

-- UNDER REVIEW BY GEOGRAPHY COMPASS --
-- EDITS ON THE WAY --
-- PLEASE DO NOT CITE W/OUT PERMISSION FROM AUTHORS --

Authors

Willie J. Wright – Rutgers University, Department of Geography and Africana Studies
Adam Bledsoe – University of Minnesota, Department of Geography, Environment and Society
Kristen Maye – Brown University, Department of Africana Studies

Abstract

Enthusiasm for black geographies has grown significantly since it was formalized in the edited volume, *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. With an increase in the interest and application of this framework has come an increased potential for the misapplication of the aims defined in its origins. The time has come to redefine Black geographies and delineate it from geographies of race, lest it be misassigned. In this article, we argue that though within the purview of geographies of race, Black geographies provides insights beyond this unit of study. We further that Black geographies is reliant upon a particular sight, valuations, methods, and liberatory practices. Moreover, we consider the question of whether non-Black people can contribute to this field of inquiry and to Black place-making. Finally, we provide examples of individuals who, authorized by a commitment to Black freedom struggles, replicated Black geographies in thought and deed.

Foreword

For the 2014 conference of the American Association of Geographers (AAG) LaToya Eaves envisioned the panel,¹ “Black Matters are Spatial Matters”. The session is one of a number of key moments in the maturation of Black geographies. In addition to responding to academic interests in Black geographies, the panel was the result of a resurging and global movement for Black lives. The audience included people personifying a myriad of races, ethnicities, gender identifications, as well as professional categories and affiliations. Each came to learn about the field and the function of Black geographies. The panelists were presented with a number of prompts. One question read, “Black geographies is often discussed in terms of spatial production and relations to space. However, what about optics? Is there a way of seeing that is necessary for the production of Black geographies, in academe and everyday life?” We would like to pose a rejoinder: “If it is necessary for scholars to adopt an alternate and ontologically defined spatial imaginary in order to acknowledge and produce Black geographies, to what extent is this achievement possible by our white colleagues and colleagues of color? If possible, what are the processes through which one assumes such sight?” We ask fore we believe sight to be a taken for granted aspect of Black geographic thought and action.

In addition to addressing these questions, we intend to speak to a related issue, the difference between Black geographies and geographies of race, in part, through a genealogy of scholars and schools of thought that have laid the foundation for Black geographies’ growing reception within and beyond the discipline. Moreover, we will discuss characteristics that typify

¹ Panelists included Rashad Shabazz, Priscilla McCutcheon, Aretina Hamilton, and Willie Wright.

geographies of race as separate from Black geographies, namely that it may overlook the critiques of oppressive systems offered by Black communities, in addition to the spatial and political alternatives they may present. We follow this examination with an outline of what we believe to be the crux of Black geographies: what it does, what it can be, what it unveils, and how it is, at once, married to and divorced from geographies of race. Though the two often share intellectual and citational space, there are key differences between geographies of race and Black geographies. Without definitive declarations, scholars may make the mistake of confusing one for the other.

A Primer

A critique of the hydraulics of racial marginalization has been a critical intervention in the field of geography since the 1950s. However, geography's association with questions of race predates the heretofore critical studies. In her 2013 presidential address, Kobayashi (2014, 1103) traced geography's early and "outmoded" studies of race. Despite the wealth of research on race in other fields, for a number of geographers in the 1930s, the study of race mirrored that of the nation's response to the problem of the color line – ignorance and avoidance, not to mention instrumental support for imperial projects (see Kirsch, 2014). Kobayashi (2014, 1103), in her attempt to "avoid relativism, hagiography, presentism, inaccurate attributions, or overgeneralizations" was generous (perhaps, exceedingly) to this generation of scholars. Her quest to understand why those who studied race were not swayed by contextual factors emerging from other disciplines, and the world around them, obscures the likelihood that as beneficiaries of a racially stratified nation that had yet to meet the blunt end of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, many of our discipline's forebearers were, themselves, racists (see Ashutosh, 2018). Or, if we are to be generous, they were not concerned with addressing the spatiality of racial inequality in the U.S. For, to have done so may have been to uncover their signature on America's racial contract.

The environmentalist orientation of many early scholars who addressed race would encounter a shift through the work of Sauer (1963) and the politically and spatially disruptive period of the 1960s. After "1968 and all that" (Watts, 2001), and no doubt prior to, geographers directed their attention to the color line and the continuity of race and space. A 1971 special edition of the *Southeastern Geographer* centered racial marginalization via residential segregation. Birdsall (1971, 85) referenced the "flurry of interest and activity" in the study of the spatialization of Black communities in America. He also spoke of "the racial variable" and suggested, "since one of the primary features of Black America has been its spatial separation from White America, other research efforts might deal with the characteristics of individual and group isolation created through this separation" (ibid., 85). Not only did he consider Black communities as variables to be computed, his understanding of Black geographies was limited to areas proximal or distal to white residential spaces. As inquiries on race and racism began to proliferate, the focus on Black spaces as marginalized spaces continued to be the norm.

a. Black Geographers and Issues of Race

The roots of critical geographies of race rest in the works of Don Deskins and Harold Rose, firsts in the field to study the spatialization of Black communities in the U.S. This work

emerged in the wake of the long Civil Rights Movement as Black Americans pointed out how racism defined their life chances. Urban rebellions and political agendas like those embodied in the Black Freedom Struggle typified Black undoubtedly informed Black geographers' research agendas. Employing spatial modeling, Deskins explored the segregation of white and Black neighborhoods in Atlanta, Georgia (Deskins, 1971) and how differential travel-times as an outcome of residential segregation in Detroit, Michigan (Deskins 1972). Writing primarily during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Rose discussed the nature of Black communities in metropolitan areas of the U.S. Charting the movement of Black populations from the U.S. South to various metropolitan areas, Rose explored factors that served to fix Black communities in urban ghettos (Rose, 1969a, 12). One of Rose's significant contributions to urban geography was his assessment that ghetto formation was largely due to white families' flight from the inner cities to avoid interracial habitation (Rose, 1969b, 326). This fact, coupled with real estate agents' explicit enforcement of segregated living areas sustained separate but unequal housing markets (Rose, 1969a, 11) and characterized ghettos as communities in which there was no freedom of choice (Rose, 1971, 5). The deliberate concentration of impoverished populations (1969b, 331-332) created a "geography of despair" (Rose, 1978, 453). Hence, Rose's insistence on the need for a "social geography" that would investigate and answer questions about ghetto formation in the U.S. (Rose, 1969b, 328).

A second generation of race scholars would conduct a wealth of research on race relations and class contradiction in urban America. Darden developed an extensive catalogue by studying residential (self)segregation, public housing, and racial conflict in (sub)urban communities throughout North America (Darden, 1973, 1987, 1990, 1995, 2004; Darden, Thomas and Thomas, 1987; Darden, Duleep, Harriet and Galster, 1992; de Souza Briggs, Darden and Aidala, 1999; Darden and Kamel, 2000; Darden and Wyly, 2010; Darden *et al.*, 2010). In *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflicts, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide*, co-authored with Richard Thomas, he presents a historical-geographic look at racial conflict in Detroit, Michigan. After outlining the many racial-spatial processes that led to Detroit's inception as a birthplace of suburbanization as well as its economic and infrastructural fall from grace (see also Sugrue, 1996), Darden and Thomas (2013) propose Black residents leave the city and move to the suburbs, essentially following the white families and corporations that disinvested from the city core. Though an important spatial history of an iconic city, Darden and Thomas's proposal disregards the fact that the suburbs and the amenities therein (e.g. high performing schools, 'good' neighborhoods, and manufacturing jobs) exist there precisely because white residents and corporations sought distance from organized Black Detroiters (Boggs, 1998; Georgakas and Surkin, 1998; Ahmad, 2007).

With a career beginning in the 1970s and stretching into the early 21st century, Bobby Wilson set a standard for merging questions of race and class struggle. Wilson dedicated the early years of his career to spatially modeling the segregated nature of Black communities in the U.S. South (Wilson, 1977; 1985; 1989). Near the end of the 20th century, Wilson took an openly Marxist approach to explain the struggles of Birmingham, Alabama's Black community. Stating that his mature work was aimed at bringing "the matter of race in U.S. capitalist development into more debate among geographers," Wilson called on postmodernist and neo-Marxist debates to incorporate race into conversations around historical materialism and class politics (Wilson, 1992, 172). Through an historical geography of capitalist production in Birmingham, Wilson

shows how industrialization in the U.S. South – distinct from the U.S. North – was controlled by a southern landed elite from the postbellum era until the Great Depression (Wilson, 1995, 82, 86). As industrial manufacturing became increasingly prominent, southern industrialists responded to the potential for cross-racial labor organizing by stoking racial animosities, driving a wedge between Black and white laborers (Wilson, 1992, 183; 2000a, 153-154). The long-term effects of this attack on Black-white labor collaboration manifested widespread Black un- and underemployment and unprecedented levels of Black impoverishment (Wilson, 2007, 97-98). Wilson’s interrogation of the intersections of race and class led him to surmise that while class struggle should remain the privileged forum of political activity (Wilson, 2000b, 208-212), racism nonetheless creates circumstances in which the condition of Black workers cannot be equated with the rest of the proletariat (Wilson, 2000a, 2).

Rickie Sanders holds the distinction of being the first Black woman to earn a PhD in geography in the U.S. With a career that spanned four decades, Sanders states the significance of her presence was that she “stayed the course” and followed her varied interests. Like other Black geographers of her generation, her early studies were supported by quantitative methods. However, many of the findings drawn from these studies “didn’t fit in a regression model” (Personal Communication, 2020). As a doctoral student and junior scholar, Sanders (1980, 1987) researched the informal activity of rural African woman. Her early work, on what is now known as alternative economies and urban informality, coincided with disciplinary provocations. In an essay influenced by the work of colleagues in Temple University’s Department of Africology (see Asante, 1988), Sanders (1992) critiqued the “Eurocentric bias in the study of African urbanization” and its inability to account for variations in development throughout urban Africa (204). Her work argued, as does studies that refuse the provincial understandings of urbanization (Roy, 2011; Derickson, 2015; Lawhon *et al.*, 2016; Robinson and Roy, 2016), that theories of urbanization from the Global North cannot fully account for urban (under)development in Africa. In later works, Sanders called out gender bias (Sanders, 2000), limitations in geographic gender studies, (Sanders, 1990) and the effects of white privilege on geography (Sanders, 2006) and geographic education (Sanders, 1999).

The most widely known Black scholar beyond the field of geography is Ruth Wilson Gilmore. Gilmore’s work merges scholarly conversations on race (Gilmore, 2002) and political economic shifts (Gilmore, 1999) with grassroots, abolitionist activism (Gilmore, 2008, 2018). Gilmore’s work recognizes the salience of race and capitalism, while also envisioning other possibilities for how we might organize and relate to one another in space. Her careful study of the state of California is a thorough explanation of how the rollback of Keynesian social spending was a response to a variety of capitalist crises in the late 20th century (Gilmore, 1999). She explains how this rollback was at least partially legitimated via public demonization of Black and other racialized communities as politically volatile following the radical politics of groups like the Black Panthers. Private and public interests were able to manipulate the demonization of such groups into a perceived public need for a law and order political approach, resulting in an explosion of incarceration in the last few decades of the 20th century (Gilmore, 2007). This rise in incarceration was a profoundly racialized phenomenon, with Black and Latinx populations disproportionately represented in the ranks of the incarcerated (Gilmore, 2007, 111). Along with this attention to the economic and ideological underpinnings of incarceration, Gilmore demonstrates the necessity of engaging organizations that work in an abolitionist

capacity to end carceral regimes. From profiles of groups like Mothers Reclaiming Our Children, to programs for prison abolition written for lay audiences, Gilmore offers liberation agendas rooted in cross-racial solidarity while recognizing the importance of listening to, and politically embodying, the experiences of racialized activists (Gilmore, 2007, 236-237; 2018).

Alongside the efforts of individual scholars(hip), the AAG has sponsored initiatives to expand the discipline. In his role as the director of the Commission on Geography and Afro-America (COMGA), Don Deskins targeted students at Historically Black Colleges & Universities (HBCUs) for recruitment into geography graduate programs (Kobayashi, 2014). And, he was not alone. Other figures influenced the growth of Black students, Black professors, and Black thought. North Carolina Central University's (NCCU) Department of Geography,¹ through the foresight of Dr. Theodore R. Speigner, established a recruitment relationship with graduate programs throughout the Midwest. According to Dr. James Johnson, an NCCU graduate and Distinguished Professor of Strategy and Entrepreneurship at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dr. Speigner used connections within the AAG, COMGA, and the National Council of Geographic Education to become an instrumental, though little known, figure in the diversification of the discipline. Dr. Speigner started the Department of Geography at NCCU with a Master's degree in Geography from the University of Iowa, an accolade that was known, colloquially, as "the Black man's PhD" (Personal Communication, 2017).² Determined to see more Black men enter the field, Dr. Speigner channeled budding scholars into various graduate programs. Recalling Dr. Speigner's influence on his graduate education, Dr. Johnson stated:

He'd write these glowing letters for you, man. You'd look at the letter, [and] say, 'Doc, you must be drunk. This ain't me.' But he'd write these glowing letters and tell you [about] all these schools. So, when I was graduating, I think I applied to eleven schools, and I got into all of 'em. And, I went into his office and I laid all the letters down. I said, 'Doc, I don't know what to do.' He reached in the pile [and] says, 'Here. Go to [the University of Wisconsin] Madison. I ain't had nobody go there yet.' That's how I ended up at Madison... Everybody had faith in him, that it was gonna work out (Personal Communication, 2017).

At times, Dr. Speigner's students – one of whom was Bobby Wilson – overlapped during their graduate education, an act of providence that aided their academic development and social inclusion within these predominately white institutions. Through this brief oral history of Dr. Speigner and NCCU's Department of Geography, it is clear that in addition to the works of the AAG, HBCUs were strategically working to integrate the discipline,² laying a representative and scholastic base for Black geographies. At the turn of the 21st century, renewed interest in race would reinvigorate the discipline and set the stage for deeper reflections on Black geographies.

b. Renewed Interests in Race

² Steps are being taken to reinstitute these inter-institutional alliances. Most recent is Drs. Joseph S. Wood and Mark Barnes's pre-conference, "Advancing Geography and Geoscience at HBCUs and MSIs," for the 2020 Race, Ethnicity and Place Conference in Baltimore, Maryland.

Come the late 1990s/early 2000s, the discipline would, again, take questions of race seriously. Whereas earlier researchers considered the spatialization of Black communities, a newer generation of scholars forged more critical and theoretical inquiries of race and the discipline itself (Schein, 2002). Geography's renewed focus was evident in a 2002 special edition of *The Professional Geographer* on race, racism, and geography. Essays in this edition grew from a 1998 gathering at the University of Kentucky. Foundational essays by Pulido (2002)³ and Woods (2002) offered timely critiques to the field of geography and encouragements for the scholars of color therein. Other scholars besieged Geography's race problem,⁴ challenging the discipline to mirror in representation the social world and to adopt an antiracist geographic practice that would change the course of the discipline:

Without an explicit effort being made to address and correct the consequences of the various (and often hidden) racist practices and discourses that permeate the epistemological foundations of geography and the institutional structures and practices that shape our work environment, geography will continue to embrace the colonialist heritage bequeathed upon it (Peake and Kobayashi, 2002, 50).

Studies of race and racism in "cognate disciplines" were also important (Pulido, 2002: 44).³ During the 1990s, there was a surge of critical scholarship on the subject of racial formation, including that of whiteness (Roediger, 1991), and the persistence of racism in the U.S. A coterie of critical legal scholars argued that racism existed within every tradition in America, including its legal institutions (Bell, 1992, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Harris, 1993). Simultaneously, sociologists argued forcefully against the notion that racism is "purely an ideological phenomenon" (Bonilla-Silva, 1997: 465). Developing a concept of racialized social systems, Bonilla-Silva (1997, 475) concluded, "once a society becomes racialized, racism takes on a life of its own," resulting in a society of racism without racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Last, Omi and Winant (1994), demonstrated the ways structural racism results in racial projects that differentially (dis)advantage populations based on their stratification within America's racial hierarchy. The influence of sociological doctrines on geography is even more evident in geographers' reference to the 1997 conference of the American Sociological Association (ASA)⁵ and their citing of critical race theorists (see Peake and Schein, 2000; Delaney, 2002; Peake and Kobayashi, 2002; Pulido, 2002; Schein, 2002).

Saldanha (2011), frustrated by calls to disregard race, championed (through a Deleuzian analysis) that race is an immutable ontological reality comprised of an array of human and more-than-human assemblages (Saldanha, 2006, 2007, 2012). Others have engaged the historical (trans)formations of whiteness (see Bonnett, 1996b, 1996c, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). And not least of all, a deluge of studies in the rapidly mushrooming field of critical toponyms illustrates how streets and monuments become racialized battlegrounds that valorize particular memories, histories, and rights to place (Alderman, 1996, 2000, 2002; Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004;

³ Though a key injunction, some geographers have viewed interdisciplinarity anxiously:

To be sure, some were indeed struggling with how they might maintain a focus upon and treatment of several traditional geographic considerations of 'race' while incorporating the potentially radicalizing insights to be gleaned from critical 'race' theory and attendant concerns for the social construction of 'race' and socio-spatial-historical process of racialization (Peake & Schein, 2000, 139-149).

Dwyer and Alderman, 2008; Inwood, 2009b, 2009a; Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu, 2010; Alderman and Inwood, 2013).

These interventions, while genuine and important to geographic understandings of race, racial formation, and racism, often elide a deep engagement with Black existential thought and praxis. That is, they apply theories formulated outside the conditions of Black struggle to cases concerning Black people. This is not to say that theories of power and oppression by white European and people of color scholars have no application to the study of (anti)Blackness. On the contrary. There is evidence of Black studies scholars working through traditional disciplines (Weheylie, Robinson, Wilderson,). Moreover, some post-structuralist works share similarities with Black studies: a belief in the heterogeneity of spatial formations; a focus on relational approaches to research; inquiry into a broader range of topics; and “more playful writing styles” (Murdoch, 2006, 1; Weheylie, 2014). Weheylie (2014)⁶ posits a relational approach to the study of power and oppression that connects widely accepted concepts from western theorists to Black writers who founded similar, if not more novel, analyses of power, humanity, space, and oppression. In her keynote address at Duke University’s 2017 Feminist Theory Workshop, McKittrick (2017) also invoked relationality:

So part of our intellectual task, then, is to work out how different kinds and types of texts, voices, and geographies relate to each other and open up unexpected and surprising ways to talk about liberation, knowledge, history, race, gender, narrative, and Blackness. The liberatory task is...[to] posit that many divergent, and different, and relational voices of unfreedom are analytical and intellectual sites that could tell us something new about our academic concerns and our anti-colonial futures.

By remaining unaware to the geographic knowledge within Black communities and Black Studies, studies of Black social life across the African Diaspora may result in an uncritical preservation of well-worn discourses (Weheylie, 2014). Furthermore, reproducing established geographic methods to measure and comment on Black (un)freedom may simply rename and replicate anti-Black violence (Woods, 2002; Mckittrick, 2014). In order to ethically engage legacies laid by generations of Black communities and not dwell solely on the violence that inaugurated Black being, geographers must recognize the various geographical pronunciations of Black life and self-creation (McKittrick, 2016). A renewal of geographies of race requires alternative optics, analytics, and methodologies, necessities that are often disqualified and hardly accompany traditional schools of thought.

Critiquing Disciplinary Procedure

It has been nearly two decades since Pulido (2002) published “Reflections on a White Discipline,” a beacon for budding scholars of color. She spoke to the limitations of a discipline steeped in phenotypical, ideological, and methodological whiteness. Though the field has undergone its share of revolutions, many within the discipline continue to deploy colonial methods and colonized optics in our studies. Not only do methods and theories elucidate particular findings about a given subject matter, they betray the values through which a researcher approached an area of interest. Speaking generally, geographies of race draw upon given tools within our field (e.g. traditional archives, observations, interviews, discourse

analysis, etc.). Though we all engage these methods, too heavy a reliance on tradition may foreclose forward thinking. Such occlusions are not exclusive to geography.

According to Sharpe (2014), Goffman's (2014) *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*, an acclaimed sociological study of the lives of young Black men involved in underground economies in North Philadelphia, is an example of the optical lacunae that exist across disciplines. For Sharpe (2014, ¶ 1), the book was "the latest installment in a sociological tradition that subjects black life to scholarly scrutiny," noting that Goffman was "unable to discern as class difference the differences among black lower middle class, working class, and poor people" – a reality which "should raise questions about what else Goffman is unable to hear, see, and make sense of" (Sharpe, 2014, ¶ 7). Blindness to the densities of Black social life extends into the field of anthropology.

Burton (2015) suggests that ethnography alone cannot not make note of the unique expressions of Black dissent in the U.S. He wrote, "events around Ferguson expose the limitations of ethnographic methodology and disrupt the *anthropology of race*" (Burton, 2015, ¶ 2, emphasis added). Instead, he suggests anthropologists take scopic and methodological cue from analyses from questions posed by groups like Black Lives Matter and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. Burton (2015, ¶ 10) furthers, "an anthropological approach to race that ignores these questions is destined for irrelevance." In short, an anthropological study of race that ignores the questions, methods, and analyses of communities impacted by anti-Black oppression will lack the political acumen to speak to and address their problems. He doubles down on this take in his review of Heather Thompson's *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971*:

Blood in the Water actively undermines the significance of the rebellion by erasing racial violence from the normal routines of prison life, ignoring key aspects of the rebels' critique of prisons, and distorting their radical abolitionist politics. These critical failures are traceable to Thompson's flawed historical method, which relies heavily on state records. Thus, while Thompson claims to have produced "a comprehensive history of the Attica uprising of 1971 and its legacy," she has more accurately produced a history of Attica through the eyes of the state (Burton, 2017, ¶ 3).

The weight and clarity of this critique spurred dialogue among historians concerning source material and the archives scholars mine. Moreover, Burton's challenge brought to the fore the experiential erasures enacted by disciplinary procedure and methods. By subscribing to disciplinary standards, alone, to understand and explain the condition of Blackness and the experiences of Black communities, academics elide experiential knowledge. In our final section, we engage geography's ontological turn by way of Black Studies and the alternative approaches, unconventional muses, and "methodological instruments" it may offer (Weheylie, 2014, 8).

Analytic and Analog

McKittrick and Woods (2007) state that among Black geographies "we find a history of brutal segregation and erasure as these processes inform a different or new approach to the production of space" (4). These geographies become more readily acknowledged with each

academic season. As Black geographies (the analytic) grows, we suggest that the “different or new approach[es]” that will comprise this subfield will require the adoption of unorthodox understandings of the worlds in which Black communities exist (McKittrick and Woods 2007, 4). Black geographies are the beneficiary of looking at the world awry – from the condition of Blackness and the various experiences and spatialities, therein. It is reliant upon what hooks (1992, 4) coined a “black look,” a particular line of sight.⁴ Black geographies scholarship not only seeks to explain instances of spatial marginalization. Black geographies, a product of Black Studies, represents what Chandler (2003, 192) has coined a “condition of possibility” – within the world and our writing of it. Black looks (ways of seeing), inform blues epistemologies (ways of knowing), and lastly, Black spatial imaginaries (spatial conceptualization).

But may a Black look, similar to a theory or method, be adopted? We believe this to be within the realm of possibility. Some geographers have approached, if not fully entered, this optical terrain. There is Heynen’s (2006, 2009, 2019; Heynen and Rhodes, 2012) early research on Civil Rights and Black Power survival politics along with Tyner’s (2006, 2016) understanding of the geopolitics of Malcolm X. Moreover, there is Ramirez’s (2019) work on the endurance of Black and Latinx geographies in the Bay Area, Vasudevan’s (2019) research on race and waste in a southern aluminum town, and Williams’ (2018) study of the legacy of plantation logics in the agricultural practices of the Mississippi Delta.

By assuming a Black geographies analytic, one assumes a responsibility to and a way of life commensurate with Black liberation. It must be embodied, assumed into one’s ethics and practice of everyday life. The performance of Black geographies requires that practitioners be led by a Black consciousness, a way of seeing and knowing the world informed by the condition and experiences of Black being. In order for this to happen, viewers and actors must embrace the challenge of disrobing themselves of the trappings and limitations of a world of white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy (see hooks, 2004). The work needed to understand, chart, and illustrate the afterlives of slavery will require one to sit within the reality of, and in community with, the progeny of the enslaved, within what Saidiya Hartman named, in an interview with Frank B. Wilderson, III, “the position of the unthought” (Hartman & Wilderson III, 2003, 185). From within this locus, it may be possible to relearn how to see, hear, and analyze; to reconceive space, time, humanity, and liberty.

A Black(ened) consciousness is essential to the production of Black geographies. It informs theory and praxis, and is theory *as* praxis. One example of an alternative epistemology extrapolated from Black social life is W.E.B Dubois’ (1994 [1903]) notion of double consciousness, a psychological sight imbued within the mind of Black folk in the U.S. Double consciousness allows Black individuals to see themselves in their own image, in that of their white counterpart, and ways in which they, perhaps, cannot see themselves. Chandler (2003) views double sight as a dual being innate to descendants of Africa in America. Robinson (1983, 168) saw this relic of Africa as “the preservation of the ontological totality granted by a metaphysical system that had never allowed for property in either the physical, philosophical, temporal, legal, social, or psychic senses”.⁵ This optic represents “a kind of blackened

⁴ Though hooks (1992) focused on black looks in the U.S., we believe a version of this optic is present throughout the African Diaspora.

⁵ This is, and should remain, an evolving ontological totality.

knowledge, an unscientific method, that comes from observing that where one stands is relative to the door of no return and that moment of historical and ongoing rupture” (Sharpe, 2016, 13). While the African Diaspora maintains a privileged position to such critical understanding, this approach is available to non-Black subjects. An engagement with this consciousness is of particular importance for scholars whose research is positioned at the intersection of Blackness and geography. The adoption of a Black optic by those who do not experience (anti)Blackness, particularly white people, will require a social death in service of Black social life – a funerary of white logics and methods, personhood and practices. In what follows, we illustrate these assertions through the works of pan-African scholars and the biographies of rebels who committed their lives to struggles for Black liberation.

The Facts of Life

In different socio-historical contexts of pan-African liberation struggles, select individuals have been led by the experiential knowledge of Black communities. In the examples to follow, wo/men adopted a Black consciousness and a Black spatial imaginary through association, and at times, death. In Dubois’ (1962) biography of John Brown he differentiates Brown’s death as a white man and his death in the flesh. According to Chandler (2003), Brown, informed by the abolitionist movement, separated himself from the world in which he was born, developing his very own double-consciousness. This maturity resulted in an “irruptive doubling of death” – that of the socially and historically produced “white” man and that of John Brown (Ibid., 179). Through his disjunction and his militant actions at Harper’s Ferry, Brown showed it was not only the Black subject who could “live within death...and yet give rise incessantly to stark, ordinary, perhaps meaningful life” (Ibid., 181). To make a meaningful life, Brown had to “die twice: once as that ordinary historical being called a “White” man, and again, as that flesh-and-blood being who can only be given a “proper” name: John Brown” (Ibid., 183).

Getachew (2016) argues that the Haitian Revolution and the subsequent 1805 Haitian Constitution exhibited a model of egalitarian freedom unmatched by the French Revolution. In realizing the largest abolitionist uprising in the history of the Western Hemisphere, Black Haitians demonstrated the ability to not only diagnose their condition of anti-Blackness, but to successfully militate against it. In their process of self-liberation, Haitian freedom fighters conceived of Black struggle in terms of a commitment to the destruction of anti-Black logics and relations – a fact evidenced in the post-emancipation legal landscape of their new Black nation. By giving citizenship to German and Polish men (and their wives) who fought alongside Haitian revolutionaries and exempting them from the prohibition on property ownership placed upon white men, “blackness was reconceived as a political category that signaled ‘historical or potential resistance’ to slavery and colonial domination. It was the contributions of Germans and Poles to the revolutionary war that allowed them to become Haitian citizens and therefore black” (Getachew, 2016, 15). In this way, certain European actors, through a commitment to destroying slavery and the master-slave relation, joined an emergent, free Black subjectivity.⁶

⁶ Badiou (2012) speaks to how state governments develop notions of citizenship in opposition to the visual characteristics of non-natives (e.g. hijab, black skin, language). Rather than an indentarian citizenship, he suggest that political organizations develop broader notions of belonging through a reduction of “separating names” (Ibid., 77). By accepting Germans and Poles who stood for the Haitian revolution, Black Haitians defined citizenship not solely by African lineage or condition of Blackness (i.e. relation to chattel slavery), but by insurgents’ commitment to the ideals of the revolution.

Wilderson's (2008) *Incognegro: A Memoir of Apartheid and Exile*, also motions a way out of whiteness. While living in South Africa during the Boers' apartheid regime, Wilderson, worked as a propagandist for the African National Conference (ANC). According to Wilderson, Trevor, an Afrikaner who joined the armed wing of the ANC, had so thoroughly divested himself of his inheritance (i.e. his whiteness). Trevor, adorned with a Black(ened) consciousness, had become cloaked by a Black liberatory praxis of sorts (Wilderson, III, 2008). One afternoon, on a busy street in a South African shantytown, Wilderson peered into a sea of roving Blackness when, without warning, Trevor happened upon him. In spite of his embodied image, Trevor had gone undetected in a street full of Black South Africans. Wilderson's (2008) explanation suggests the possibility of non-Black subjects to adopt a Black spatial imaginary and praxis:

Through the bog of my dilemmas he came upon me. You'd think a Black man could spot a White man coming from miles away, especially in a street like Hillbrow's Pretoria Street, chock-full of Black people on their way to the kombis or bundling in and out of shops before closing. But he had an uncanny way of blending in with blackness; not through mimicry of gait or attire but by the simple fact that he had abandoned his people – their needs, their compulsions, their points of attention. In their presence he fidgeted uncomfortably... He was one of those odd accomplishments... who relish deeds of treachery against their kith and kin (Wilderson, III, 2008, 449).

Through his association with Black South Africans, their geographies, and their armed struggle against Apartheid, Trevor had cleansed himself (to a degree) of whiteness. To state otherwise, he had labored to give up his "Human coordinates and become Black" (Wilderson, III, 2010, 23). Trevor's death drive led to a metamorphosis, the ingestion of a new corporeal capacity evident in his political allegiance to the ANC, his dedication to securing political and economic liberation for Black South Africans, his praxis as a guerilla fighter, and once captured, his endurance of torture due to his values and allegiances.

One may also look to the lives of Grace Lee Boggs and Yuri Kochiyama for such inspiration. Grace Lee Boggs is known for theorizing the contradictions of capitalism and (r)evolutionary futures from the purview of Detroit, Michigan. Her dedication to Black liberation was so determined that the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Cointelligence Program once categorized her as a Black woman (Boggs, 1998). Yuri Kochiyama's place in history of the Black Freedom Struggle was cemented February 21, 1965, at Harlem's Audubon Ballroom. In a photo from that infamous day, Kochiyama is seen sitting on stage, legs folded underneath her as the head of a lifeless Malcolm X lays in her lap. Kochiyama's dedication to the struggle for human rights and Black self-determination was so sincere that the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa (PGRNA), a Black revolutionary nationalist government that created a Black nation state in the Deep South recognized Kochiyama as the first non-Black citizen of its budding nation (Chimurenga, 2014).

Grace Lee Boggs and Yuri Kochiyama abandoned their potential inheritance as "junior partners of civil society" in America's white supremacist project (Wilderson, III, 2015, 139). By giving up their consciousness and corpus to aid in Black liberation, Yuri Kochiyama, Grace Lee Boggs, and Trevor were "[re]configured as such by way of [her and] his being with reference to

the Negro in America” and the African Diaspora (Chandler, 2003, 191). The result of these choices were lives of reinvention that modeled paths towards liberation and the rebirth of humanity. What makes the cases in question radical departures from a simple geographical analysis of race is a commitment to the creation of new geographies guided by, and dedicated to, a destruction of white supremacy’s humanizing project. From Harper’s Ferry to the cane fields of Haiti, and from the shantytowns of Pretoria to the factories of Detroit, a commitment to Black-led struggles were the foundation for creating new ways of being across the world.

Finale

With the growing reception and use of Black geographies, it is important to delineate this growing subfield – how is it both geographies of race and, yet, distinct from this school of thought. Explanation is necessary so that scholars do not simply conflate all studies of Black communities with Black geographies.⁷ Black geographies, as outlined, relies upon alternative optics, ideas, and methods for conducting research into the spatialized lives of Black people. Overlaying given forms of inquiry unto the existence of Diasporic communities may obfuscate the discrete forms of theorizing and place-making made by Black livelihoods.

In redefining of this subfield, it was paramount to conduct a brief genealogy of geographies of race, in order to demarcate distinctions between it and Black geographies, but also to acknowledge the scholars and schools of thought that have laid the foundation for Black geographies’ growing reception within and beyond the discipline. In so doing, we invoked early Black geographers and their studies of race in urban America. Next, we discussed the resurgence of critical studies of race in the 1990s and early 2000s with the aid of post-structuralist thought and critical race scholarship within cognate disciplines. This cross-disciplinary acknowledgement included discussions of scholars whose critiques of sociology, anthropology, and history exposed methodological limitations with regards to the study of Black communities and social movements. Drawing inspiration from these challenges, we argued that Black geographies, as a theory and a practice, relies on alternative optics and unique ways of engaging space drawn from the condition of Blackness and the experiences of Black communities.

Last, building upon questions posed at the 2014 AAG conference, we asked whether it is possible for non-Black people to contribute to Black geographies. We hypothesized, as have our intellectual progenitors (Woods, 1998, 2017; McKittrick, 2006, 2011; McKittrick and Woods, 2007) that a Black spatial imaginary is not inflexible and can be adopted and influenced. However, we claimed that in order to do so non-Black subjects, and in particular, white scholars, must be “authorized by Black revolutionary ensembles of questions” (Walsh, 2016, 2). Black geographies is not simply a theory to purchase and discard at whim. It is a knowledge form born of the suffering and social life of those throughout the African Diaspora. Thus, attempts to conduct this work must coincide with a commitment to Black liberation, not just the study of racial inequality or the spatialization of race. Only then can Black geographies truly be seen, known, respected, and replicated in service of Black liberation.

⁷ Similarly, McKittrick (2017) reported, “listing black thinkers to race-up your bibliography is not black studies.”

Notes

Thanks to Katherine McKittrick for her ongoing contributions to Black studies and Black geographies.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, M. (2007) *We Will Return in the Whirlwind: Black Radical Organizations, 1960-1975*. Chicago, Illinois: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company.
- Alderman, D. H. (1996) 'Creating a New Geography of Memory in the South: (Re)naming of Streets in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.', *Southeastern Geographer*, 36(1), pp. 51–69.
- Alderman, D. H. (2000) 'A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South', *The Professional Geographer*, 52(4), pp. 672–684.
- Alderman, D. H. (2002) 'Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia County', *Historical Geography*, 30, pp. 99–120.
- Alderman, D. H. and Inwood, J. (2013) 'Street naming and the politics of belonging: spatial injustices in the toponymic commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 14(2), pp. 211–233.
- Asante, M. (1988) *The Afrocentric Idea*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.
- Ashutosh, I. (2018) 'Mapping race and environment: Geography's entanglements with Aryanism', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 62, pp. 15–23.
- Badiou, A. (2012) *The Rebirth of History: Time of Riots and Uprisings*. New York, New York: Verso.
- Bell, D. (1992) 'Racial realism', *Connecticut Law Review*, 24(2), pp. 363–379.
- Bell, D. (1995) 'Who's afraid of critical race theory', *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1995(4), pp. 893–910.
- Birdsall, S. S. (1971) 'Introduction to research on black America: Prospects and preview', *Southeastern Geographer*, 11(2), pp. 85–89.
- Boggs, G. (1998) *Living for change: An autobiography*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997) 'Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation', *American Sociological Association*, 62(3), pp. 465–480.

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003) *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. New York, New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bonnett, A. (1996a) 'Anti-racism and the critique of "white" identities', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 22(1), pp. 97–110.
- Bonnett, A. (1996b) 'Ethnic and Racial Studies Constructions of "race", place and discipline: Geographies of "racial" identity and racism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19(4), pp. 864–883.
- Bonnett, A. (1996c) "'White Studies": The problems and projects of a new research agenda', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 13(2), pp. 145–155.
- Bonnett, A. (1997) 'Geography, "race" and whiteness: Invisible traditions and current challenges', *Area*, 29(3), pp. 193–199.
- Bonnett, A. (1998a) 'How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialized Capitalism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11(3), pp. 316–340.
- Bonnett, A. (1998b) 'Who was white? The disappearance of non-European white identities and the formation of European racial whiteness', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(6), pp. 1029–1055.
- Burton, O. (2015) 'Black Lives Matter: A critique of anthropology', *Cultural Anthropology*. Available at: <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/691-black-lives-matter-a-critique-of-anthropology>.
- Burton, O. (2017) 'Diluting radical history: Blood in the Water and the politics of erasure', *Abolition: A Journal of Insurgent Politics*. Available at: <https://abolitionjournal.org/diluting-radical-history-blood-in-the-water-and-the-politics-of-erasure/>.
- Chandler, N. D. (2003) 'The Souls of an Ex-White Man', *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 3(1), pp. 179–195.
- Darden, J. et al. (2010) 'The Measurement of Neighborhood Socioeconomic Characteristics and Black and White Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Detroit: Implications for the Study of Social Disparities in Health', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 100(1), pp. 137–158.
- Darden, J. T. (1973) *Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh: the residential segregation of a people*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Darden, J. T. (1987) 'Choosing neighbors and neighborhoods: The role of race in housing preference', in Tobin, Gary, A. (ed.) *Divided neighborhoods: Changing patterns of racial segregation*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 15–42.
- Darden, J. T. (1990) 'Differential Access to Housing in the Suburbs', *Journal of Black Studies*, 21(1), pp. 15–22.
- Darden, J. T. (1995) 'Black Residential Segregation Since the 1948 Shelley V. Kraemer Decision', *Journal of Black Studies*, 25(6), pp. 680–691.
- Darden, J. T. (2004) *The significance of white supremacy in the Canadian metropolis of Toronto*. Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press.
- Darden, J. T., Duleep, Harriet, O. and Galster, G. C. (1992) 'Civil Rights in Metropolitan

- America', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 14(3/4), pp. 469–496.
- Darden, J. T. and Kamel, S. M. (2000) 'Black residential segregation in segregated Detroit: Empirical testing of ecological theory', *The Review of Black Political Economy*, pp. 103–123.
- Darden, J. T., Thomas, J. and Thomas, R. (1987) *Detroit: Race and uneven development*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.
- Darden, J. T. and Wyly, E. (2010) 'Cartographic Editorial—Mapping the Racial/Ethnic Topography of Subprime Inequality in Urban America', *Urban Geography*, 31(4), pp. 425–433.
- Darden, J. and Thomas, R. (2013) *Detroit: Race riots, racial conflicts, and efforts to bridge the racial divide*. Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- Delaney, D. (2002) 'The Space That Race Makes', *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 6–14.
- Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (2001) *Critical Race Theory: An introduction*. First. New York, New York: New York University Press.
- Derickson, K. D. (2015) 'Urban geography I: Locating urban theory in the “urban age”', *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(5), pp. 647–657.
- Dubois, W. E. B. (1962) *John Brown*. New York, New York: International Publishers.
- Dubois, W. E. B. (1994) *The souls of black folk: Essays and sketches*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Dwyer, O. J. and Alderman, D. H. (2008) 'Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors', *GeoJournal*, 73(3), pp. 165–178.
- Georgakas, D. and Surkin, M. (1998) *Detroit, I do mind dying*. South End Press.
- Getachew, A. (2016) 'Universalism After the Post-colonial Turn: Interpreting the Haitian Revolution', *Political Theory*, 44(6), pp. 821–845.
- Gilmore, R. W. (1999) 'Globalisation and U.S. prison growth: from military Keynesianism to post-Keynesian militarism'.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2002) 'Fatal couplings of power and difference: Notes on racism and geography', *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 15–24.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2007) *Golden gulag: Prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2008) 'Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning', in Hale, C. R. (ed.) *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, pp. 31–61.
- Gilmore, R. W. (2018) 'Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence', *Tabula Rasa*, (28), pp. 57–77.
- Goffman, A. (2014) *On the run: Fugitive life in an American City*. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

- Harris, C. (1993) 'Whiteness as property', *Harvard Law Review*, 6(8), pp. 1709–1791.
- Hartman, S. (2016) 'The belly of the world: A note on black women's labors', *Souls*, 18(1).
- Hartman, S. and Wilderson, III, Frank, B. (2003) "'The Position of the Unthought.'", *Qui Parle*, 13(2), pp. 183–201.
- Heynen, N. (2006) "'But it's Alright, Ma, it's Life, and Life Only": Radicalism as Survival', *Antipode*, 38(5), pp. 916–929.
- Heynen, N. (2009) 'Bending the Bars of Empire from Every Ghetto for Survival: The Black Panther Party's Radical Antihunger Politics of Social Reproduction and Scale', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99(2), pp. 406–422.
- Heynen, N. (2019) 'Uneven Racial Development and the Abolition Ecology of the City', in Ernston, H. and Swyngedouw, E. (eds) *Urban Political Ecology in the Anthro-Obscene: Interruptions and Possibilities*. Burlington, Massachusetts: Routledge, pp. 111–128.
- Heynen, N. and Rhodes, J. (2012) 'Organizing for Survival: From the Civil Rights Movement to Black Anarchism through the Life of Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin', *AMCE*, 11(3), pp. 393–412.
- Hoelscher, S. and Alderman, D. H. (2004) 'Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5(3), pp. 347–355.
- hooks, bell (1992) *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- hooks, bell (2004) *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love*. New York, New York: Atria Books.
- Inwood, J. F. J. (2009a) 'Contested memory in the birthplace of a king: a case study of Auburn Avenue and the Martin Luther King Jr. National Park', *Cultural Geographies*, 16(1), pp. 87–109.
- Inwood, J. F. J. (2009b) 'Searching for the Promised Land: Examining Dr Martin Luther King's Concept of the Beloved Community¹', *Antipode*, 41(3), pp. 487–508.
- Johnson, J. (2017, November 25). Personal communication [Interview].
- Kirsch, S. (2014) 'Insular territories: US colonial science, geopolitics, and the (re) mapping of the Philippines', *The Geographical Journal*, pp. 1–13.
- Kobayashi, A. (2014) 'The Dialectic of Race and the Discipline of Geography', *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 104(6), pp. 1101–1115.
- Lawhon, M. et al. (2016) 'Urban and Regional Horizons Unlearning (Un)Located Ideas in the Provincialization of Urban Theory', *Regional Studies*, 50(9), pp. 1611–1622. doi: 10.1080/00343404.2016.1162288.
- McKittrick, K. (2014) 'Mathematics Black Life', *The Black Scholar*, 44(2), pp. 16–18.
- McKittrick, K. (2006) *Demonic grounds: Black women and the cartographies of struggle*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McKittrick, K. (2011) 'On plantations, prisons, and a black sense of place', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(8), pp. 947–963.

- McKittrick, K. (2016) 'Diachronic loops/deadweight tonnage/bad made measure', *Cultural Geographies*, 23(1), pp. 3–18.
- McKittrick, K. (2017) 'On algorithms and curiosities', in *Feminist Theory Workshop*. Durham, North Carolina. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggB3ynMjB34>.
- McKittrick, K. and Woods, C. (2007) *Black geographies and the politics of place*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Murdoch, J. (2006) *Post-structuralist geography: A guide to relational space*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.
- Omi, M. and Winant, H. (1994) *Racial formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s*. Second. New York, New York: Routledge.
- Peake, L. and Kobayashi, A. (2002) 'Policies and Practices for an Antiracist Geography at the Millennium Policies and Practices for an Antiracist Geography at the Millennium', *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 50–61.
- Peake, L. and Schein, R. (2000) 'Racing geography into the new millennium: studies of "race" and North American geographies', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 1(2), pp. 133–142.
- Pulido, L. (2002) 'Reflections on a White Discipline', *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 42–49.
- Ramirez, M. M. (2019) 'City as borderland: Gentrification and the policing of Black and Latinx geographies in Oakland', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 0(0), pp. 1–20.
- Robinson, C. J. (1983) *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- Robinson, J. and Roy, A. (2016) 'Debate on Global Urbanisms and the Nature of Urban Theory', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 40(1), pp. 181–186. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12272.
- Roediger, D. (1991) *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D. and Azaryahu, M. (2010) 'Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(4), pp. 453–470.
- Roy, A. (2011) 'Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(2), pp. 223–238.
- Saldanha, A. (2006) 'Reontologising race: The mechanic geography of phenotype', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 9–24.
- Saldanha, A. (2007) *Psychedelic White: Goa trance and the viscosity of race*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Saldanha, A. (2011) 'The concept of race', *Geography*, 96(1), pp. 27–33.
- Saldanha, A. (2012) 'Assemblage, materiality, race, capital', *Dialogues in Human Geography*,

2(2), pp. 194–197.

Sanders, R. (1980) *The spatial differentiation of informal activities across the urban hierarchy and implications for theory*. The Ohio State University.

Sanders, R. (1987) ‘Towards a Geography of Informal Activity’, *Socio-Environmental Planning Science*, 21(4), pp. 229–237.

Sanders, R. (1990) ‘Integrating race and ethnicity into geographic gender studies’, *Professional Geographer*, 42(2), pp. 228–231.

Sanders, R. (1992) ‘Eurocentric bias in the study of African urbanization: A provocation to debate’, *Antipode*, 24(3), pp. 203–213.

Sanders, R. (1999) ‘Introducing “white privilege” into the classroom: Lessons from finding a way’, *The Journal of Geography*, 98(4), pp. 169–175.

Sanders, R. (2000) ‘Gender Equity in the Classroom: An Arena for Correspondence’, *Women’s Studies Quarterly*, 28(3/4), pp. 182–193.

Sanders, R. (2006) ‘Social Justice and Women of Color in Geography: Philosophical musings, trying again’, *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 13(1), pp. 49–55.

Sanders, R. (2020, April 15). Personal communication [Email].

Sauer, C. (1963) ‘The morphology of landscape’, in Leighly, J. (ed.) *Land and life: A selection from the writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Schein, R. (2002) ‘Introduction’, *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 1–5.

Sharpe, C. (2014) ‘Black Life, Annotated’. Brooklyn, New York: The New Inquiry. Available at: <http://thenewinquiry.com/essays/black-life-annotated/>.

Sharpe, C. (2016) *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

de Souza Briggs, X., Darden, J. T. and Aidala, A. (1999) ‘In the wake of desegregation: Early impacts of scattered-site public housing on neighborhoods in Yonkers, New York’, *Journal of American Planning Association*, 65(1), pp. 27–49.

Sugrue, T. (1996) *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyner, J. (2006) *The geography of Malcolm X: Black radicalism and the remaking of American space*. New York, New York: Routledge.

Tyner, J. A. (2016) ‘Placing “the South” in the Geopolitical Thought of Malcolm X’, *Southeastern Geographer*, 56(1), pp. 45–56.

Vasudevan, P. (2019) ‘An Intimate Inventory of Race and Waste’, *Antipode*, 0(0), pp. 1–21.

Walsh, S. (2016) ‘Afro-Pessimism and Friendship in South Africa: An interview with Frank B. Wilderson III’, in Soske, J. and Walsh, S. (eds) *Ties that bind: Race and the politics of friendship in South Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, pp. 69–98.

- Watts, M. (2001) '1968 and all that', *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(2), pp. 157–188.
- Weheylie, A. (2014) *Habeas viscus: Racializing assemblages, biopolitics, and Black feminist theories of the human*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Wilderson, III, Frank, B. (2008) *Incognegro: A memoir of apartheid and exile*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wilderson, III, Frank, B. (2010) *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the structure of US antagonisms*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wilderson, III, Frank, B. (2015) 'Close-Up: Fugitivity and the Filmic Imagination: Social Death and Narrative Aporia in 12 Years a Slave', *Black Camera, An International Film Journal*, 7(1), pp. 134–149.
- Williams, B. (2018) "'That we may live'": Pesticides, plantations, and environmental racism in the United States South', *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 1(1–2), pp. 243–267.
- Woods, C. (1998) *Development arrested: The blues and plantation power in the Mississippi Delta*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Woods, C. (2002) 'Life after death', *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), pp. 62–66.
- Woods, C. (2017) *Development drowned and reborn: The Blues and Bourbon restorations in post-Katrina New Orleans*. Edited by L. Pulido and J. Camp. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

¹ NCCU's geography department is now the Department of Geosciences.

² According to Dr. Johnson, upon receiving his graduate degree, Dr. Speigner commuted between NCCU and the University of Michigan – Ann Arbor to earn his doctorate in Natural Resources and Environment. His story is a testament of the trials Black students have endured in order to contribute to this discipline.

³ Imagine reading "Reflections of a White Discipline" as a first year, Black graduate student with no formal background in the study of geography. This essay was a beacon of light, a sign that there was a place for us in this discipline, and better yet, that one could make a place.

⁴ Judging by the recent growth of Black graduate students and the development of the Black Geographies Specialty Group, it is clear that geography continues to be pushed towards increased representation and more critical research.

⁵ The conference titled, "Bridges for Sociology: International and Interdisciplinary," was held in Toronto, Canada, August 9-13, 1997.

⁶ Weheylie uses the work of these scholars to point out limitations in the widely accepted works of the post-structuralist theorists, Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault.