms that it takes in
educational testing and school closures and things like that. What changes do you want to see?

**Academic Warrior:** Well, once again that's a very important question. I would love to see a greater connection between research and policy. And that may be almost cliché-ish right now. People always talk about the disconnect between research and policy; it's just embedded in the academy for people that I do work in this area. But I'm truly convinced that we shouldn't give up on that, especially this Senate Bill 4 on high-stakes testing. I was telling my students the other day that SB 4 is a bad law. And I said a bad law is a law that's passed where legislators should know ahead of time that this law is going to have negative consequences for vulnerable populations; that's a bad law. It should never have been passed. So, my high-stakes testing research and writings have been designed to hopefully change -- it didn't work at the litigative level in terms of the *GI Forum* case – and so I make the case that we need to go back whence and where it started and that's the legislation.

The work of the specific parrhesiastic scholar, their *parrhesiazesthai* is a choice to be true and authentic to community struggles, to maintain hope that the resolution of local struggles can indeed support the needs of communities. Renaissance Intellectual expressed it as a “struggle with myself, as well as with others, to learn how to give and to make alive even things that sometimes want to die, whether they be ideas, relationships or situations.” The specific parrhesiastic scholar maintains hope despite
multiple pressures through a struggle with a self facing the circumstances of her life and
the experiences of the community. This struggle with the self is a process of resisting
repression, desire, and seduction to keep hope and possibilities alive for oneself and
therefore for communities.

Self-knowledge and Relations of Power

Self-knowledge is one aspect of care of the self that Foucault identified in ancient
Greek texts, and that I noticed in the participants of this study. These five participants
employed strategies of self-examination, self-diagnosis, and self-testing. Renaissance
Scholar has been self-vigilant particularly in her interactions with others where she
challenges others ideologies. New Jack Professor has been attentive to maintaining his
integrity by resisting colonization. Fringe Academic has avoided being controlled and
shaped by others’ opinions. Radical Scholar has learned to consider the impact of his
scholarship on the lives of research participants and redirect his approach; and Academic
Warrior has avoided “the vortex of redundancy” through scholarship with purpose and
intention. The self-knowledge they acquire through practices of the self informs how
they approach power relations. They attend to the ways seductive and repressive forces
can misdirect and suppress their work. They faced temptations – grants, administrative
positions, approval of others, etc – that could ensure more success. But giving into these
seductive forces and their own desires could also mean losing the specific parrhesiastic
role. If they lose their positions because of their parrhesiazesthai, the potential risks
they face are ultimately the decision of another – a sovereign in the case of the ancient
Greeks, and colleagues, department chairs, deans, tenure committees, and academic politics in the case of specific intellectual scholars. If they give into these forces, sell out, or allow themselves to be colonized, they give up parrhesia through their own actions and decisions. These scholars have chosen to protect and maintain this parrhesiastic position.

II: Political Activity & Tactics

Parrhesiazesthai, as discussed in Book 2 (review of the literature) and earlier in this section, is a political, philosophical, and personal activity of freely speaking dangerous truths. It is, however, distinguished from the activities of politicians. The parrhesiastes does not make and monitor laws, but instead participates when there are important decisions to be made and at critical moments. This is parrhesiazesthai in its positive form.

Parrhesia in Negative and Positive Forms

The messenger in Orestes describes a series of speakers that use their rights to parrhesia, and also introduces speakers that use parrhesia in its negative forms: (1) the fearful orator who speaks ambiguously, (2) the speaker who does not know when to be silent, and (3) the confident but ill-informed spokesman who elicits an emotional response. Orestes is the only tragedy of Euripides that presents negative forms of parrhesia. The first form is represented in the speaker, Talthybius, who is “under the power of the powerful” (Foucault, 2001, p. 59):
Messenger: Always subservient to those in power, he made an ambiguous speech, with fulsome praise of Agamemnon and cold words for your brother, twisting eulogy and censure both together—laying down a law useless to parents; and with every sentence gave ingratiating glances towards Aegisthus’ friends. Heralds are like that—their whole race have learnt to jump to the winning side; their friend is anyone who has power or a government office. (p. 58)

Because Talthybius fears the powers of others, he speaks with ambiguity instead of frankness as he tries to please all. The second pejorative form of *parrhesiazesthai* is represented in the citizen who is described as one “who has a tongue but no door” (Foucault, 2001, p. 62). Foucault quotes Plutarch’s *Concerning Talkativeness*:

> those who believe that storerooms without doors and purses without fastenings are of no use to their owners, yet keep their mouths without lock of door, maintaining as perpetual an outflow as the mouth of the Black Sea, appear to regard speech [λόγος] as the least valuable of all things. They do not, therefore, meet with belief, which is the object of all speech. (p. 63)

Such citizens know not the differences between circumstances that require speech and those for silence. The last negative form of *parrhesia* is that of a strong confident voice that elicits emotional responses that have political implications. Foucault (2001) describes this negative *parrhesiastes* as “putting his confidence in bluster and ignorant outspokenness, and still persuasive enough to lead his hearers into trouble” (p. 58). He
imposes upon the citizenry without any rational, intellectual, or moral formation of his speech.

These three versions of parrhesiazesthai, Foucault argues, are harmful and dangerous to democracy. The first speaker is so consumed with pleasing those in power that he does not know what is true, only what he is told. As such, his allegiance is to those in power, not the demos. The second is unable to distinguish when rights to speak freely should be used and when they are not necessary, and thus weighs in on issues even when he has little to offer. The third misuse for parrhesia riles the citizenry with ill-formed thinking. The last speaker from Orestes illustrates parrhesiazesthai it its positive form:

Another rose, and spoke against him – one endowed with little beauty, but a courageous man; the sort not often found mixing in street or marketplace, a manual laborer – the sole backbone of the land; shrewd, when he chose, to come to grips in argument; a man of blameless principle and integrity. (p. 58)

And now we come to the fourth and final speaker at Orestes’ trail. . . . An exemplification of the positive parrhesiastes as a “social type,” he has the following traits.

The first is that he is “one endowed with little beauty, but a courageous man. . . .

Secondly, he is “the sort not often found mixing in street or marketplace [α’γορά]” [1.919]. So this representative of the positive use of parrhesia
is not the sort of professional politician who spends most of his time in the *agora* – the place where the people, the assembly, met for political discussion and debate. Nor is he one of those poor persons who, without any other means to live by, would come to the *agora* in order to receive the sums of money given to those taking part in the *ekklesia*. He takes part in the assembly only to participate in important decisions at critical moments. He does not live off of the politics for politics’ sake.

Thirdly, he is an “*autourgos*” [άυτουργός]—“a manual laborer.” The word *autougos* refers to someone who works his own land. The word denotes a specific social category – neither the great landowner nor the peasant, but the landowner who lives and works with his own hands on this own estate, occasionally with the help of a few servants or slaves. (pp.67-68)

The *parrhesiastes* of this form, a free holder, was considered to have “political competence” because he (1) was willing to defend his land since the both own it and work it, (2) proposed good advise through his ability to use language to say what was important and reasonable, and (3) offered proposals for peace instead of continued hostilities. In terms of political activity, the five scholar-participants are exemplars of this last type of *parrhesiastes*.

**Not a Politician, Yet Political**

None of the participants in this study chose politics as a career. However, Renaissance Intellectual, with urgings from her community, briefly considered such a
career. The following excerpt from her interview echoes the description of the last speaker of Eruipides’ play:

**Renaissance Intellectual:** Some people talked about the possibility of maybe my considering running for council seat or for the school board. And I remember choosing very deliberately that I didn’t want to go into politics of that sort.

**Huckaby:** Why not, if I can ask?

**Renaissance Intellectual:** When I looked at what was going on, I wasn’t convinced I could really do a whole lot in that context, because of what it required from me. When I saw those folks, not to take anything away from them, but what I saw a lot is schmoozing and a kind of deferential treatment. . . . It’s really kind of interesting because I have to work in a social [context]; I like that. But in terms of partying and being around a whole lot of people all the time, that just is not my experience.

She chose not to place herself in the position of a professional politician, because such a position would shape her interactions with others, and she would need to consider more how she interacted with respect and courteous submission than the content of her speech and the formation of her ideas.

Even though these scholars have not taken on the politician’s role, their care of the self is still a political activity. They focus on scholarship for the purposes of influencing and changing the *status quo* so that more people can participate in and enjoy the rights of democracy. Thus determining what is right and just, living by this ideal, and
criticizing social injustices are realities of their lives and academic careers. The act of engaging this role is an intentional political choice. Their scholarship has not had the appearance of neutrality and has entailed risks that scholarship in support of the status quo does not face. The other route of producing scholarship that supports existing states is less risky simply because it has the appearance of neutrality. Both supporting and challenging the status quo are political acts; however, within the confines of our social constructions, the critical, countering, and challenging acts are deemed more political.

In one of the more explicitly political examples, Academic Warrior participated in the judicial process as an expert witness. About a year after accepting his first tenure-track academic appointment, a legal services group contacted him about “sensitizing the judge” in “a bench trial about the plight of Mexican-American students.” The plaintiff lost the case (Angeles). Academic Warrior had been involved with this school district prior to the case. Because he was an expert witness against the district, he was no longer allowed to conduct research in the school district. He anticipated that the courts ruling would be detrimental to Mexican-American students and their families, and wanted to continue research activities within the district to follow the outcomes.

I had a contact there that worked in the district, and this person, in a clandestine meeting – just like a spy movie – she or he gave me a list of all the parents from those closed schools, he or she. At that point, I identified the parents, and I got a grant and I hired three assistants. There were like 300 families affected and I sampled 50, which is really a nice sample size, 1 in 6…. So, that study was done out of my own personal
desire to show that these hypotheses, that you can present as an expert, can be confirmed.

Academic Warrior joined his specific interests in the Chicano/Latino community, the disappointing ruling in a school closure case, and his research. This act was a political one in that he was interested in exploring a question and offering an answer to that question, not as a disinterested social scientist, but for the sake of future cases and rulings and their impact on Latino communities. He wanted to produce knowledge that could be used for future decisions that would govern the lives of Latino/Latina school children and families through their school options.

He was soon able to write and publish his findings based on this case, and three years later, Academic Warrior applied his findings to expert testimony in another school closure case (Castro) resolved with a favorable ruling.

We won the case. Yes, we won the case! I was the only witness for the plaintiff; and oh, we knocked their socks off... I used all their data showing that the criteria they used for closing the schools was a priori going to select the minority schools. . . . The judge bought all my arguments, and if you read the judgment you’ll see that he basically lifts the language from some of my arguments.

He participated in the court case on an issue of “adversarial political economy,” and the subsequent ruling was beneficial to minority students. The political nature of Academic Warrior’s work did not stop with the court ruling. In this case, his work not only challenged the status quo; it altered its trajectory. His merging of social science inquiry
and his specific perspective made it possible for the court to rule in favor of Hispanic and Black students and families, but this victory was not without its consequences. During his mid-tenure review, his scholarship was criticized as “too political.”

So what I did – as a young scholar you can be faced with in or out, you know tenure denial or tenure for the rest of my life – I started, I sat down, and… I said, "Whoa, I'm going to have to defend myself.”

Academic Warrior’s approach to defending himself was through his scholarship:

Anyway, after the case, I felt so darn good, and always haunting me in the back of my mind was that person or persons unknown accusing me of being political. I’m dealing with the political matter, of course, adversarial political economy here – picking on poor people, picking on people of color – and I want to do something about it. So when I wrote my monograph, I had all that in mind. Right in the preface I say I am digging deep into my social science knowledge and social science research, and I’m using that to let the reader know how I developed my arguments – using social science research and theory and findings. So, I made a point of that, and I leave all of that in there deliberately, because I had to. I had no choice, you see, to make it as scholarly as possible.

Academic Warrior’s experiences of these cases illustrate the layers and webbing of power relations. He witnessed power relations among parents and the school district, the plaintiffs and defendant, participants in the court proceedings, the court’s ruling, the schools, social inequalities, those reviewing his tenure file, his text, and himself.
Academic Warrior brought all of these experiences of power relations into his academic writing, which he intentionally constructed for two purposes (1) to share information with the public and (2) to defend his scholarly choices before his tenure reviewers. In his document, *Understanding School Closures: Discriminatory Impact on Chicano and Black Students* (Valencia, 1984), Academic Warrior explicitly describes what his writing as a political activity is and is not. This document is worthy of quoting at some length:

> In this lengthy document, I have attempted to share with the reader the type of thinking that went on in my mind and how such thoughts became converted to my actual testimony in court. It is not a stream of consciousness approach, but a methodical, detailed presentation as to how I conceptualized the issues of discriminatory intent and impact against the Chicano and Black students. You will probably notice that my logic encompasses a type of social scientific “detective” approach (e.g., questioning, the evidential bases; linking variables together; generating alternative hypotheses). This approach can be seen in the first major section (“The Issue of Intent:…”). The second major section (“The Issue of Impact:…”) consists largely of my thought on theory building concerning how minority students may be negatively affected by closures. To some readers, parts of this section (e.g., the literature reviews; conceptualization of my major concepts) may appear to be digressions. They are not meant to be. Rather, the purpose of these parts is to share with the reader the universe of social science knowledge from
which I drew to develop my theorizing and my eventual, compressed testimony in court. . . . (Valencia, 1984, pp. iii)

Academic Warrior explains to his readers how he developed his conclusions. He wanted readers to understand what he did and did not do. He directly states that his work is not “stream of consciousness” and continues to specifically describe what he did and how it conforms to the boundaries of his discipline, as the excerpt including Table 7 illustrates:

Based on the school-by-school ratings in the Criteria Report, the 11 high schools in the [school district] were rated for closure according to the total number of criteria points. . . . The [final] rankings shown in Table 5 revealed that “minority” schools surfaced as most conducive for closure. In contrast, the “Anglo” schools consistently were ranked toward the bottom, meaning they were judged to be least conducive for closure. . . . The author subjected this eye-ball observation to a statistical analysis (Spearman rank-order correlation) and found a highly significant relation between rankings of total criteria scores and ethnic enrollment percentages (p = .90, significant < .01).
Table 7: Rank Order Comparison Between Total Criteria Score and Percentage of Minority Student Body Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Total Criteria Score Points&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Minority Student Enrollment Percentage</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayden</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryvale</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>Alhambra</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Camelback</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Browne&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Total maximum was 105 points (21 factors x 5 points). The schools are ranked from least points obtained (Union) to most points obtained (Camelback).

<sup>b</sup> Browne, built in 1972, was not given a score in the Criteria Report for the criterion of “membership decline.” Therefore, this school was not included for analysis in Table 1.

P (rank order correlation coefficient) = .90 (significant < .01)

Source: Adapted from Analysis of Criteria for School Closure: A Report to the Board of Education. Phoenix union High School District, November 1, 1979, pp. 48-53.

(Valencia, 1984, pp. 11-12)

In this monograph, Academic Warrior explicitly illustrates the consequences of the criteria selected by the school board – the de facto selection of the schools with the highest enrollment of students of color for closure. Academic Warrior was able to bring
this knowledge into the courtroom through his expert testimony, and then more formally into his scholarship. To redress a concern that his work is too political, he steeped his scholarship in methods known for their objectivity, and thus bound his specific perspective with social science methodology. He submitted school district data to the criteria of statistical tests to convince his readers of the validity of his argument. Through these methods, he challenged and altered the decision-making processes of school closures.

Academic Warrior metaphorically exemplifies the last characteristics of the *parrhesiastes* described by the messenger. Foucault elaborated:

a manual laborer – the sole backbone of the land; shrewd, when he chose, to come to grips in arguments; a man of blameless principle and integrity.

... What is most in interesting *Orestes* is that Euripides emphasizes the political competence of such landowners by mentioning three aspect of their character.

The first is that they are always willing to march to war and fight for the city...the landowner who works his own land is, naturally, very interested in the defense and protection of the lands of the country... Secondly,... [he] is able to use language to propose good advice for the city... So not only are they good soldiers, they also make good leaders... A final point...the proposal of an acquittal symbolizes the will for peace.

(Foucault, 2001, p. 58, 68-69)
At issue for Academic Warrior is not that his land was in need of defending. Instead, he was very much concerned about the access to education for children of color, and he was willing to defend their rights, which were also his specific interests. His weapon of choice, scholarship transformed into expert testimony, offered advice to the court that was reasonable enough to the court to be quoted verbatim in the judgment. Lastly, the court ruling addressed some of the concerns of the parents and students who attended the School. While the judgment may not have brought about true peace, if such a state does exist, the outcome was more peaceful than it might have been if the community felt slighted once again. After the ruling, the school district proposed another plan, which was within its legal rights. This plan closed the school that was originally planned for closure, and re-opened another school with a high rate of students of color and ended the open enrollment policy. Academic Warrior explained:

To some people, this major posthearing development might mean that the victory by plaintiffs in the Castro injunctive relief hearing was a pyrrhic victory. This may be true. However, in the most optimistic sense, two points are noteworthy. First, the minority community, which predominates in population in the inner city, still has a school close by which can serve it. Second, the ending of the open enrollment policy in the affected areas is a first step in desegregating PUHSD’s heavily segregated district. Under the open enrollment policy, there was a great tendency for Anglos residing in minority school attendance areas to flee
to Anglo schools. These are positive aspects worth considering in light of all that has transpired. (Valencia, 1984, p. 106)

Academic Warrior chose to look at this pyrrhic victory as still holding possibilities for school children and their parents. He could have just as easily chosen a route that could have been more destructive to the peace. He chose instead to name the pyrrhic victory and described how it could meet the needs of students and the community. His actions as a researcher and expert witness engaged political relations of power by illustrating the unjust situation and consequences of the school closure decision-making. Foucault describes this process and its political nature:

I believe the same holds true in the order of politics; here one can criticize on the basis, for example, of the consequences of the state of domination caused by an unjustified political situation, but one can only do so by playing a certain game of truth, by showing its consequences, by pointing out that there are other reasonable options, by teaching people what they don’t know about their own situation, their working conditions, and their exploitation. (Foucault, 1997e, p. 295-297)

In the case of his school closure testimony and writings, Academic Warrior explicitly illustrated and convincingly arguing the consequences of the decision-making process.

Though his experiences, Academic Warrior illustrates key characteristics of the parrhesiazesthai. First of all it is political activity engaged by a person who is not a career politician. Instead of making a career off of politics, the specific parrhesiastic scholar enters political conversations at times when crucial decisions are needed. The
underlying outcome for parrhesiastic activities is peace. Even the Radical Scholar, whose language is possibly the most charged in terms of his call for revolutionary transformation, stands for peace. He explains,

*I am talking about education, the development of revolutionary social consciousness as a direct challenge to reformist consciousness, a critique of political economy rather than tinkering with capitalist redistribution, resistance that at times would surely constitute civil disobedience and protracted class battles, but I am not talking about armed revolution, so let’s be clear on that. And I have always taken a strong stand against terrorism, whether that is state terrorism or individual acts of terrorism.*

(McLaren, 2003a, p. 5)

The specific parrhesiastic scholar disturbs the *status quo*, offers counter-hegemonic knowledge, and seeks an outcome that is more conducive to peace, than war or hostilities.

**Surviving the Judgment of Others**

To continue parrhesiastic work, specific parrhesiastic scholars must be able to survive within political environments. Academic Warrior’s work, for example, was criticized as too political. This criticism, however, was not the only tenure challenge Academic Warrior faced. He also had to figure out the criteria on which his tenure and promotion decisions would be based. He shared his experience:
**Academic Warrior:** So over the years I've had to really be creative in terms of linking up with graduate students, doctoral students, because here at the university, you have to have a certain number of … teaching load credits. An undergraduate course counts 3 units, and the graduate course counts 4.5, and if you're supervising a graduate student that counts sometimes as much as a whole course… There were times where I was threatened, “[Y]ou may have to teach additional course this year.” . . .

**Huckaby:** How did you come to start teaching graduate courses in this department?

**Academic Warrior:** I asked for it. I had to for survival… This is another thing that irks me. During the first part of my career here – it's been 14 years now – I was a man with no island. I had no program. See we have counseling, social development, school psychology, and a number of programs. No one really bothered to say, “Hey, you should really find a home, because it looks funny when you're out there all by yourself.” So it took time, and finally I linked up with school psychology, and that didn't work out. Hardly any minority students enter the program; they are mostly White women with absolutely no interest in doing research in my area. And so only this year I moved out. Now I am in personal/social psychology. And things are just developing. I'm linking up with students. I have more connections with faculty. So there's been a whole lot of internal politics for me over the years here.
Huckaby: It sounds as though part of it is not knowing what the rules are, what you're going to be judged on, and trying to figure those out as you go?

Academic Warrior: That's right, absolutely.

Without tenure, Academic Warrior would not have been able to maintain his position. His livelihood would be at risk, and he may not have been able to continue in the position that he had chosen. Remaining in the rank of associate professor would not have affected his livelihood, but it would impact how others perceived him.

Specific intellectual scholars need to figure out the criteria by which they will be judged, and find ways to survive that judgment in the academy. These dynamics are relations of power, and these scholars are political, as illustrated by their shrewdness. During a discussion of this study with American and European professors (European Teacher Exchange Network, personal communication, February 13, 2005), I had to explain the U.S. tenure and promotion process to the European faculty. One professor responded, which I will have to paraphrase, “Your tenure can limit critical perspectives in the university.” For the critical scholar who is also a specific intellectual, attention must be paid to politics in the academy because they impact one’s parrhesia. To not have parrhesia was equivalent to being a slave for the ancient Greeks. Yet, when the parrhesiastes acted, he also risked this right. Foucault characterized the parrhesiastic contract as a subversive trap; a right that exists as it is risked. Specific parrhesiastic scholars face a similar conundrum; they have had to figure out ways to survive in the
political environment of the academy. New Jack Professor was very explicit about his strategy:

The university faculty are highly political animals, and it's all kinds of favoritism and back biting, and just unprincipled activities. And I've fought just to stay away from all of that. I don't engage in alliances and I fight against them. So I fight very, very hard. So on the one hand it means that I don't have allies. . . . I mean I fight joining in an alliance. . . . And there are times when I have an axe to grind. . . . In this department I have fought repeatedly to get a multicultural educator on our faculty . . . and I fought for years to try and get at least one person hired. Why? I haven't gotten any support. So this is kind of the downside when you don't have alliances, because . . . I guess I could join an alliance and say, “OK I am with you all on this one, and next time when I fight for a multicultural educator you all support me.” But I haven't done that, so that's the price you pay for being independent. . . . Well, my desire to be independent is to not be co-opted and to be able to say what I want to say when I want to say it. And too, when you're part of an alliance you're part of something that's, well you're dependent and not independent. So, sometimes it hasn't served me... And people just look at me, “Oh well, that's Watkins, you know.”

New Jack Professor was clear about his intentions of maintaining his independence and thus avoided the pitfall of the first speaker in *Orestes* who was described as being
“subservient to those in power” and “ambiguous” in speech (Foucault, 2001, p. 57).

There was nothing ambiguous about New Jack Professor, and he constructed his life and interactions with others so that he maintained this independence. He also ensured that he owned his viewpoint and expressed it unequivocally. He was direct in both the intentions of this work and the language he selected for the text. In his article, “Our Country Is Rich, Our People Are Poor: Education, Justice, and the Politics of Structural Adjustment” (Watkins, 2000) he stated:

The world is changing more rapidly than any of us ever could have imagined. Humankind is on the verge of a breakthrough of monumental proportions. We have harnessed nature as never before. Food can now be grown overnight. Homes can be constructed in hours. The mysteries of long dreaded diseases are rapidly being unlocked. Computer chips, fiber optics, robotics, and other advanced technologies are creating a push-button world. . . . Today’s sociopolitical and economic environment is characterized by a wide range of structural adjustments including shifting fortunes, realignments, and displacements. Power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of a very few. . . . The top 5% of our population controls nearly 80% of the wealth. . . . Millions of the dispossessed have moved from relative to absolute poverty. . . . The $7-per-hour job greets our nation’s high school graduates. The fast-growing “punishment industry” now houses and/or supervises over 5 million “clients.”
Society is being reengineered before our very eyes. Democracy has given way to kleptocracy as those at the top steal the wealth collectively created by all of us. The notion of aiding the less fortunate is disappearing. . . . We enter the new millennium with great uncertainty. (Watkins, 2000, pp. 9-10)

This frankness is an important quality of positive parrhesia.

The word parrhesia, refers to a type of relationship between the speaker and what he says. . . . The parrhesiastes uses the most direct words and forms of expression he can find. . . . The parrhesiastes acts on other people’s minds by showing them as directly as possible what he actually believes. . . . The parrhesiastes says something which is dangerous to himself and thus involves a risk… (Foucault, 2001, pp. 12-13)

An excerpt from his New Jack Professor’s class lecture serves as another example of his frankness:

So much of what the whole testing movement is based on is flawed theoretically. We’re not predicting anything from these standardized tests. We’re not predicting success in life. We’re not predicting success on your job. We’re not predicting prosperity. These standardized tests are a bunch of hooey. I wanted to say bullshit, because they’re really not predicting the things that they are advertising. Now, just to get back to your point, what are they predicting? They are predicting further success in school. Now that doesn’t mean success in life, and that doesn’t even
mean success in higher education, your scores on the standardized test in
10th grade are pretty predictable for your scores at the 12th grade. So they
predict school success, but they do not predict life success.

He was clear, and those listening to him knew exactly what he believed. Additionally,
he found standardized tests harmful in that they disadvantage some students, particularly
students of color and poverty.

The act of speaking frankly, showing the consequences, and exposing the
exploitation is political, but it differs from the discourse of politicians. The politician
engages discourse in such a way as to please and sway as many voters and constituents
as possible, sometimes by being vague and indirect. The parrhesiastes, in contrast to the
politician, is more concerned with interrupting oppressive discourses. Renaissance
Intellectual illustrated the impact of her way of speaking directly and interrupting the
discourse on educational vouchers:

I really confronted this pro-voucher man, who was making it seem like it
was so easy, and he just wasn’t really dealing with any of the hard issues
in terms of what the real implications were for public school kids that
couldn’t go the private schools. . . . He was mad because I would have
the gall to be critical. And I don’t speak in this kind of passive, this kind
of objective, dispassionate way. That’s not who I am. And so he was
very angry because he felt I had embarrassed him.

Such a response would not be acceptable to a politician, who would either choose to
alter or be coached into altering her way of speaking so that those who support vouchers
would not be angry or embarrassed. For the specific parrhesiastic scholar, the alternative of letting such suggestions linger, unchallenged, is unacceptable. They want their work to affect people; to get them to think and feel, and to encourage changes towards equity. The consequences of not offering interruptions to harmful discourses are far more grave.

The scholarship, testimony, lesson, critical questioning, and writing of these scholars are direct. They did not worry about upsetting others nor did they fret about receiving approval. If overly conscious of how others might respond, they would be susceptible to self-censorship and making adaptations to placate others. Such actions would interfere with their practice of *parrhesiazesthai*.

These scholars were not simply expressive, nor naturally inclined to speak frequently. Their *parrhesiazesthai* was more defined. They were not subject to endless chatter, one of the negative forms of *parrhesia*. For example, Renaissance Intellectual indicated that exercising *parrhesia* by speaking publicly about her work was a courageous act. “Despite the fact that [she] feel[s] a certain amount of shyness” and “a little bit embarrassed,” she found the courage to say things that sometimes others wouldn’t say in public. The *parrhesiates* need not be an extroverted orator. The role is not one of speaking freely about everything. It is engaged on certain issues while avoided on others. Radical Scholar illustrated this difference. He had spiritual interests that he actively pursued and studied daily, yet he did not approach these issues as parrhesiastic endeavors:

I don’t dare write about that. I don’t feel I have sufficient authority to write about those issues because I don’t approach them systematically
and I’m still too much in the state of flux about it all. . . . I’m still in that mode where I’ll go where the arguments take me. They’ve taken me all kinds of different places.

His approach to social justice, an issue for which he was willing to take parrhesiastic actions, is different. He chooses to write about this, as he stated, “You don’t want to write about social justice, if you’re. . . . Well, you want to have a pretty strong position one way or another.” On this topic, Radical Scholar has clearly determined his position on the issues and developed the moral and intellectual formation to express *parrhesia*. In this positive sense, *parrhesia* comes from a foundation of *mathesis* or *paideia* – education, learning, wisdom, ethics, and intellectual formation (Foucault, 2001, p. 66).

**Political Activities & Tactics**

The works of specific parrhesiastic scholars are dangerous to blocked power relations and the *status quo*, because they challenge the state of affairs and hold the potential to alter power relations. Parrhesiastic scholars also have to avoid the forms of discourse that are dangerous to democracy: persuasive but ill-formed arguments, inability to know when to be quiet, and ambiguous speech that plays to all sides. Foucault describes these as ambiguous speech, ignorant outspokenness that elicits emotional responses without considering their political impact, and a tongue that has no door or a person who does not know when not to speak.
What makes it [care of the self] ethical for the Greeks is not that it is care for others. The care of the self is ethical in itself; but it implies complex relationships with others insofar as the ἔθος of freedom is also a way of caring for others. . . . But let me simply say that in the case of the free man, I think the postulate of this whole morality was that a person who took proper care of himself would, by the same token, be able to conduct himself properly in relation to others and for others. (Foucault, 1997e, p. 287)

Practices of the self inherently take into account how one engages power relations. The parrhesiastic choice is to honor the relationship with the self and truth as one who can speak freely, rather than submit in the relationship with another who may wield the power to harm, exile, destroy, or bestow privileges. When the ancient parrhesiastes spoke freely and countered the sovereign, he risked his position, as well as his privilege and duty to speak freely. In Eupides’ The Phoenician Women, Polyneices was denied his rights to rule and parrhesia when his brother, Eteocles, exiled him from Thebes instead of relinquishing the crown to him. Their mother, Jocasta, meets with Polyneices after calling the brothers together in hopes of a truce:

Jocasta: This above all I long to know: What is an exile’s life? Is it great misery?
Polyneices: The greatest; worse in reality than in report.
Jocasta: Worse in what way? What chiefly galls an exile’s heart?
Polyneices: The worst is this: right of free speech does not exist.

Jocasta: That’s a slave’s life – to be forbidden to speak one’s mind.

Polyneices: One has to endure the idiocy of those who rule.

Jocasta: To join fools in their foolishness – that makes one sick.

Polyneices: One finds it pays to deny nature and be a slave. (Foucault, 2001, p. 29)

For Polyneices the most difficult aspect of exile is the loss of parrhesia. His mother responds that this is synonymous with a slave’s existence. Polyneices then reveals the paradox, that “it pays” to resist parrhesiazesthai and to become a slave at home.

Because he offers criticism from below and not from the seat of power and rule-making, he must consider how he might be enslaved at home by not speaking freely, as well as abroad through exile. The parrhesiastes is ever vigilant when considering relations with others.

Exile

These five scholar-participants have also experienced various forms of exile during their careers. Radical Scholar, for example, was banned from public schools for publishing a book describing his experiences as a teacher in the Jane Finch Corridor, and as a result chose a private school for the site of his ethnographic dissertation. Later as a professor, his contract was not renewed despite a massive student protest on his behalf. Academic Warrior was banned from the school district that was the site for his dissertation after testifying as an expert witness against the school district and for
Mexican-American families and children in the district. Renaissance Intellectual’s experience a few years prior to our interview, however, parallels Polyneices’ conundrum most directly.

Renaissance Intellectual’s voice was completely silenced, and her choice to leave her institution was forced by the discursive strategies of her university colleagues. She recounted the circumstances to me:

So there was a point where there was a change happening in the teacher education program, and a group of teachers [graduate students] protested. They were really upset with what was happening. . . . So they sent me an e-mail. I responded to their e-mail, and said to them essentially, “You pay a lot of money to go here and you should be heard. And some of the issues that you're bringing forward are valid. They're valid and they're very problematic. I just want you to know that I support you.”

At this point, Renaissance Intellectual had no reason to expect anything out of the ordinary as a result of her actions. She sent the e-mail, and went to Jamaica to do some work. While she was away, the e-mail was circulated, and when she returned a faculty meeting was called. Renaissance Intellectual described how she was treated in the meeting, “I was – the only word I can use is that I was hazed.”

That's when the university just went [pauses], I guess berserk is what I want say, berserk. They were just crazy. There were also all sorts of backroom politicking, and that was real obvious by what happened. . . .
They went around the room and all the faculty that were there with the exception of one, proceeded to tell me how I had tried to destroy the department; how critical educators were nothing but political. This was not the first time that Renaissance Intellectual had experienced repercussions from her outspokenness, but in her previous experiences, she had explicitly addressed issues of race, class, and inequality. In this situation, she validated students’ concerns and offered her support. Other members of the faculty seized the opportunity that the unwittingly sent e-mail – written text that could be copied and circulated – created. She did acknowledge that there was a broader concern that the faculty had with the impact of her scholarship and teaching on students:

And my students, you know, I got students through, and my students went on to be professors in different places, and that was what was important to me. And what I think seems to on some level disturb people, of course nobody would really own up to it, was that my students – you know after they'd be in my class for while… they have a culture. They've been socialized in terms of, “You have a voice and you have a right to speak, and ask questions, and to critique.” And so they did. And then the word started going out that all I did was politicize students, because the students questioned.

The e-mail was enough justification for other members of the faculty to execute offensive strategies and for Renaissance Intellectual to experience being silenced and the exiled as Jocasta and Polyneices discussed:
**Renaissance Intellectual:** And after that, nobody would talk to me. I was just, I was just ostracized. So then I heard from different people that they had actually gone to see if they had grounds to take my tenure away from me. And so that's the kind of things that were done. But they couldn't . . .

**Huckaby:** And were you a full professor there at that time?

**Renaissance Intellectual:** Yes, I was a full professor. I’d gone from junior professor to full professor in those 10 years, and all of my evaluations had been stellar. So it was a complete political move. I mean on all the criteria that you would judge a worker they had nothing – publications, teaching, student evaluations, community service.

The rank of professor most likely protected Renaissance Intellectual from having her tenure revoked. It did not insulate her, however, from the political tactics and the shift in power relations that were to her disadvantage.

It was horrible. So at that meeting, I was so disturbed by it, that I said, “I think that there just isn't a place for me at this university anymore,” and I just got up and left after an hour, and I thought I had taken enough.

Since it was close to the end of the semester, Renaissance Intellectual finished the term and then requested a leave of absence from the university, accepted a visiting professorship, and took some time off. Eventually she began looking for a more permanent position. At the time of our interview she was beginning her second term as professor in a new institution. She relocated from the temperate West coast to the
harsher winters in the northern Midwest. Three of her students followed her to this institution and she negotiated tuition waivers for them in her contract.

The discursive strategies of power engaged in academia can be vicious and brutal, and their impact on faculty devastating. Fringe Academic’s arrival to her first faculty position overlapped the departure of her predecessor who was also a Black woman:

I was here while she was here, but she left because she didn't get tenure. Emotionally and psychologically, this woman was walking up and down the halls talking to herself, crying. That's how they beat her. I mean beat her. So I'm finding out all of this, but on the surface everything was sort of nice. But I realized that there must be one hell of an undertow. You know, there’s somebody walking around here talking to herself and crying. Something's wrong.

Despite these dynamics, the specific parrhesiastic scholar must learn how to exist and thrive within tense and even hostile power relations. If they are unable to survive, they will not be present to offer perspectives and experiences from specific communities or engage in parrhesiastic activities.

**Surviving in Unfair Conditions**

These five scholars have found ways to continue and thrive even when their colleagues’ actions were unprincipled and devious. Fringe Scholar, for example, described strategies used against her during tenure and promotion:
It was rather grim around here. I mean these people treated me horribly, horribly when I was struggling for P&T [promotion and tenure]. To come in your office every day and find little notes about other jobs in your mailbox; that's kind of what I think of as vicious, mean-spirited. Now, of course, some would say, “We did that with good intentions.” But what does that say about how a person feels about you? Want them there or not?

She later continued to describe her promotion and tenure experiences, which she prefaced with, “One of the better stories is, and I've got several, but I'll tell you this one.”

**Fringe Academic:** My promotion and tenure had been quote, unquote uncoupled. I got my tenure, but I didn't get my promotion. So, I wanted to get my [tenure file and was told], “You have your materials.”

I said, “No.”

“We've given you your materials back; there are no more materials. Your materials were given back.”

Everybody had gone in there and got their materials. I tore my house up; couldn't find them. I had to replicate all those materials. When I was moving into the chair’s office, there was a telephone guy there; the university bought their own telephone system. . . . I was fussing around in the chair's office doing something, and I said, “Excuse me, can you come here? There’s something way up at the top.” It was my promotion and tenure book. It was in the top, and pushed way back. . . . I mean it
was pushed back. You know if this is the end of the shelf that was out to here [shows depth of about 18 inches with hands]. I just happened to catch a glance of it, and I couldn't reach it. So I asked, “Can you pull this down?” And it was my P&T stuff.

**Huckaby:** So you didn't get it back.

**Fringe Academic:** No.

**Huckaby:** They had it all the time.

**Fringe Academic:** You got it. Because they never thought, whoever put it there, never thought I was going to be chair of the department.

Even though Fringe Academic knew her promotion and tenure file had not been returned after she was promoted to associate professor, she assumed she had misplaced it. After searching home and office for the file, she re-created and asked reviewers to resend their letters for her tenure review. The idea that the file had been hidden was unimaginable – that is, until she found it years later.

To earn tenure and promotion to the ranks of associate professor and professor, all scholars remain in their positions and submit to the judgment of their colleagues, external reviewers, and university administrators. Critical scholars face additional challenges, particularly when colleagues within and from outside their institutions make the tenure and promotion processes more difficult. Critical professors have experienced obstacles and mean spirited tactics at every level from student pressures, interactions among their disciplinary and interdisciplinary colleagues, responses from faculty tenure and promotion committees, administration of academic units, and university
administration and committees. Even when critical scholars meet the requirements for tenure or promotion, their research and scholarship interests and fields may be judged in more pejorative terms. One leading scholar in the field of multicultural education, who was recommended for tenure by his academic unit, was denied tenure at the university level. Even though he was recognized as an expert in the field, tenure was not granted because the representatives of the university did not respect multicultural education. Fringe Academic faced a similar situation and was given warnings about the content of her scholarship:

I was told, “if you write about African-Americans, you’ll never get tenure and you will never get promoted.” That’s what I am committed to…. What I tried to do was challenge that deviant and deficit paradigm, my own paradigm shift, if you will, to say what else is going on. That started me thinking about my notion of cultural knowledge. I mean another way of being in the world…. “You will never get tenure writing about African-Americans.” Then you say, well you know what – then I won't get it. But I'm writing. I'm not going to stop writing about African-Americans, particularly when I see White folks write about African-Americans, and they have made their careers off of the blood of our children. Never, never – there’s some things that I will never concede, and that's one of them.

Fringe Academic made a clear choice about her scholarship; despite the consequences, she would write about African-Americans. She also noticed that other scholars were
able to build careers studying African-American communities and students through models of deviancy and deficit. She directly challenges these paradigmatic assumptions in her work and offers alternative perspectives, which were apparently considered unworthy of tenure by one of her colleagues.

The experience of the tenure and promotion process is difficult in terms of preparation for meeting institutional requirements. Tenure and promotion are also emotionally taxing. As Radical Scholar explained:

I know some faculty of color who have huge scars they carry with them about the tenure process. And I identify with them in the sense that we share similar wounds in that our tenure cases were controversial. I will never forget the pain and the anxiety. And it has affected people irrevocably, such that some have decided not to apply for full [professor]. And I know professors, not just simply professors of color, but I know the trauma was so powerful that they don't want the possibility of having to go through that trauma again, by being turned down for full. Now, sure it doesn't carry the same weight. You've got a job, but you don't want that humiliation... because it's basically your peers. Now in my case, it wasn't because I got voted unanimously from the school of Ed. It was going on across campus, but still you know you've got a vita that could blow away anybody on the committee passing judgment on you, and you're powerless.
Going up for tenure and promotion is an act of willing submission to formal ritualized judgment. Clearly within Foucault’s conception of power, non-tenured faculty are not totally devoid of power, for power is enacted in power relations. Untenured faculty can garner power in these relations by creating impressive tenure files, building an excellent case, and seeking legal council if necessary. These relations of power, however, between untenured faculty and tenure committees, outside reviewers, and universities are not symmetrical. Consider Academic Warrior’s experience:

I put a lot of time into getting tenure. It took time trying to get time off to write, selecting certain journals and so forth. Because when I started, I had a book review. And nowadays, assistant professors are coming up with two, three, four [publications] and most of these are published with their mentors, their doctoral supervisors. I did not have those opportunities. Scholars of color, some of them have those opportunities, but I did not 30 years ago. So I had to really dig in and carve my own way. . . . But it was difficult, still difficult . . . I didn't get full professor until four years ago – way, way late. I should have gotten it back in 1993, you know?

In some ways, Academic Warrior did not know exactly what he was submitting to, because the rules for his promotion decision were not explicit. It was not until he was denied the rank of Professor that he was given reasons for this denial – not enough graduate teaching and supervision of student research. His response was, “I wish I had known way ahead of time what the expectations were, because I would have beat the
bushes to start linking up with doctoral students here.” For whatever reasons – conscious, unconscious, malicious, forgetful, neglectful – the rules and criteria for becoming Professor were not shared with Academic Warrior by his institution, administrators, and colleagues until after they were used against him. Despite this difficulty, he chose to stay and work under, or within, the process. This course of action occupied his time and shaped his activities as he submitted his work and himself to the judgment of others. In order to make the best case for themselves, faculty will even sacrifice their personal lives. Radical Scholar expressed this major concern:

[Getting tenure is] an overriding, overarching concern because it has to do with livelihood, whether or not we have a job and are going to remain in the academy. . . . I mean there are people who, for instance, will postpone having a family until they get tenure. They will postpone buying a house until they get tenure.

Fringe Academic, for example, postponed having her only child until she was 40 years old, and Academic Warrior had school-age children at the time of our interview. Both Renaissance Intellectual and Radical Scholar had children before their academic careers began. Scholars’ lives are shaped – the ways they spend their time, the activities they take on and the ones they avoid – by the tenure process.

Even with the rank of professor, faculty are not shielded from discursive strategies of power. One scholar who had earned the rank of Professor expressed a sense of caution about how what might come out in our interview and how it might affect relations with other faculty members:
But, as you know, for scholars of color there are often times in our careers that we walk a thin line with getting promoted and so forth and working pretty much in almost an exclusive White university. Over my career, there are some matters that have come up that I need to be careful about mentioning. I am now a full professor; I do have a lot that I could probably share…. But I need to be a little cautious in terms of burning bridges.

The choice to stay in academia is an act of submission to the rules, processes and people who make tenure and promotion decisions. In some cases, the processes are relatively fair even if the relations of power are asymmetrical. In other cases, like the ones just described, they are not. These examples of power relations are more overtly forms of domination and submission. Success in academia requires a strong constitution. As Fringe Academic warns, “You can't have a delicate constitution and remain alive in this business.”

Submission as Resistance

The parrhesiastes offers criticism directed toward another or others who are more powerful in asymmetrical power relations. In the case of these scholars, they criticize an established societal order that is maintained though various apparatuses, one of which is the system of their livelihood, education. It is of great importance to understand that the other side of domination is resistance, and that one can submit and resist within the same act. Foucault (2001) shares an example of Diogenes’ resistance
through submission to an enraged Alexander the Great, “Well, alright. I know that you are outraged and you are also free. You have both the ability and the legal sanction to kill me. But will you be courageous enough to hear the truth from me, or are you such a coward that you must kill me?” (p. 128). Diogenes challenges Alexander and tests his courage by offering his own life or the truth. Diogenes could be killed for daring to speak his truth, or Alexander the Great could hear him out and spare his life. Additionally, Diogenes could be granted the ear of Alexander the Great, speak his truth, and still be killed. Diogenes gives his life as tender in his practice of parrhesiazesthai. He submits his life as he resists the sovereign. It is a crafty and dangerous gamble, but had he not played the game, Diogenes would have become a slave to his own silence.

These scholars play a similar game, although they speak their truths more often in writing instead of verbal discourse, and to academic and community audiences instead of a sovereign. They risk their livelihoods instead of their lives. As hooks (1994) acknowledges:

> Progressive professors working to transform the curriculum so that it does not reflect biases or reinforce systems of domination are most often the individuals willing to take the risks that engaged pedagogy requires and to make their teaching practices a site of resistance. (p. 21)

Submission to the tenure process is also an act of resistance. Without tenure in the academy, specific intellectuals, their voices, and their perspectives would be excluded from academia and the status granted to participants in this forum. Who has the right to speak to issues is of prime importance to all of the scholars in this study. They bring
their voices, the perspectives of peoples whose forums in public discourse have been denied, limited, and relegated to the margins. Their approach to bringing marginalized discourses into more public forums, as I have been describing this section, has been multi-pronged: (1) gaining access to forums, (2) maintaining connections to specific epistemological communities, (3) bringing specific perspectives into forums, (4) developing legitimacy in forums, and (5) maintaining their integrity as specific parrhesiastic scholars. Determining who has the right to speak and who does not is a key element of power relations, and an instrument of Foucault’s notion of governmentality in which discursive strategies shape the behaviors of individuals. For example, Fringe Academic and Academic Warrior both experienced discursive strategies directed towards their scholarship that took the form of a message about their work and potential tenure decision consequences for pursuing such research. Fringe Academic was explicitly told she would “never get tenure writing about African-Americans” and Academic Warrior’s work was criticized as “too political.” The issues these scholars address are orthogonal to the discourses typical of academia, and their colleagues attempted to redirect their scholarship into a more parallel relationship.

**Expanding Access for Specific Scholars**

While there have been scholars of color who broached these issues in intellectual discourses of previous centuries and decades, these scholars entered the academy at a time when access to the professoriate for previously marginalized groups was beginning to expand. In 1984, for instance, Academic Warrior was appointed as the first editor
who was also a person of color of the flagship journal in his field founded in 1911. He described his achievement as “double-edged” because personally “it was a major accomplishment, but it was also an indictment against the system” that excluded people of color from the processes of deciding what would and would not be published in the journal. Academic Warrior found that even though the journal was now open to including the scholarship of people of color and women, finding scholars was difficult:

[My mentor] wanted to improve the rate of publications by women and also scholars of color. So as editors, we used to meet in Washington once the year with the editorial board. It was called the publications and communications board of [name of organization], all the [name of organization] journals come together. He was able to get a grant that was called The Underrepresented Groups Project, and I headed that along with my work as associate editor. . . . I tried every possible, conceivable way of getting the word out that we had this program where you submit the manuscript and I would try and link you up with a mentor. Then that mentor will hopefully give you guidance. So I tried to line up mentors ahead of time. It was highly unsuccessful because of the lack of submissions. . . . In those years I think that maybe it was a pipeline problem or perhaps the field of educational psychology had… a pipeline problem. We had so few people working in that area, so just a couple manuscripts came of the whole project.
Even though the organization was very much open to including the works of underrepresented scholars, and had developed a system to include these scholars, there appeared to be too few scholars in a position to submit articles, at least within this field.

New Jack Professor was also among the firsts. As he explained:

I’ve been fortunate over the last ten years or so to be part of the national network of, shall we call them new jack scholars or antiestablishment scholars. . . . But certainly in the ‘70s and ‘80s a whole barrage of people came out the top graduate schools in the country. That’s a new phenomenon within education where we got top African American scholars coming out of Harvard, Stanford. We’ve always had African American intelligentsia, but we never had this kind of critical mass at least with an education. I’ve been fortunate to have matriculated with them, a good cadre of people that I have the utmost respect for.

Like New Jack Professor, the participants in this study entered the academy at a time when access for specific intellectuals was beginning to broaden. Had they begun their academic careers a decade or two earlier their access to higher education as students and faculty would have been even more limited with the exception the one scholar who was not a person of color. As discussed in the beginning of this section, their routes to and reasons for academic careers varied, but once each scholar accepted this life course, he or she was aware of the opportunities for bringing specific perspectives into crucial discourses.
As a classroom teacher, Fringe Academic became aware of the need for a more public and higher status forum for her perspective when she was instructed to include “dreadful” literature like *Call Me Sam* in her English courses. In the book, a Black family lives in the garage apartment of the “goodly White doctor” and his family, and the son of the doctor rescues Sam from other children who make fun of him.

At the end of that year though, I will say this, I realized that I was not going to have any control at all over curriculum, what I could present to children, unless I got an advanced degree. So, that's when I decided to go back to Madison and get the doctorate. I came into teaching with the Masters, which was fine, but I realized I had no political power, because I caught hell for not reading what was in the book room. Even though I said, “They don't want to read this shit and I don't want them to read it. I don't want to read it. Why are you giving them this stuff, and then you wonder why they can't read?” It was terrible stuff, I mean, *Call Me Sam.*

Fringe Academic realized that her status had an impact on what she was able and not able to influence. Since receiving her doctorate and becoming a professor she has pursued a research agenda on African-American cultural knowledge. The creation of opportunities to express specific perspectives along with the hopes for influencing social systems drives these scholars, as Academic Warrior reiterated:

I was lecturing yesterday. . . . I began my lecture saying I testified a number of times as an expert witness. And I’ve always felt that it was important to share what transpired with anyone that wants to know about
it – lay public, academics, students. With the Angeles case, see, we lost that case. It was the first time I testified in a case, and I thought it was an injustice. I thought we should have won the case.

Academic Warrior and the other scholars have created opportunities to express the needs and issues of specific communities in the hopes that their work might contribute to improved lives and living conditions of community members.

**Silenced in Institutional Corridors**

Simply acquiring access to forums for speaking, however, does not necessarily guarantee the right to speak. Strategies similar to those once used to exclude specific voices from academia are also still imposed within the academy. Renaissance Intellectual, for instance, had developed a presence in the literature and was meeting the criteria expected of faculty when she began to notice changes in relationships with her colleagues:

But I guess as I started to gain status in the field – that is the only way that I can think of it, status in the field – I was being published and recognized; I did a lot of public work and public speaking – I began to notice more tension with my colleagues and problems. I really was aware of the sexism and a very interesting form of racialized relation.

She began to notice that faculty would seek the opinions of other faculty of color, and then use these perspectives to marginalize her work. In essence, the voice of one scholar of color was used against the voice of another:
They had this very funny thing where somebody would be used to neutralize my work, you know, because they're African-American or because they're Cuban. The manner in which certain people of color were used to neutralize... it was interesting.

Foucault wrote about this dynamic as “certain obstacles” and “certain dangers” faced by the specific intellectual. One aspect of this threat is susceptibility to manipulation by political apparatuses that can offer support and advancement, “The risk of letting himself be manipulated by the political parties or trade union apparatuses that control these local struggles” (Foucault, 2000, p. 130). Such a dynamic is central to games of truth, and is also a discursive strategy that can effectively silence, water down, or drown out the voices and views of some scholars while amplifying those of others. The opposing threat is the inability to garner support:

Above all, the risk of being unable to develop these struggles for lack of a global strategy or outside support – the risk, too, of not being followed, or only by very limited groups. (Foucault, 2000, p. 130)

The academic world has a complex social and political reality, as Renaissance Intellectual describes:

So what I learned about the politics of higher education is a lot about the oral tradition, and not in the way we think about it in communities, but the fact that people have their meetings, they create certain consensus, and they decide what is to their interests.
Clearly, such strategies cannot be ignored, but the ways scholars address the political climate of their institutions can affect their *parrhesia*. One scholar shared the example of a colleague who was so skilled at working this “oral tradition” that she chose to focus more on making counter strikes against offending professors than her scholarship. Such attention to these dynamics can drain energy and consume time, and as a result divert the professor away from scholarship. Some consideration of the social dynamics of the academy is important, but when it becomes all consuming it serves as a means to silence scholars. Renaissance Intellectual explained why sticking to the work is more important to her than attending to the social climate:

So I decided I wasn't going to try fighting them I was just going to keep focused on my work, which I realize has been part of how I survived. Instead of letting myself get too wrapped up with the craziness that I sometimes had to deal with… I just stayed real focused on the work. I really believe that’s why I was doing this was the work – it wasn’t my personality; it wasn't personal gain. I mean it was the work, and so if I just stayed focused on the work then ultimately the work would survive and that was what was important.

As a form of resistance, the scholars focus on their work, and therefore limiting the affects dominating forces would have curbing what they have to say. It is a form of persistence that works to ensure a place and forum of expression for critical scholarship, a form of scholarship often deemed political because it challenges the *status quo*. What seems to be of utmost importance for these scholars is maintaining *parrhesia* and
speaking freely, a notion that each member of this study reiterated many times over. As Fringe Academic notes:

You maintain your voice by continuing to do your work. . . . I think you maintain your voice by trying your best to be honest with yourself, trying to maintain some type of integrity. . . . That notion, “to thine own self be true.”

**Sustaining Symmetrical Power Relations**

In addition to their concern about maintaining their freedom, the scholar-participants in this study were also interested in not limiting the freedom of others. In a sense what they work to accomplish is intellectual, institutional, and practical space for their specific knowledge and experiences and that of their communities, while allowing space for others to do the same. They try to avoid the dual danger to *parrhesia* that Foucault (1997e) identifies:

In fact, it is a way of limiting and controlling power. For if it is true that slavery is the great risk that Greek freedom resists, there is also another danger that initially appears to be the opposite of slavery: the abuse of power. In the abuse of power, one exceeds the legitimate exercise of one’s power and imposes one’s fantasies, appetites, and desires on others. Here we have the image of the tyrant, or simply of the rich and powerful man who uses his wealth and power to abuse others, to impose an unwarranted power on them. But one can see – in any case, this is what
the Greek philosophers say – that such a man is the slave of his appetites.

(p. 288)

They resist in order to avoid being dominated. Without compromising their *parrhesia*, they submit only to systems that will help maintain their voice. Lastly, they manage their actions in power relations in attempts to develop and maintain symmetrical relations with others.

Radical Scholar, for instance, does not want to be seen as appropriating others’ politics as his own. By this statement he did not mean that he would avoid others’ issues or not support them. Supporting others in their struggles is inherent in his work. What Radical Scholar attempts to avoid is speaking for others. Such action, even when done with good and altruistic intentions, denies individuals and groups the opportunity to speak for themselves. As he says,

I don’t want to be seen as appropriating Chicano politics, when that struggle can be more adequately, comprehensively addressed by Chicanos. That doesn’t mean I feel White people can’t speak about it. Of course I do speak about it; it’s implicit in my work. . . . I think that as a White scholar that’s been really key. I mean, the thing is to be there with, not for. When asked, I will be there. When invited, I will be there.

He is both sensitive to and responsive to the power relations inextricably coupled with race in our society at this time. He is aware of both his options and his limitations, and he practices his *parrhesiazesthai* within these boundaries. He can speak freely in public forums, he does not always choose to do so, particularly when it infringes on others’
parrhesiastic rights. Conscientious of how he engages power relations and discursive strategies, he considers his discursive representation as a White, extensively published male scholar:

But I’m cautious… I’m aware that I could probably mount major projects around Chicano cultural struggle in LA. And I just feel that I’m not the right person to do that. But I don’t feel that I should be silent when it comes to speaking up and acting in solidarity with the Chicano community or the Latino community in general.

He is conscious and deliberate about what he will take on in his scholarship and activism. His past experiences, particularly the lessons he learned from his “scholarly crime,” have taught him that speaking on behalf of others, even when the intentions are the best, can be detrimental to the very people one intends to assist. This approach is one Radical Scholar wishes other scholars, particularly White scholars at this point in our history, would also incorporate:

There are times when I think White academics especially need to just sit back and understand, rethink the nature of solidarity and coalition-type politics. There’s always a sense of White folks wanting to take the lead in issues; to take the credit for struggles. They have not suffered the brunt of the oppression, and yet they wanna take the lead as the crusaders for justice. I’ve been very self-consciously attempting to not be one of those White folks, who takes up, who leads the crusade, because a lot of that is just simply academic politics. I think White folks need to question
their motives a little bit more. . . I hope I made the right choices around those issues. It’s not a backing off. It’s more like being somebody in solidarity, not speaking for, speaking alongside, speaking with. . . There are certain things that I’m pulled to do by my heart, by my sense of responsibility, political responsibility, human responsibility – I’ve said wait, I’ll be your friend, *uno compañero*. I’ll be a comrade, but I’m not to take the initiative.

Thus, Radical Scholar believes that antiracism, the Chicano movement, and African-American movements are vitally important and that there are opportunities for his scholarship to support these movements. He is also aware that there should be limits to his rights when they limit the parrhesiastic rights of others, particularly those discursively constructed as the marginalized Other. In other words, he is interested in fostering a commitment to freedom of speech on the societal level (McLaren, 2003a).

On a similar note, Radical Scholar has decided not to pursue a scholarly agenda on gender and feminism, even though he has written some feminist pieces. His rule for broadening these issues in his scholarship is to write about issues when he has something to contribute, while also being mindful of how he is positioned in the argument. An example is the best way to demonstrate this point. Radical Scholar considered writing a book on the impact of the journal, *Negro Education*, a project of Cornell West and bell hooks. He shared his thinking about this writing project after I asked him, “So, do you think if you were embodied differently that you would have a different approach?” He said,
Well yes, of course, of course, absolutely. I mean, I’ll write about things if I feel that I can add something to them. . . . I was even thinking of writing a book on the impact, possibilities of their (bell hooks and Cornell West) work in education. And I thought, “that’s just not the book I think I should be writing.” So I think you’re right.

He has been attentive to his decisions about when to step up and when to stand down. As a participant in this study, he has a unique position; he needs to also consider how his Whiteness and maleness influence power relations with an inclination toward domination. Radical Scholar spent a portion of our interview and informal conversations talking about how this dynamic of his White-maleness has emerged in his teaching:

**Radical Scholar:** One has to be able to anticipate that any exercise of power that either attempts to constrain or redirect is going to be seen as the White man throwing his weight around. Understandably so; I mean that should not be shocking to anyone given the history of education in this country with race, the racialization of identity, and the racialization of power. Yet, I have to make valuable assessments of my own agency. . . . I’m always aware of, I’m always conscious that I’m in all likelihood going to be seen with this [points to skin on his arm]. And when I do this, I’m not just making choices, but I’m also simultaneously entertaining the exercises of the choices; how that might be seen by people in the classroom.

**Huckaby:** It almost sounds like a double consciousness in a way.
Radical Scholar: Right. It is a kind of double consciousness, and I’m also saying to myself that I may be making the wrong choice. What is the right choice? . . . It is like you think and you try to think through three steps ahead and then you anticipate what somebody might think if you said this and how I might be misinterpreted. And you learn from past interactions, how your sense of agency is perceived, misperceived.

Radical Scholar shared some of these learning experiences. In one situation a student from East LA used to knock on my door and say, “I’m going to jam you.”

And I’d say, “What?”

“I’m going to jam you tonight.”

“Well, OK.”

“And I know you can take it and you know why? Because, I respect you, and I wouldn’t jam you if I didn’t think you could take it.”

And I said, “Yeah fine.”… It gave me a lot to think about… When you’re in the position of authority, you’re White, you know you’re being perceived as the oppressor even though you’re acknowledged as being on their side, and I think in a very real way. I mean students of color that come to my classes far outweigh White students. One hand, I think there’s a certain sense of “we appreciate McLaren and his writings, the stance he takes on behalf of the oppressed; we appreciate that.” On the other hand, “We’re now in the classroom with him and we’re watching to see how he teaches and to see whether he walks the talk, and is he going
to contradict what he says in his writings.” And some students are
questioning, “We’ve read his stuff; we like this stuff. What’s it going to
be like being in class with him?”

Radical Scholar understands the position of students, particularly the students of color
who test him publicly in his classes. He stated,

Shit, I keep saying that if I were a student of color I know if I really had a
generalized dislike of White people, which I do, generalized and I get to
know people first. . . . Now if I feel that imagine what the person of
color's feeling.

When he has responded to these situations, he has considered how he will maintain his
role as a teacher, how he might fulfill or disappoint student expectations of White, male
professors, and how he can act in accord to his beliefs.

The other participants in this study were also conscientious about their execution
of power in relations, but in a different way. Their concerns have been more focused on
avoiding positions where they would be over other people, and situations where they
marginalize others’ voices. For example, Renaissance Intellectual and New Jack
Professor have both avoided administrative positions that would put them in hierarchical
positions over others, as well as take them away from their work.

**Strategies of Protection**

The ancient *parrhesiastes* and the participants of this study have developed
strategies to provide some protections for themselves as they engaged in
**parrhesiazesthai.** In this sense, *parrhesiazesthai* is a *techne* requiring art, skill, and technique in practice (Foucault, 2001). Coping skills and strategies of protection are necessities for survival as a specific intellectual, and possibly for other scholars as well. The *parrhesiastes* must know what can sabotage and interfere with the freedom to speak and develop strategies to maintain parrhesiastic freedom.

**Maintaining the Work**

Persistence, tenacity, and maintaining the work have been an overarching strategy for these five scholars. Sticking with this type of work through “sheer tenacity” is not for everyone as Fringe Academic has warned:

**Huckaby:** I'm picking up a theme of keep doing it. You know if barriers come in the way -- like the people say you're not to get tenure if you do this work, keep doing it. With rejections, keep doing it. Without funding, keep doing it.

**Fringe Academic:** You got it. Keep doing it. But again, that has worked for me. You know what I'm saying, I don't want to lead you down a path. But what I'm saying is that for me it worked.

For some of the scholars, the focus on the work seems directly connected to lessons from their childhood about persistence, perseverance, and a strong work ethic despite harsh or what may have seemed like insurmountable conditions.
**Renaissance Intellectual:** But I kept just working. I just, I have a very strong work ethic, you know. I grew up really poor and my mother was a really hard worker, and you just keep at it. You keep at it.

**Fringe Academic:** Tenacity. It's just tenacity that you can't quit. But I keep thinking that that probably has a lot more to do with our cultural heritage. You know, because you figure like this, for Black folks things had gotten very hard, and if we had quit we would've never been free. So I'm wondering if that's not part of it. But we have to, we just – what is that great line, “Failure is not an option.”

Sticking with one’s work is a coping strategy that does allow a professor to remain productive in terms of their scholarship. For professors who are very much concerned about their scholarly work, this strategy does allow them to remain true to their intentions. Staying with one’s work was a also theme reiterated by Renaissance Intellectual as we discussed strategies for trying to make sense of the social dynamics among the faculty. She states,

But I'm just not giving too much attention to that. I'm just doing my work

[laughter, this is a small laugh that seems to indicate acknowledgment]
and working with the students, teaching my classes, and getting my writing done.

Fringe Academic used a slave metaphor to describe this tenacity as a self-protective strategy, “God knows, I got the lash marks on my back, but my knees ain’t scraped.” Her metaphor brings forth an image that she has been nearly knocked to her knees but
has not allowed them to touch the ground. It offers a physical and embodied image of the type of resistance required of parrhesiastic scholars. In the course of living this role there will be abuses and one may stumble under the force of lashes, but genuflection is unacceptable. Fringe Academic knows that as she proceeds with her scholarship there will most likely be consequences, but she keeps on her academic path, even if lashes bring her brisk gait to stumbles for a time.

Choosing Battles

Another self-protective strategy has been choosing what to sustain and what to relinquish. In response to my question on minimizing risk, Renaissance Intellectual explained her process of choosing her battles.

**Huckaby:** In your book, *Reinventing Freire*, . . . you talk about Freire's suggestion about how teachers who want to do this type of work need to realize that they are taking risks, but also find ways to minimize their risks. . . . What ways have you found to minimize your risks?

**Renaissance Intellectual:** I do try to be very thoughtful about the battles that I take on, but not so thoughtful that I’m compromising what I believe in – so there's always that tension.

Renaissance Intellectual identifies the tension between her *parrhesia* and the risks it entails. As discussed earlier, Renaissance Intellectual has chosen to leave an institution in order to maintain connections with her parrhesiastic work. When situations became
untenable for her work, she tended to withdraw from one situation so that she could continue her work in another.

One of the ways that I minimize my risks is if I don’t feel like I’m really welcomed somewhere, I just withdraw. . . . When I see that it’s clearly just a competition of who controls things and there really isn’t a place for dialogue, I would just rather withdraw. So I will not push, insert myself deliberately into situations where I feel like I’m not really welcomed, and to try to insert myself would only be a lot of wasted energy, like spinning your wheels.

These scholars negotiate this tension, each in his/her own way. While she has chosen to leave certain situations, Radical Scholar has avoided certain topics. The Palestinian conflict is one issue that has very much concerned him. He has studied the topic, traveled to Israel, talked with Palestinians and Israelis. On one hand, addressing this topic would require more intensive study. But Radical Scholar also had another consideration:

I think that I shied away more than I should have from the Palestinian conflict. . . . So that’s one area that I’ve thought perhaps it was better to just not, you know it was just too labor-intensive to really delve in and really it’s pretty volatile. . . . At that time I had so many different constituencies, critiquing me and challenging me. I just felt like, “Do I really need to have the Jewish lobbies go after me?” So I intentionally tried to stay away from that in terms of a major focus.
Writing about this topic would have posed a great risk to Radical Scholar’s *parrhesia*, which he was unwilling to take at the time. He did mention, however, that the topic was not taboo for him under different conditions:

So I feel that that’s something I may want to do at some point in time. I have about another 10 years probably in the academy before I plan to leave and become an independent scholar, retire then become an independent scholar.

At the time I interviewed and observed Radical Scholar, he would talk and speak about the Palestinian conflict, but he was delaying writing about it. He had not abandoned the issue but was waiting for a more appropriate time and position to address the topic in his scholarly writings. Such a position could be as a scholar independent of an affiliation with a university as a professor. Parrhesiastic scholars are deliberate, in most cases, about what they will and will not address. Like their ancient counterparts, they choose when to exercise their parrhesiastic rights and take the accompanying risks.

*Optimism and Hope*

For these scholars, opportunities and hope have been the inspiration for their tenacity and the reason for their endurance even when they know their treatment has been unfair. Their optimism, however, is tempered. Renaissance Intellectual, as an example, saw her work as a belief in herself, community, and possibilities. This belief appears to be a tenacity inspired by caring for others instead of ambition and goals, which she describes as “a sense of contributing, of sharing in terms of being there, caring
for others, and caring about what happens in the world. All of those, I think, are different pieces of who I am as a scholar.” While this approach is helpful in keeping one connected to the work, Renaissance Intellectual also sees the focus on the “ideal” instead of “accepting how things are” as a problem. As she states, “When you make decisions, you have to deal with the world in terms of what it is. So I think that sometimes it can get me into trouble.” These scholar-participants have found ways to steer themselves away from pessimism through hope and tempered optimism. Radical Scholar and his students expressed this notion through the phrase, “I’m not optimistic, but I am hopeful.”

Radical Scholar described what it is like for him to stay with the work, which he has situated within a temporal frame. He described the feeling:

You feel like you are spitting at the winds. I mean it’s a formidable challenge. But it’s a challenge that has a history – a history of revolutionary struggle, socialist struggle, history of the labor movement, history of workers movement, civil rights movements. It’s an honorable struggle that people have engaged in all over the world, and I’m proud to be part of that struggle, even if I know that victory will probably not occur in a number of lifetimes from now.

He focuses on his connections to past struggles and success in the distant future, and has found this historic and proleptic structure helpful. In a sense he “transforms the burden of knowledge into a scandal of hope” (McLaren, 1995, p. 117).

The development of their understanding of issues has been of major importance to the scholars. They were all well educated in terms of their terminal degrees, enriched
their learning through their careers, and had chosen interdisciplinary paths in their scholarship. They wanted their scholarship, writing, and teaching – their form of *parrhesia* – to be well conceived. All of these scholars approached their scholarship through multiple disciplines and a life-long process. In response to a question on multiple perspectives in his scholarship, Academic Warrior explained his scholarship:

**Huckaby:** I want to think through this a little bit. Your multi-lens – do you see that as coming from your way of being in the world, coming from you, or coming from the topic that you're dealing with . . . minority education?

**Academic Warrior:** As I was mentioning earlier, had I taken a traditional, conventional trajectory, that's what I would be doing right now. But I made the choice, and when you make that choice you were forced to learn as much about, and to gain insights into your population of study through different lenses and perspectives. You've got to know the history, because you could not study, for example, current testing issues in a vacuum. . . . In terms of social thought, especially hereditarianism and neo-hereditarianism, which is currently an issue particularly with African-Americans, . . . you cannot talk about that in a vacuum. You have to go back into history. . . . If you don't do that, you are only going to get a snapshot. . . . and what I'm trying to do in my research is to create an interesting reel of film; a movie if you wish. I cannot do this by boomp, boomp, boomp; boomp [punctuates the air with his first two
fingers and thumb brought together in a point]. So I have become a specialist on the Mexican-American population in many different ways. This has been by choice, because I could've become a Chicano historian or dealing with urban history or specializing in race relations. . . . I would just feel uncomfortable about taking . . . these portraits or snapshots – isolated. In my area of interest, in my mission, I guess you call it, I need to cover a bunch of areas . . . . But I want to get the most comprehensive picture I possibly can of my work, you know. I know it's unique, and I wish more people would do it.

This scholar’s mission, like the others, has focused on his specific interests, and over the last 35 years he has educated himself broadly. It appears that an important aspect of this historic-proleptic approach to the parrhesiastic role has been connected to developing interdisciplinary knowledge about the relations among specific communities and technologies of power. In the above example, Academic Warrior was interested in learning more. Studying the effects on the community as a result of the case was not just an interest; he felt “compelled” to pursue this study. In describing their work, the other scholars also expressed the sense of duty connected to their scholarship. Based on their “desire” for social justice, they “chose” and were “obligated to” their lines of scholarship. For Renaissance Intellectual scholarship as a duty is an integral part of who she is. She explains,

I see myself as someone who is always searching. I’m always wanting to know and understand my world. And then, once I understand, it’s not
enough. It’s like I want to know about this world and then I have to share what it is I know and understand with others, and find out if they know it and understand it in a similar way.

The scholar-participants conceptualized their roles as a parrhesiastic scholar as a type of duty. The role is a mission for Academic Warrior and Fringe Academic, a political project for Radical Scholar, the work for Renaissance Intellectual, and life as an African-American citizen for New Jack Professor. Their personal sense of duty has emerged from their experiences with specific communities. Through the interdisciplinary, historic, and proleptic qualities of their scholarship, they have worked to redress the concerns of marginalized communities.

*Letting Go Temporarily*

Specific parrhesiastic work is laden with intensity, and emotional responses to this intensity. Fringe Academic expressed the emotional intensity of being caught between the historic and proleptic as follows:

So what that means is that you just walk your ass off and you just keep going, and keep going, and keep going, and keep going. Keep going. And that doesn't mean you don't get tired. That doesn't mean you don't stay home and cry sometimes. That doesn't mean you don't go, “Oh, poor me, poor me. Oooo, poor me.” . . . Now that doesn't mean that I won't get tired and say Phttt [indicating enough].
She allowed herself to express and indulge in self-pity. She finds time to let go, but it is temporary and contained:

“All right,” I'll say, “OK, go ahead lay on the bed and cry. OK, go take a bath. OK, talk to Muffy [dog]. OK, now I'm ready; go again.” You know, I will not give up. . . . It’s just tenacity that you can’t quit. But you know what I keep thinking? That probably has a lot more to do with our cultural heritage. . . . Because you figure like this, for Black folks things had gotten very hard, and if we had quit, we would’ve never been free. So I’m wondering if that’s not part of it, you know? But we have to; we just have to.

Staying true to one’s principles requires discipline, perseverance, and knowledge. As Academic Warrior stated, “It’s a difficult area because of all the problems embedded and the fact that things are changing so slowly and actually a great deal of things are going in a reverse pattern to some extent. But you have to.” Academic Warrior has had to be “optimistic” and “look at the bright side” even when he sees previous gains toward equality reversing themselves into losses. There is a drawing on previous experiences that were also difficult as a form of inspiration and a reminder that they can indeed persevere.

Their experiences of perseverance have been tied to their past and to a possible future. From the past they have drawn on earlier experiences where they, their families, ancestors, and predecessors worked and persevered in the face of surmounting obstacles of slavery, poverty, racism, classism, and sexism. The possibilities of a future drew
them into and keep them in their work. As Renaissance Intellectual described, “I can see what can be. I have this sense – it could be this way – and I get more invested or more caught up with how things could be.” The scholars envision possibilities and want to act to make them real. Fringe Academic observed that “to have a dream and figure out how to make your dreams come true” she needed to be tenacious, “I just refuse to give up.” They have found ways to stay with the work even at times when possibilities seem bleak. The characteristic that has helped these scholars in this work, as they consistently referenced, is their tenacity. It is a role that requires tempered optimism and hope.

**Gaining Legitimacy**

Another important strategy these scholars have developed is gaining legitimacy. Renaissance Intellectual ensures the quality of her scholarship. She also checks the integrity of her work through engagement with communities.

Academic Warrior describes a situation in which groups of people (poor, Latino, Black) are not able to speak for themselves effectively and preserve their schools. The avenues through which they can speak are not effective. Through his research and publications, Academic Warrior takes on the struggle of Mexican-American families, which is also his struggle, and “speaks” through his writing. He intentionally utilizes research methods and language to ensure that his findings are published. As he explains,

So what I wanted to do was in the boundaries of social science research.

I wanted to make a case for the plaintiffs; why we should win this one;

why we should not pick on vulnerable populations – share the burden. So
I tried to do that in the article I wrote, *The Analysis of the Angeles Case* (1979)…. Just let the people know that in the Mexican-American community there’s this new form of denial. So I published in *Urban Review*. While *Urban Review* may not be read by court personnel, judges, and school administrators, the fact that Academic Warrior published in it has added credibility to his argument. Similarly, Radical Scholar has written and published extensively. He has learned from his mentor that he could rework and expand his scholarly works in order to place similar ideas in multiple venues until his next “break through” piece. He would then alter and build upon the ideas of the most recent breakthrough in multiple publications. Becoming widely published and maintaining his presence in the literature was a successful strategy. Because this written discourse has been so highly prized within academia, prolific scholars have been able to shield themselves to some extent. He offered his university the prestige of having him on the faculty, and with that came this right to parrhesia. Becoming successful in this medium helped them gain legitimacy. Their success has not, however, eliminated their risks and consequences.

Radical Scholar pointed out that the strategy of publishing widely worked for him, but as institutions of higher education begin to value grants more than scholarship, the strategy may become less successful. Radical Scholar explains,

> I’ve become an old-school sort of example – somebody who published a lot, but didn't do a lot of empirical work, and grant work. … It used to be that publishing … writing, being part of the debates, bringing out your
work—trumped grants. I think with the … neoliberal assault, the forces of privatization vis-à-vis the university, I really believe that bringing in big grants now actually is going to become much more of a priority for young professors than say publishing. I think we’re starting to see that now. I think if the University has the choice of hiring a new professor, who was a good prospect of bringing in foundation money over publishing prolifically, publishing and being part of the national debate or conversation or international debate or conversation; if there's a choice between those two kinds of professors they’d choose the professor who’s skilled at bringing in foundation money. …And what kind of critical work can come out of those foundation studies? I mean I’m not quite clear on the possibilities. I’m a little bit skeptical about the possibilities. So I think it’s gonna be a new set of rules and definitions for young scholars coming into schools of ed and in the academy in general in years to come. They may be made vulnerable by their lack of ability to bring in money. So bringing in money may be the prophylactic that protects them.

Parrhesiastic scholars cannot simply take the strategies of *parrhesiastes* and other parrhesiastic intellectuals and repeat them.
The Self within Systems of Subjugation

Parrhesiazesthai is not rote in its practice. It is instead practices of the self in context that must consider the particular circumstances of power relations. Parrhesiazesthai for scholars in this study differed from that of Diogenes. Diogenes spoke his truth to a ruler, and offered his life in the process. These scholars have found their parrhesiastic voices in their writings and speaking engagements for the audiences of scholars and community members. Becoming widely published would have been absurd for Diogenes, as would a professor offering his life in exchange for truth to the university president or chancellor. Obviously, the contrast between the parrhesiazesthai of scholars in the 20th and 21st centuries will most likely not be as divergent as this example. However, contemporary parrhesiastic scholars act within a given framework the specific circumstances of their lives within institutions of higher education. What worked for scholars in the last century has been changing as we have moved into this century.

Care of the Self & Relations of Power Summary

The focus of this section has been the parrhesiazesthai of five specific intellectuals. For the ancient Greek parrhesiastes, parrhesiazesthai was an activity of speaking freely for oneself. For the specific intellectual, however, who is uniquely connected to specific communities, is part of a collective act. The works of these scholars come from, respond to, and push further the interests of specific communities. In this regard, their parrhesiazesthai combines the role of the specific intellectual and
the *parrhesiastes* into the specific parrhesiastic scholar. The five scholars selected for this study have entered the academy over the past three decades during a period when access to the professoriate was beginning to expand for previously marginalized groups. Along with their entry into the academy they have brought their specific perspectives into the purview of the academy. This entry has offered them opportunities to express the concerns and interests of specific communities, and possibilities for transforming the conditions of marginalized communities, not so much through actions, but through knowledge and understanding that informs action.

Up until this point, the section has primarily been a descriptive analytics of the ways five professors and Greek *parrhesiastes* have engaged technologies of the self in relation to technologies of power for the purposes of *parrhesiazesthai*. It has explored the practices and experiences of specific parrhesiastic scholars through analytical and theoretical frames based on Foucault’s technologies of the self and power. Parrhesiastic acts are practiced on the self and engaged in relations of power; thus this section has considered care of the self and relations of power in tandem in three sections: (1) self-knowledge & power: resisting repression, seduction and desire; (2) political activity & tactics; and (3) the self within systems of subjugation.

The activity of freely speaking dangerous truths for the Greek *parrhesiastes*, as well as these contemporary scholars, primarily concerns the formation of freedom through practices of the self exercised within relations of power. Intentionality and resistance are key features of their *parrhesiazesthai*, applied in their technologies of the self and their responses to technologies of power. Like their Greek forbears, specific
intellectuals have established and risked their rights to *parrhesia*, free speech. Their truths are dangerous because they threaten the *status quo*, and the resulting position of opposition makes the scholar a visible site for the focusing of discursive technologies of power. Thus, *parrhesia* is dangerous to the *status quo* and the *parrhesiastes*, contemporary or ancient. However, *parrhesiazesthai* is practiced even though there are consequences. *Parrhesiazesthai* is a philosophical, political, and personal activity practiced in relationship with and opposition to the will of official leaders and rulers, the wishes of society or groups within society, and the desires of the self. In the ancient Greek form, the *parrhesiastes* served a critical and pedagogical role to transform citizens to serve the best interests of the city (Foucault, 2001, p. 82). The five specific parrhesiastic scholars, however, argue for changes in “the city” for the benefit of specific groups whose interests have not been adequately addressed. For them *parrhesiazesthai* is a dual activity of engaging power relations in the formation of freedom for oneself and specific communities.

Foucault suggests that self-knowledge is developed through three techniques of *askesis*; self-examination, self-diagnosis, and self-testing. The goal of these techniques of *askesis*, or practical training of the self, is to establish a relationship of “self-sovereignty” in one’s relationship with the self (Foucault, 2001). While the scholar-participants have not practiced *askesis* exactly as Greek *parrhesiastes*, they have ways to identify (1) their errors and misdeeds for future changes (self-examination), (2) those things of personal significance (self-diagnosis), and (3) representations in the world while focusing their will towards those things that are important to their purposes (self-
testing). Through techniques of *askesis*, the specific intellectuals have been able to identify mistakes in their approaches that did not result in their intended outcomes, identify the relevant tasks, and focus their energies on activities pertinent to their parrhesiastic goals while avoiding those that are irrelevant. The development of self-knowledge does not occur within a vacuum but is always situated within relations of power. For the scholars in this study, the technologies of power that are most harmful to their pursuits are the seductive forces that play to their desires. Therefore, their *askesis* turns inward to explore their desires and outward to identify external seductions. Additionally this *askesis* must consider the play or interactions between desire and seduction.

The scholars have had to pay close attention not only to how external forces, but also how their own desires to succeed as scholars could transform their scholarship in ways they did not intend. Thus, the scholars have had to be conscious and conscientious of the desired ends of their work and attend to how their means move them towards or away from this outcome. Financial gain has been one aspect of the academic life that these scholars critically negotiate. Their status and salaries as professors have moved them into social class categories that were unimaginable for most of them in their childhood years. These professors are acutely aware of the ways monetary gain can be used to seduce people into laboring for purposes that are not their own. They articulate and rearticulate their purposes and avoid letting money in the form of salary, academic appointments and positions, and grants be determining factors. In fact, they have chosen to accept lower salaries, turned away lucrative grants and projects, avoided higher
paying positions, and pursued scholarship that is less fundable in order the maintain their purposes and to consider ideas on the terms of their specific perspectives.

A component of these decisions has also been time in that they have chosen to protect their time for scholarship over financial gain. As a result, they have at times worked with limited resources. It is important to note that while they acknowledge limited access to resources, they do not use it to excuse themselves from pursuing scholarly interests with integrity. They pursue their work despite limits in funds and resources. They have also refused to “sell out” their own specific interests and the interests of local communities in terms of their financial gain. They see selling out not just in monetary terms and have refused to compromise ideologically. For them, altering the specific voice to assuage the concerns of their institutional and disciplinary peers discomforted by their dangerous truths is unreasonable. They have not been at all interested in succeeding in academia at the expense of leaving their communities behind. They have developed self-knowledge and used it to determine not only what they would do, but also to choose what they would avoid, thus conscientiously attempting to maintain their work for equality and social justice in education and the broader society as their primary interest. In summary, self-knowledge is one aspect of care of the self that employs techniques of self-examination, self-diagnosis, and self-testing. These scholars have utilized it to minimize the effects of seductive forces within relations of power. Through self-examination they have looked at their own vices and desires and considered how they might actually work against their espoused interests, and altered their approaches. Through self-diagnosis they have identified those things that are
within their purview and those that are outside. They use this information to determine what they will pursue and avoid in order to make their espoused interests their true interests.

Foucault argues that relations of power are always already and necessary to society, therefore practices of the self are exercised within power relations. For the ancient Greeks, *parrhesiazesthai* was practiced within systems of subjugation. This dynamic holds for the five specific parrhesiastic scholars. In both time periods, antiquity and contemporary, the parrhesiastic choice is to honor the relationship with the self and truth rather than fully submit to those in power even when the *parrhesiastes* anticipates potential risks to the self. *Parrhesiazesthai* is a vigilant practice that resists domination and strives towards freedom. The resistance exercised by the parrhesiastic scholar and Greek *parrhesiastes* is not without its risks. While the things risked are not as grave for the contemporary scholar – life and citizenship – the dangers they face are real and significant. They have been denied entrance to institutions where they conducted their research, fired from jobs, pushed out of institutions, and silenced within institutions. They have also witnessed the exercise of technologies of silencing and exclusion on other critical scholars. Given these circumstances, it is essential for specific parrhesiastic scholars to work out strategies so that they may survive and thrive within systems of subjugations and unfair conditions.

Submission as a technology of the self, particularly in regards to its role in resistance, is implied in Foucault’s Berkeley lectures and runs through the data from the five scholars. Foucault hints to it in his discussions about the subversive nature of
parrhesia and risk. I propose that parrhesia cannot be practiced without submission. By this, I do not mean that any form of submission is parrhesia. Parrhesiastic submission, while one cannot know its outcome, is not a giving up or giving into. It is instead a stepping into and becoming part of the situation the parrhesiastes resists and challenges. Thus, parrhesiazesthai is not an external criticism, which I argue is far more safe and less attuned to the nuances of the given circumstances. It is a challenge executed from within as a member of the system. As discursive technologies of power weed out undesirable voices, the parrhesiastic scholar finds a way to establish roots and ground her criticisms. This process of forming criticism grounded within systems of subjugations requires (1) access to forums, (2) connections to local epistemological communities, (3) place and space for specific perspectives in forums, (4) legitimacy in said forums, and (5) integrity as specific parrhesiastes and scholars. This submission as resistance makes parrhesiazesthai powerful, on one hand, and dangerous, on the other. As a living critique within systems of subjugation, the parrhesiastic scholar is both the target and vehicle of dangerous discursive practices, who tries to balance out asymmetrical power relations. The parrhesiastic scholar acts both to challenge domination by others and to resist dominating others, and simultaneously risks being co-opted or expunged from that system. Essential to this role is a reflective use of technologies of power and technologies of the self, what Foucault came to term governmentality. My vision of the parrhesiastic life is a difficult and dangerous dance. Essential to the parrhesiastic role and dance are strategies of protection. My sense is that
these scholars have not developed such strategies strategically but have learned them through reflective (thoughtful) and responsive (visceral) practices over their careers.

While I have identified several strategies that these scholars employ – choosing battles, gaining legitimacy, optimism and hope, historic and proleptic perspective, and letting go temporarily – each of the strategies serve to maintain and further their most important parrhesiastic strategy: maintaining their work. The maintenance of their work exists at the nexus of technologies of the self and power (governmentality) where they have learned through skill and luck to govern their own thoughts and practices (governmentality), and strategically resist, which also implies some degree of submission, the governing of themselves by others (government-ality). The acts of choosing their battles and gaining legitimacy are ways of attending to and negotiating their relationships to technologies of power. In their deliberation over what they will speak and write, the parrhesiastic scholar chooses when it is necessary to risk their rights to parrhesia through their parrhesiazesthai and when it is not. In terms of gaining legitimacy, parrhesiastic scholars are concerned with establishing a right to express dangerous truths within a given system of subjugations and their epistemological communities. In this endeavor, they must gain and maintain legitimacy in more than one community through the creation of scholarship of quality and integrity. They must also produce in ways that satisfy and fulfill the requirements of academia and maintain specific voices and perspectives. These scholars find ways to maintain a stance in the world that allows them to pursue parrhesiastic scholarship. They accomplish this by developing a perspective that is at once rooted in reality and possibilities. The possibilities in the
form of optimism and hope serve as their inspiration for the tenacious maintenance of their work. Hope for these possibilities steers them away from pessimism. They turn to historical understandings of the current material conditions of specific communities as a means of rooting their work in reality and their personal experiences within local communities also informs this understanding.

The proleptic aspect to their stances allows them to move beyond the historic towards a possible future. They seem to be compelled to facilitate the pavement of this path through understanding social conditions and the creation of possibilities for alternatives through their scholarship, teaching, and actions within local communities. This role is not without its emotional toll, which the women scholars expressed more explicitly in their interviews and writings. While the male scholars expressed the difficulties they faced and talked about precarious positions they experienced, they were less expressive about the personal and emotional toll of parrhesiastic work. Renaissance scholar and Fringe Academic shared the notion of letting go of the work, but only temporarily, as a way of taking care of the exhausted and embattled self, and creating a new place for the work. This letting go is a form of respite for the total integrated self—scholar, person, emotion, intellect, and so forth—as well as a preparation for the next exercise of parrhesiazesthai.

The parrhesiastic scholar does not make or monitor laws but participates at critical moments. Parrhesiazesthai is a political, philosophical, and personal activity of freely speaking uncomfortable truths that are doubly dangerous to the status quo and the
scholar. When the scholar speaks freely, she must do so in ways that are parrhesiastic but not detrimental to democracy.

Three forms of free speech are harmful to democracy. In the first form the speaker is not truly free because the speaker is subject to those in power and in this servitude speaks on behalf of others in a form of sponsored parrhesia. Such a speaker is ambiguous in the attempt to offer allegiance to whomever may be in power. This haphazard parrhesia where one is willing to alter opinions given a change in power can have perilous consequences to society. True parrhesia is not altered to fit circumstances. The second form that is detrimental to society is free speech as endless chatter. Such speakers are unable to distinguish when parrhesiastic rights should be used and when they are not necessary. The third form of negative parrhesia is confident but ill-informed, speech. Such actions elicit emotional response, but misuses parrhesia and can rile the citizenry with ill-formed thinking and persuade through ignorant outspokenness.

Parrhesia in its positive form is based on moral and intellectual formation. One of the most salient characteristics of positive parrhesia is that its speaker owns it despite the opinions of others. The role of parrhesia in games of truth is precarious even when it is practiced in its more positive forms. The parrhesiastic scholar needs political competence as she negotiates the dangerous position of her parrhesiazesthai, its effect on the status quo, and its impact in terms of democracy. Thus, the role of parrhesiates is highly political and stands out in contradiction to other forms of politics because it counters political forces that appear neutral. When they are successful, parrhesiastic scholars not only challenge the status quo, but also can effect change that alters it. In
these cases, their actions are perceived as exaggerated forms of politics, which makes them susceptible to the judgments of others and potential or realized exile.

Integral to the tenure and promotion process and unavoidable for professors in the United States of America is judgment by others. As such, specific parrhesiastic scholars face a particular challenge when negotiating their scholarship alongside tenure and promotion preparation. The approach of these scholars has been to maintain integrity towards their work, to build good cases for tenure and promotion committees, and to remain tenacious. In summary, the parrhesiastic scholar must (1) be able to defend her position and that of local communities, (2) offer a perspective and advice that is to some degree reasonable enough to interrupt oppression and hegemony, and (3) enhance instead of weaken the possibilities for democracy.

I have explored the role of the specific parrhesiastic scholar and the ancient Greek parrhesiastes through comparisons of parrhesiazesthai in the experiences of five specific intellectuals and Foucault’s analysis of ancient Greek forms as present in his Berkeley lectures. Parrhesiazesthai is indeed a political activity practiced within relations of power, some of which are political tactics directed toward the parrhesiastic scholar. The self cannot be extricated from relations of power and in situations were parrhesiazesthai is deemed necessary the relations are more than likely ones of subjugation. Self-knowledge has assisted these scholars in clarifying their positions and was used within relations of power to make decisions about how they would expend their energies, what they would give up, what they would protect, and where they would not compromise. The parrhesiastic game has not remained the same in terms of what is
risked by the *parrhesiastes* or the form of the parrhesiastic discourse. The parrhesiastic game was a game of life and death, citizenship and exile in ancient Greece. For the specific parrhesiastic scholar, it is also a game of survival, but the survival has been transformed from physical survival to social or professional survival. At stake are careers, livelihoods, and reputations, as well as rights to *parrhesia* on behalf of the interests of local communities.
CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

Specific Parrhesiastic Scholars, Care of the Self, and Relations of Power

In this dissertation, I have taken on the question of how five specific intellectual scholars of education participate in games of knowledge and truth around issues of educational equity and equality. I have attended to how they negotiate their scholarship, careers, and lives within institutional, academic, and social systems, and the ways their roles and strategies compare to those of the ancient Greek parrhesiastes. The parrhesiastes and the scholar-participants of this study concern themselves with speaking as freely as possible uncomfortable truths that are dangerous both to the status quo and the parrhesiastic scholar. The scholarship of Academic Warrior, Renaissance Intellectual, New Jack Professor, Radical Scholar, and Fringe Academic are forms of counter-knowledge that challenge the inequities of educational and societal systems and advocate for symmetrical power relations. Paradigmatically, these scholars are interested in changes in education and society that are radical, particularly when considered alongside the current state of affairs. Thus, I argue that these professors are radical humanists in that they are concerned with understanding societal conflicts and modes of domination as a means of informing emancipatory potential. They believe in the possibilities of equality and equity within human societies and have focused their lives’ works in this direction.

The five scholar-participants are specific intellectuals who have remained connected to local communities. They are literal and epistemic border crossers who both
bridge the worlds and blur the boundaries of local communities and academia. Their lived experiences and tacit knowledge of local communities informs their scholarship in terms of content, method, ethics, and purpose. They merge their scholarly work with the interests of communities. The theory and critical lenses they developed during their academic studies have aided them in their understanding of the lived conditions of peoples within local communities. To this end, they have utilized the position and tools of the universal intellectual within the academy and transformed them to address the concerns of local communities, while challenging the broader society to envision a fair, just, and equitable society the extends to all of its communities and groupings. Foucault addresses the issues of specific intellectuals and defines their role. In Book 1 of this dissertation, I explore how specific intellectuals merge their lived experiences, interests of local communities, and work as scholars. They have redefined the boundaries of academic epistemological communities, and brought the interests of local communities into the production of knowledge and truth(s).

The work of Michel Foucault is central to this dissertation both theoretically and methodologically. This dual use of Foucault’s works is appropriate for Foucault’s theories were always also “tools to aid in analysis” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 120) and vice versa. Thus, when he introduced a concept such as relations of power, implied in that concept was a means to study it. He, however, was not explicit about his method, and I have worked with his writings in order to understand his method or at least an interpretation of his method. Foucault’s questions that are most applicable to this study addressed the junction of technologies of the self and of power – how are free
individuals constructed through these technologies, and how do they play truth games? His work on specific intellectuals, care of the self, relations of power, governmentality, *parrhesia*, and power-knowledge are most related to this dissertation. As stated above in this conclusion, “specific intellectuals” are individuals who can influence discourses through the production of knowledge and yet are connected to local communities and understand tacitly the knowledge systems of these communities. As for “care of the self,” Foucault was concerned with the ways one exercised oneself within relations of power to constitute the self into desired forms. It is important to remember that Foucault’s interest in care of the self was not at all related to caring for the body or identity, but was more concerned with practices of the self as a form of governing oneself. The form of the self that most interested Foucault was that of the free and ethical individual. Foucault conceived of power as existing in relations instead of being bestowed on or invested in entities, institutions, or individuals. He described power relations as symmetrical, asymmetrical, blocked, mobile, and frozen. Mobile and symmetrical power relations allow individuals, groups, communities, and institutions to adopt strategies that can modify relations of power. Asymmetrical, blocked, and frozen power relations that prevent any reversibility through economic, political, or military means are states of domination. Foucault conceived of power and knowledge working concurrently in what he coined as power-knowledge. Diffused throughout the social nexus, knowledge functions on the universal level by defining what is real and true. It has a totalizing effect, manifested in laws, institutions, professions, rewards, wealth, and punishment. Thus, power works along with knowledge, not universally but within the
interactions between individuals, institutions, and other entities. Foucault also acknowledged the role of hidden, subjugated, and minor knowledges that are ignored by totalizing forms of knowledge. The processes of subjugating some forms of knowledge can lead to blocked power relations; however, the reemergence of hidden knowledge(s) can alter the power relations rendering totalizing knowledge vulnerable.

I have made sense of Foucault’s term governmentality by thinking of it as government-ality and govern-mentality. Foucault uses governmentality in two ways, with government-ality expressing the ways one person tries to control the behavior of others and govern-mentality describing the nexus between technologies of the self and of power in which one uses technologies of power to govern the self. The latter view of govern-mentality is central to work of Foucault’s on parrhesia or fearless speech. In this work, he explores the practices of ancient Greek parrhesiastes, citizens who spoke dangerous truths, through Greek tragedies. These concepts were explored in depth in “Book 2: Michel Foucault as Chorus: A Review of the Literature,” and are all important to the question this dissertation addresses: How do specific intellectuals in education fit within games of truth about equity and equality, and how does their particular position, role, and ways of being compare to that of the ancient Greek parrhesiastes? In addition to this broader question, I was also interested in related sub-questions.

- How do discourses limit and shape the works of these scholars?
- What confrontation strategies do these scholars use to negotiate research intentions within established discourses?
- How are the intentions for their works discursively modified?
- What are the power relations around the works of these scholars?
- How do the discourses produced by these works condition and limit the broader field of educational scholarship?
- How do they sustain themselves for continuing this type of work?
- How do they do it in a way that is consistent with the topics of their scholarship?
- How do they negotiate their careers and their scholarship?
- How do they position themselves so that they know that they are speaking for themselves and are speaking freely?

To address these questions, I translated Foucault’s method and incorporated an adaptation of it into this study. Because Foucault did not explicitly explain his method of inquiry, I have had to study his descriptions of his questions, methodological intentions, and theories in his texts and interviews. In my work to explore closely how five specific intellectual scholars employ practices of the self within relations of power, I have applied Foucault’s method through a process of identifying illustrations of his concepts embedded within the qualitative data of texts, dialogue, and narrative. I have used a process of interpretive analytics to explore relations of power and interpretive diagnostics for practices of the self (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). While my initial analyses separated these two functions, I found the writing about relations of power and practices of the self as distinctive categories untenable, and subsequently combined the two. There are some key differences between this study and Foucault’s work. Much of his work focused on subjugation and domination. In this study I have explored the flip
side, and moved my scholarly gaze away from domination/subjugation towards resistance and freedom. This study also differs in its historical context. Instead of exploring a historical time primarily through documents, I consider experiences of the present and recent past and rely on living participants. I also incorporated Foucault’s Berkeley lectures, “Fearless Speech” (Foucault, 2001), into the study as a document of and for analysis. As a document of analysis, I compared the practices of Greek parrhesiastes to the five specific intellectual scholars. This process epistemologically binds my work more closely to Foucault’s. I use the text metaphorically as a document for analysis to work alongside Foucault. It has been my intention that such a process would bind my study more closely to Foucault’s in terms of method.

The five participants were selected because their work as scholars is enmeshed with the apparatuses of truth, and has potential impact when applied to educational practice and policy. They each are tenured faculty who address issues of hegemony, privilege, and oppression in their scholarship. More specifically, they challenge hegemonic assumptions in educational discourses and advocate for the abolition of inequitable opportunities and experiences within education. Lastly, the selected scholars were willing to participate in an intensive study that required lengthy interviews, observations, and access to documents. The data for this study included archival documents related to the works and careers of the five scholars, transcriptions of interviews with the scholars, transcriptions of observation notes and recordings of their classes and scholarly presentations, the text Fearless Speech, and a reflexive journal.
The technical aspects of data analysis incorporated content analysis as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) with some adaptations. Because the approach to analysis was an interpretation of Foucault’s method, I provided detailed examples of data units categorized into components of care of the self and power relations in Book 3: Applying and Adapting Foucault’s Methodology.

Power relations are necessary to society and as Foucault points out they are also always already, as such practices of the self are exercised within power relations. For the ancient Greek parrhesiastes and contemporary parrhesiastic scholar, the parrhesiastic choice is to honor the relationship with the self and truth rather than fully submit to those in power even when risks to the self are involved. This vigilant practice resists domination and strives towards freedom. Parrhesiazesthai was an activity of speaking freely for oneself for the ancient Greek parrhesiastes. For the specific intellectual, it is a collective act in that the specific parrhesiastic scholar comes from, responds to, and pushes further the interests of specific communities. Activities of speaking freely for the scholars in this study engage relations of power in the formation of freedom for themselves and their specific communities. Parrhesiazesthai is a philosophical, political, and personal activity that argues for changes that would benefit specific groups whose interests have been inadequately addressed in terms of educational and societal opportunities. Parrhesiastic activities appear to be exaggerated forms of politics, when compared to seemingly neutral politics of maintaining hegemony, and are therefore susceptible to the harsh judgments of others and potentially severe consequences. Judgment by others is unavoidable for professors in the United States of America and its
processes are integral to the tenure and promotion process. Specific parrhesiastic scholars face a particular challenge when negotiating their scholarship alongside tenure and promotion preparation.

Like their Greek forbears, contemporary specific parrhesiastic intellectuals must establish their rights to speak freely, as well as risk these rights with dangerous truths that threaten the status quo. Such positions of opposition make the scholars targets for discursive technologies of power. Thus, parrhesiazesthai is both dangerous to the specific intellectual, and fraught with potential negative consequences. Because of the nature of parrhesiazesthai, knowledge of oneself is essential for parrhesiastic scholars. For the ancient Greeks, askesis in the forms of self-examination, self-diagnosis, and self-testing was a means to know oneself and to establish a self-sovereignty in one’s relationship to the self. Through self-examination, these scholars have looked at their own vices and desires and considered how they might actually work against their espoused interests, and subsequently altered their approaches. Through self-diagnosis they have identified those things that are within their purview and those that are outside. They use this information to determine what they will pursue and avoid in order to make their espoused interests their true interests.

The technologies of power most harmful to their pursuits are the seductive forces that play to their desires. Therefore, their askesis turns inward to explore their desires and outward to identify external seductions. Their askesis must consider the interactions between desire and seduction. Intentionality and resistance are key features of their parrhesiazesthai, used to manage their desires and seductions respectively.
Financial gain is one aspect of the academic life that these scholars critically negotiate. Acutely aware of the ways monetary gain can seduce one into working for another purpose instead of their own, these scholars have avoided positions, grants, projects, and scholarship that would yield more financially but also misdirect their energies. To this end, they have chosen lower salaries, turned away lucrative grants and projects, avoided higher paying positions, and pursued scholarship that is less fundable. They have also chosen to protect their time for scholarship more so than their financial gain, even if they must work with limited resources. They do not use limited resources, however, as excuses for less than excellent scholarship. They have refused to “sell out” figuratively and literally. As scholars and specific intellectuals their ideologies are not for sale, and they avoid sacrificing their own specific interests and the interests of local communities for personal financial gain. They maintain their integrity by not altering their specific voices to assuage the concerns of colleagues discomforted by their dangerous truths. They have no interest in succeeding in academia at the expense of their communities. Maintaining their work for equality and social justice in education and the broader society is their primary interest.

Submission as a technology of the self, particularly in regards to its role in resistance, is implied in Foucault’s Berkeley lectures and runs through the data from the five scholars. *Parrhesia* cannot be practiced without submission or becoming part of the system that is the target of the *parrhesia*. *Parrhesia* is not exercised through any form of submission. Parrhesiastic activities are not a giving up or giving into but a stepping into and becoming part of the situation the *parrhesiastes* resists and challenges.
Parrhesiazesthai is not the safer form of criticism from the outside, which is also less astute to the nuances of the circumstances. It is a challenge executed from within as a member of the system. Likewise, parrhesiazesthai is not any form of resistance. It is, however, resistance informed intellectually and morally, engaged at critical moments, and considerate of its outcomes as well as its means. The submission as resistance of the parrhesiastic scholar makes parrhesiazesthai powerful, on one hand, and dangerous, on the other. While the risks – life and citizenship – are not as grave for the contemporary scholar, the dangers are real and significant. The scholars have been denied entrance to institutions where they conducted their research, fired from jobs, pushed out of institutions, and silenced within institutions. Discursive technologies of power weed out undesirable voices, including parrhesiastic perspectives. Therefore, developing strategies of protection is essential for specific parrhesiastic scholars. They need to find ways to establish strong foundations to ground their criticisms through gaining (1) access to multiple forums, (2) connections to local epistemological communities, (3) places and spaces for specific perspectives in forums, (4) legitimacy in forums, and (5) integrity as specific intellectuals and academic scholars. Their approaches have been to maintain integrity towards their work, to build good cases for tenure and promotion committees, and to remain tenacious in terms of their work.

As a living criticism within systems, the specific parrhesiastic scholar is both the target and vehicle of dangerous discursive practices that try to balance asymmetrical relations of power. To this end, parrhesiastic scholars challenge the domination of others and resist internal desires to dominate others. Essential to this role is
governmentality, the reflective use of technologies of power and technologies of the self. While the scholars employ several strategies – choosing battles, gaining legitimacy, optimism and hope, historic and proleptic perspectives, and letting go temporarily – each of the strategies serve to maintain and further the most important parrhesiastic strategy: maintaining one’s work. The maintenance of their work exists at the nexus of technologies of the self and power where they have learned through skill and luck to govern their own thoughts and practices (govern-mentality); and to strategically resist, which also implies submission, the governing of themselves by others (government-ality). The scholar-participants in this study have learned protective strategies more from reflective (thoughtful) and responsive (visceral) practices over their careers, than through tactical strategies. Specific parrhesiastic scholars develop perspectives rooted in reality and possibilities. Optimism and hope are their inspiration for maintaining their work and the antidote to pessimism.

Prolepticism allows the scholars to move towards a possible future that is more democratic. To this end, their parrhesiazesthai must not be detrimental to democracy. They avoid the forms of free speech that are harmful to democracy in which the speaker (1) is not truly free, but in servitude to those in power who speaks ambiguously to offer allegiance to whomever may be in power; (2) chatters endlessly and is unable to distinguish when parrhesiastic rights should be used from when they are not necessary; and (3) is confident but misinformed, yet able to rile the emotions and persuade through ignorant outspokenness. The role of parrhesia in games of truth is precarious even when it is practiced in its more positive forms. Thus, the parrhesiastic scholar needs political
competence as she negotiates the dangerous position of her *parrhesiazesthai*, its effect on the *status quo*, and its impact in terms of democracy. When they are successful, parrhesiastic scholars challenge the *status quo*, and may also effect change that alters it. The role of *parrhesiastes* is highly political. It stands out in contradiction to other forms of politics that appear neutral, yet maintain things as they are. True *parrhesia* in its positive form for specific intellectuals entails (1) not altering one’s perspective to fit circumstances, but defending the position of the scholar and local communities; (2) practicing *parrhesiazesthai* selectively at crucial moments by offering perspectives and advice that are reasonable enough to interrupt oppression and hegemony, and (3) enhancing instead of weakening the possibilities for democracy through moral and intellectual formation.

**Considerations and Limitations of the Study**

There are several ways I could have approached this study, one of which was to gather the experiences of scholars within a more typical qualitative study. The inclusion of Foucauldian theory and method, as well as Foucault’s Berkeley lectures, as part of the data made the study more complex and difficult to conduct and analyze. The study, however, was richer for these theoretical, methodological, and data inclusions. In terms of the study, Foucauldian practices of the self and power relations offered an appropriate theoretical frame for the experiences of scholars, such as these, who are very conscious of how they construct integrity into their academic lives and negotiate their positions within the academy. The use of Foucault’s method, although adapted to some extent,
provided consistency within the study and remained true to Foucault’s notion of having theory and method conceptually linked. The inclusion of the Berkeley lectures completed the connection to Foucault’s work while connecting the experiences of contemporary scholars to parrhesiastic activities of others in a previous time. I believe this recursive inclusion of Foucault has strengthened the study in terms of its content, method, and theory. As for my learning as a nascent scholar, working with the Berkeley lectures forced me to deal with Foucault, I believe, more on his terms. As I analyzed the data from the scholar-participants, the text Fearless Speech was a constant reminder of how Foucault conceptualized parrhesia and parrhesiazesthai, as well as practices of the self. Lastly, these inclusions afforded me the opportunity to explore notions of freedom as practices of the self and resistance within relations of power in current times instead of the historical contexts that are typical of Foucault’s work.

Considering that this study is an exploration and a creation of new research space, the number of participants was appropriate. The inclusion of five scholars allowed time for in-depth reading of their scholarship and interviews. Had the sample size been larger, less time and thought would have been available for each of the participants. I acknowledge, however, that a broader range of diversity of specific intellectuals would offer more nuance to the results of this project.

Clearly, this study was not designed for making generalizations, and even with a larger sample, generalizations would be inappropriate. The five scholars who participated in this study shared their experiences with me. They are in no way the spokespersons for scholars of their race, gender, socioeconomic experiences, or
disciplines. While their situations are unique and particular to their lives, there are obviously similarities among their experiences, and readers may indeed share some similar experiences with them. In this regard, I am far more interested in transferability. I hope that other specific intellectuals who dare to express dangerous truths find some benefit, solace, and applicability within these pages. My intention has been to provide rich description and theoretical grounding to facilitate the reading of the five scholars’ experiences and application to current situations.

Regretfully, I must consider the fact that the ideas in this study may be used against specific intellectuals. I have, I hope, offered detailed descriptions about how specific intellectuals have negotiated their careers, and am aware that just as these insights might be useful for scholars with similar experiences, they might also be used to thwart the efforts of specific intellectuals. I do not have control over how others use the ideas that I present other than to be clear about my intentions and to acknowledge the potential uses and misuses (from my perspective) of this work.

I wanted to gain a sense of the body of the specific intellectual – how it is discursively constructed, and how it is the site of contestation. Unfortunately, I have been unable to explore this interest within the confines of this study. I believe I do not have the data for this, and I suspect that in collecting data through readings of and interviews with the scholar-participants, I missed more appropriate data for this purpose. I am currently speculating that more appropriate data on this may involve more careful observation of scholars in their world or interviews with others who interact with scholars. I am unsure, however, how I might get around the influences of an observer on
such discourse. I also suspect, but am not fully certain, that to some extent the work of scholars resides in their ideas and not so much in their bodies, thus the process of studying their experiences may miss the body. Lastly, I speculate that specific intellectuals in some ways want to minimize the impact of their bodies and the social significance of their bodies. I am not saying that the data was completely devoid of references to the body, explicit or implicit. Such reference are there, but not to the degree that I am confident in writing about them, and I believe this interest is better left for another study instead of treating it superficially within this project.

As for future lines of research from this study, I would like to continue this study by including additional specific intellectuals. Adding additional scholars would allow for greater diversity among the participants. I am curious to explore how scholars with backgrounds (race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, culture, religious, and national origin) that are different from the scholars in this study negotiate parrhesiastic roles. Collecting additional data from younger scholars would afford me the opportunity to explore how current academic pressures affect their parrhesizesthai of younger scholars. I anticipate that such a study could include a consideration of how parrhesizesthai has been practiced in three time periods (1) ancient Greece, (2) 20th century academy, and (3) 21st century academy. The addition of archival sources from other 20th century educational scholars who took on parrhesiastic roles such as W.E.B. DuBois and Paulo Freire might also be of use. I am also interested in specific intellectuals who accept more lucrative grant funds, administrative positions, and consulting assignments, as well as those who have been less successful in academic
careers as compared to the five scholars who participated in this study. Lastly, exploring
the role of the body in parrhesiastic acts as described in the previous paragraph is also an
important consideration for future work.

**Epilogue: A Conversation with Foucault and New Century Parrhesiastes**

On stage are three characters sitting around a kitchen table. Michel Foucault sits
across the table from M. Francyne Huckaby. New Century Parrhesiastes also sits at the
table in the chair between Foucault and Huckaby, and from her place is able to view the
world outside the kitchen window. Huckaby warms her hands on a hot cup of coffee,
Foucault stirs his beverage, and New Century Parrhesiastes dips a teabag into her cup.
The characters’ movements are slight and slow as though they are posing as a painter
paints them.

Huckaby: Professor Foucault, as I was reading your work, I kept thinking, “If this is
how domination works, what are the possibilities for resistance in my specific
situation? Where are the momentary openings for change? How can I function
within this discourse?” I think your work and this dissertation begins to address
this question for specific intellectuals in education, particularly those of us who
are new to the academy.

Foucault: Are you suggesting that the combination of our works might offer courses of
action that young scholars should take?
Huckaby: No, not exactly. I don’t think either of our works can inform scholars that specifically. What you offer are insights into how domination and subjugation work. Your inclusion of the role of knowledge alongside power, I believe, is particularly helpful for those of us who make knowledge our careers. Also, transforming our thinking about power into power as relations of power, suggests a sense of agency and responsibility –governmentality as practices of the self within relations of power.

Foucault: So that is how you think my work is beneficial. How do you see your work fitting into this?

Huckaby: Since this study is about the specific experiences and *parrhesiazesthai* of specific intellectuals, I think young scholars can learn from the experiences of the scholars who have come before them. But I do want to be very clear about one thing.

Foucault: Which is?

Huckaby: In no way do I mean to imply that young scholars can do what the five scholars in this study have done and expect the same results. They have to develop their own strategies for their specific circumstances and this particular time. You know it would have been unreasonable for one of the scholars in this study to approach the tenure and promotion committee as Diogenes addressed Alexander the Great by offering her life or her truth. What was at stake during tenure and promotion decisions was her livelihood and career at a particular institution or her scholarly record, which were her recorded truths. There was no
need for her to gamble with her existence as a living being. Scholars entering the academy in the 21st century will most likely have another set of issues to negotiate.

Foucault: You appear to be contradicting yourself. In one instance, you say our works have some relevance to emerging scholars, and in the next you argue that their approach must be different.

New Century Parrhesiastes: Foucault has a point here. I’d really like to know what is relevant about this dissertation to my academic life. What can I take from it and what can I ignore?

Huckaby: I understand your concern. I am not double-speaking here, but instead am trying to explain the impact of time and change on parrhesiazesthai. Most of the scholars in this study were able to protect their positions within the academy by becoming prolific and well-respected scholars. This strategy worked well in the latter part of the 20th century. The circumstances are different now, particularly in research-intensive institutions. Young scholars are expected to produce in terms of their scholarship and may need to publish more so than the scholars in this study. But they are also expected to contribute financially through grants and funded projects, something that was not a priority for the scholars in this study.

New Century Parrhesiastes: The seeking of external funds was actually one thing the scholars in your study avoided when they believed the funding would transform the intentions of their work.
Huckaby: Exactly! One strategy for not being co-opted was to pursue their scholarly interests sans external funding if necessary. They saw monetary gain as one of the seductions that could redirect their work in directions they had not intended. For those of us now moving into the academy, simply saying, “I will stay true to my intentions and not accept funds” may not be a real option if the awarding of grants and other monetary resources becomes one of the criteria for how we maintain our positions within the academy. We have choices to make about how we will play the parrhesiastic game. Of course, I am using the word *game* here with your connotation, Foucault, as rules, strategies, and techniques instead of a lack of seriousness, frivolity, or playfulness.

New Century Parrhesiastes: One option is to not stay in the academy and to find another venue in which I will not have to sacrifice my principles.

Huckaby: Yes, of course that is an option that is very much worth considering. If you choose it, I believe you will still have to figure out ways to acquire and maintain the right to speak dangerous truths while also risking the right. Your forum may not be the academy, with its rules, but another setting with rules for truth claims that you will need to learn to negotiate. I’m not trying to talk you out of that option by any means. In fact, it would be interesting and possibly rather insightful to explore the experiences of specific parrhesiastic intellectuals who left and work outside the academy in order to maintain their *parrhesia*.

Foucault: I noted in *Fearless Speech* that *parrhesia* is not endless chatter. One needs to be selective about when *parrhesiazesthai* is needed and when it is not. Thus,
resisting and challenging everything is not a positive form of parrhesia. True parrhesia is enacted at crucial moments when important decisions are needed.

Huckaby: You want to be there and have a way to speak your uncomfortable truths in these moments. This means being part of a system that informs decision-making. You can always find ways to get yourself out of these systems. The challenge is finding ways to stay in and remain true to your work. Those of us now entering the academy can’t do what our predecessors have done, but we can look to their strategies and adapt them for our circumstances. So our goal is to understand the structure and function of their strategies and translate them into our circumstances, not to copy or mimic their actions.

New Century Parrhesiastes: What are some of the changes in the academy that you think will affect my parrhesia?

Huckaby: Well, I’ve already mentioned the financial implications. We may need to find ways to fund our scholarship and become financial contributors in our institutional departments, particularly if we are at research-intensive universities. The need for funding may not be such a crucial issue at institutions with more focus on teaching.

New Century Parrhesiastes: At schools with teaching scholar models we will need to be more concerned with our relationships with students.

Huckaby: Actually, I think relationships with students are a concern for all faculty, particularly untenured faculty with counter-hegemonic perspectives at this point. You’ve read the reports about students challenging faculty who do not represent
their views. When we go into classrooms and other learning environments and challenge oppression and hegemony, some students may not like it and may be willing to involve the courts. The proposed legislation in Florida (Popper, 2005; Vanlandingham, 2005) would make court action highly feasible. Their House of Representatives is proposing legislation that would allow students to sue professors who present ideas contrary to students’ perspectives, and would require faculty to also present alternative theories with which they disagree. Additionally, the bill proposes that students be given the right to sue faculty if the professor requests that the student explain the theoretical grounding of their perspectives. Such legislation, if passed, could not only alter the relations of power between faculty and students, but it would change rules for knowledge-claims within the academy, and the purposes of higher education. It may also impact those scholars who offer counter-knowledges more so than those who reinforce what students already know as true despite forms of evidence provided by systematic inquiry.

Foucault: What about the games of truth initiated by the National Research Council (NRC) and No Child Left Behind Act that you mentioned in Book 2?

Huckaby: These also challenge the processes and forms of evidence necessary for knowledge claims by only funding research in education that meets standards of scientific communities as defined by the NRC. It does seem to be a backlash against the diversity of research approaches that have been developing over the last decades (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004). I find it interesting that this backlash
has arisen at a time when qualitative modes of inquiry are becoming more prevalent in educational scholarship.

Foucault: These examples are illustrative of games of truth, power-knowledge, power relations, and governmentality. Unfortunately, they seem to be orchestrated for developing states of domination through the exclusion of some forms of knowledge. These are of processes of subjugating knowledge. Hidden knowledge, once it re-emerges, can alter the relations of power and make those forms of knowledge that have dominated vulnerable.

New Century Parrhesiastes: Yes, I know that, but how do I approach my career? How can I succeed as a specific parrhesiastic scholar under these conditions?

Huckaby: If you are interested in the success of your career as your primary interest, then maybe you do not want to become a parrhesiastes. If you are interested in the truths you want to explore, even though they may be dangerous, you will have to take risks that involve the possible success and failure of your career. I designed this study by looking at the works, careers, and experiences of scholars who were successful. So what I have to offer in this dissertation are their experiences. But there are other scholars who may be just as talented and have not succeeded in the academy. You might find it of use to know more about the strategies that have failed scholars as well, but I cannot offer you that at this moment. That would be another study. But what this study can offer are strategies that have worked for these five scholars, such as:
• Crossing borders of epistemological communities and merging tacit and academic forms of knowledge into scholarship;

• Attending to the concerns and issues of local communities, as well as the requirements of academic communities;

• Avoiding the negative forms of parrhesia – endless chatter, ambiguous speech, and ignorant outspokenness;

• Gaining and maintaining citizenship within local, academic, or other epistemological communities essential to your parrhesiazesthai;

• Knowing your vices, desires, interests, and purposes;

• Focusing on developing self-sovereignty, resisting seductions, and selecting what you should avoid;

• Understanding the political nature of your circumstances, and finding ways to survive the judgment of others;

• Interrupting harmful discourses;

• Submitting and staying within systems as a means of resistance, while developing and sustaining more symmetrical relations of power;

• Choosing which battles to take on, and reserving energies by choosing not to fight some battles;

• Finding strategies of self-protection that make sense within certain epistemological communities;
• Maintaining optimism and hope through historic and proleptic perspectives;
• Letting go at times, and taking care of the physical and emotional self; and
• Most importantly, staying with the work and the communities that inspire it.

Foucault: I must reiterate that you have to make these your own – adapt, transform, translate, and make them groan as you act within your own situation.

New Century Parrhesiastes: I am overwhelmed. There is no way I can do all of that.

Huckaby: You don’t have to do all of it. I hope Foucault, Fringe Academic, New Jack Scholar, Renaissance Intellectual, Academic Warrior, Radical Scholar, and I have offered you some things to consider, and ways to think about challenging hegemony from an academic position and as a specific intellectual. My intention has been that this offering be rich in terms of its description of lived experiences and the connections of theory to these experiences. This text, along with others that address similar subjects, will be here for you to refer to in the future at times when you feel that you need it. At this point, I think the question is not so much how you can do all of the things mentioned above. I’d like to end now by asking you a question, which is also a question to myself. Where will you start?
REFERENCES


New York: Pantheon Books.


Dr. __________: 

I am Francyne Huckaby, a doctoral candidate studying higher education at Texas A&M University. Dr. Jean Madsen at Texas A&M University suggested that I contact you about my dissertation study, and the possibility of your participating in this study.

My study focuses on educational researchers who intend for their work to reverse, undo or address the racializing, sexist, and/or colonizing effects of traditional educational research. I am interested in how minor knowledges (and their philosophical stances), that challenge the hegemony in traditional educational research, are produced, reproduced, modified, and suppressed. My particularly concern is with the apparatuses and strategies of power/knowledge and how they intersect with individual scholars like you.

I would like to talk with you about this study, and the possibility of planning a meeting with you at AERA. I will call you early next week. If you have a day or time preference for this call, please reply to this e-mail.

Thank you for considering my request.

Respectfully,

M. Francyne Huckaby
Hello Dr. X. I am Francyne Huckaby, a doctoral candidate studying higher education at Texas A&M University.

Dr. Y suggested that I contact you about your participating in the dissertation study I am conducting because of your work on ____________. My study focuses on educational researchers who intend for their work to reverse, undo or address the racializing, sexist, and colonizing effects of traditional research. I am particularly interested in how the discourse around works like yours are encouraging and/or suppressive.

If you are willing to volunteer, you will participate in 3 interviews that will last about 90 minutes each, and 2 observations. In the first interview, we would explore your education, preparation, and development as a researcher. For the second interview, we would focus on your current research. The last interview would be a critical discussion on the discourse surrounding, and others’ responses to your work. For the observations, I would observe you in a context in which they are functioning as investigators, and a context in which they are interacting within an academic or disciplinary community. I will become very familiar with your research, and would also like to review a variety of documents that could add insight into responses to your work.
Your confidentiality will, of course, be maintained. I will use a code instead of your name on data from your interview, and you will be given a pseudonym in the research report. I will also store all data in a locked file cabinet.

Do you have any questions?

May I schedule meeting with you to further discuss this study or begin the first interview? [If yes, determine date, time and location.]

Thank you for your time. I look forward to seeing you on [date] at [time] in [location].
APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Educational Researchers 2003

I understand that I will participate in a study that explores the discourse around the work of educational researchers who intend for their work to be non-racist, non-sexist, non-manipulative, or non-oppressive. I understand that I am among 4 faculty researchers from universities who will participate in this study. Participation in this study will involve 3 interviews, 2 observations, and review of documents related to my research. A doctoral candidate of higher education and educational administration at Texas A&M University is conducting this study, and Dr. Yvonna S. Lincoln of Texas A&M University (979-845-2701, ysl@tamu.edu) is the supervising faculty advisor.

I understand that I will be interviewed and observed by a doctoral candidate, and that my 3 interviews will last about 90 minutes each. I will be observed in two environments, 1) a context in which I am functioning as an investigator, and 2) a context in which I am interacting within an academic or disciplinary community. The duration of the observations will depend on the activities observed. I understand that these will be observations that focus on me, and not others in the environment. With my permission these interviews and observations will be audiotaped. If it is appropriate and if I grant permission, the observations may be videotaped. I understand that audio- and videotapes will only be used as data for analyses, will not be presented in public, and will not be used in any multi-media production. The tapes will be destroyed at the end of this project, and stored in a locked filing cabinet until that time. I also understand that documents related to my research, such as my curriculum vitae, research proposals, research notes, papers, proposals, and reviewer comments will be studied, and that I will be asked to provide some of these documents.

I understand that I will be given a document that details the findings related to me and my work for member checking. Though the member check, I will be able to review and consider the researcher’s findings, and provide feedback to the researcher on the appropriateness of the interpretation. In my feedback, I can also clarify, add to, or remove sections of the document. All information about me will be confidential. I understand that my name and university affiliation will not be used in the study, although my department or area of specialty will. My departmental or disciplinary affiliation will not be connected to the name or city of my institution.

I understand that there are no anticipated behavioral or physical risks or negative outcomes associated with participating in this study. I also understand that no psychological or emotional risks have been identified. I understand that I will not be
compensated for my participation, time, or input, and that my involvement in this study is voluntary. I can refuse to participate, withdraw my participation, refuse to answer any question, and withdraw my data at any time without any repercussion or negative consequences. The data from my interviews, observations, and documents will be stored in a locked filing cabinet.

__________ Initial __________ Date Please continue to next page.

I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board - Human Subjects in Research, Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding subjects' rights, I can contact the Institutional Review Board through Dr. Michael W. Buckley, Director of Support Services, Office of Vice President for Research at (797) 458-4067 (mwbuckley@tamu.edu).

I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature of Respondent</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Francyne Huckaby, M.Ed.</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I consent for audio-taping ___ interviews only, ___ interviews and observations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature of Respondent</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Francyne Huckaby, M.Ed.</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I consent for video-taping ___ the first observation, ___ the second observation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature of Respondent</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Francyne Huckaby, M.Ed.</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M. Francyne Huckaby, M.Ed.
(512) 263-5293
mfhuckaby@hotmail.com
EAHR, Texas A&M University, 4226 TAMU
College Station, TX 77843-4226
VITA

Name: M. Francyne Huckaby

Address: Texas Christian University, Box 297900, Fort Worth, TX 76129

Email Address: f.hucakaby@tcu.edu

Education:
- B.A., Psychology, Sociology and Art, Austin College, 1989
- M.Ed., Educational Research, Texas Christian University, 1996
- Ph.D., Educational Administration, Texas A&M University, 2005

Professional Experience:
- Texas Christian University, Assistant Professor (2004-present)
- Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, Visiting Instructor (Summers 2004, 2005)
- Texas A&M University, Co-managing Editor of *Qualitative Inquiry* and *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader* (2000-2003)

Publications: