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Author(s): James A. Banks

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The Lives and Values of Researchers: Implications for Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society

JAMES A. BANKS

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I was an elementary school student in the Arkansas delta in the 1950s. One of my most powerful memories is the images of the happy and loyal slaves in my social studies textbooks. I also remember that there were three other Blacks in my textbooks: Booker T. Washington, the educator; George Washington Carver, the scientist; and Marian Anderson, the contralto. I had several persistent questions throughout my school days: Why were the slaves pictured as happy? Were there other Blacks in history beside the two Washingtons and Anderson? Who created this image of slaves? Why? The image of the happy slaves was inconsistent with everything I knew about the African American descendants of enslaved people in my segregated community. We had to drink water from fountains labeled “colored,” and we could not use the city’s public library. But we were not happy about either of these legal requirements. In fact, we resisted these laws in powerful but subtle ways each day. As children, we savored the taste of “White water” when the authorities were preoccupied with more serious infractions against the racial caste system.

An Epistemological Journey

Throughout my schooling, these questions remained cogent as I tried to reconcile the representations of African Americans in textbooks with the people I knew in my family and community. I wanted to know why these images were highly divergent. My undergraduate curriculum did not help answer my questions. I read one essay by a person of color during my four years in college: “Stranger in the Village” by James Baldwin (1953/1985). In this powerful essay, Baldwin describes how he was treated as the “Other” in a Swiss village. He was hurt and disappointed—not happy—about his treatment.

When I entered graduate school at Michigan State University in 1966, I studied with professors who understood my nagging questions about the institutionalized representations of African Americans in American culture and facilitated my quest for answers. The anthropologist Charles C. Hughes taught me about the relationship between culture and knowledge production. The sociologist James B. McKee introduced me to the sociology of knowledge. Under his tutelage, I read *Ideology and Utopia: An*

Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim (1936/1985) and Thomas F. Kuhn’s (1962/1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. I read John Hope Franklin’s (1967) *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* in an independent reading with the educational psychologist Robert L. Green. There were no courses in African American history at Michigan State in the mid-1960s.

My epistemological quest to find out why the slaves were represented as happy became a lifelong journey that continues, and the closer I think I am to the answer, the more difficult and complex both my question and the answers become. The question—Why were the slaves represented as happy?—has taken different forms in various periods of my life. Most recently, it has taken the form of a series of questions: Why are African Americans described as intellectually inferior in a book, published in 1994, that became a best-seller (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994)? Why are questions still being raised about the intelligence of African Americans as we enter a new century? Whose questions are these? Whom do they benefit? Whose values and beliefs do they reflect?

I have lived with these questions all of my professional life. I will describe my most recent thinking about them. *I now believe that the biographical journeys of researchers greatly influence their values, their research questions, and the knowledge they construct.* The knowledge they construct mirrors their life experiences and their values. The happy slaves in my school textbooks were invented by the Southern historian Ulrich B. Phillips (1918/1966). The images of enslaved people he constructed reflected his belief in the inherent inferiority of African Americans and his socialization in Georgia near the turn of the century (Smith & Insoe, 1993).

The Values of Researchers

Social scientists are human beings who have both minds and hearts. However, their minds and the products of their minds have dominated research discourse in the United States and throughout the Western world. The hearts of social scientists exercise a cogent influence on research

JAMES A. BANKS is a professor and director of the Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington, Box 353600, Seattle, WA 98195-3600. He specializes in social studies education and multicultural education. This article was the presidential address at the 1998 AERA Annual Meeting in San Diego, CA.

questions, findings, concepts, generalizations, and theories. I am using "heart" as a metaphor for values, which are the beliefs, commitments, and generalized principles to which social scientists have strong attachments and commitments. The value dimensions of social science research was largely muted and silenced in the academic community and within the popular culture until the neutrality of the social sciences was severely challenged by the postmodern, women's studies, and ethnic studies movements of the 1960s and 1970s (King, 1995; Ladner, 1973; Rosenau, 1992).

Social science research has supported historically and still supports educational policies that affect the life chances and educational opportunities of students. The educational policies supported by mainstream social science and educational researchers have often harmed low-income students and students of color. Yet, as I will document in this article, the values of social scientists are complex within a diverse society such as the United States. Social science and educational research in the United States, over time and often within the same era, have both reinforced inequality and supported liberation and human betterment.

Aims of Article

First, I will describe why it is necessary to uncover the values that underlie social science research and argue that objectivity should be an important aim of social science research even though it has a significant value dimension. Next, I will present a typology of crosscultural researchers. I will then describe the lives and work of a select group of social scientists who exemplify the categories in the typology. I will focus on the lives of social scientists who created knowledge that helps to empower marginalized communities and who embraced democratic values. Focusing on researchers who did anti-egalitarian research would be just as instructive. However, I have selected individuals I admire and whose work has influenced my values, my work, and my journey as a scholar and teacher educator. I will discuss the implications of my analysis for educating citizens in a democratic society in the last part of this article.

The aim of my discussion and analysis is to provide evidence for these claims:

- The cultural communities in which individuals are socialized are also epistemological communities that have shared beliefs, perspectives, and knowledge (Nelson, 1993);
- Social science and historical research are influenced in complex ways by the life experiences, values, and personal biographies of researchers;
- It is not their experiences per se that cause individuals to acquire specific values and knowledge during their socialization within their ethnic or cultural communities; rather, it is their *interpretations* of their experiences;
- How individuals interpret their cultural experiences is mediated by the interaction of a complex set of status variables, such as gender, social class, age, political affiliation, religion, and region; and
- An individual scholar's ideological commitments and knowledge claims cannot be predicted by his or her ethnic socialization because of the complex factors that influence knowledge production. Individuals socialized within cultural communities may endorse or oppose knowledge within their indigenous communities for a number of complex reasons.

Educational Research, Policy, and Practice

There are important reasons why we need to uncover and to better understand the values that influence social science and educational research. Historically, in the United States, many of the localized values and cultural perspectives of mainstream researchers were considered neutral, objective, and universal. Many of these value-laden perspectives, paradigms, and knowledge systems became institutionalized within the mainstream popular culture, the schools, and the nation's colleges and universities, in part, because they reinforced institutionalized beliefs and practices and were regarded as objective, universal, and neutral. A claim of "neutrality" enables a researcher to support the status quo without publicly acknowledging that support (Hubbard, cited in Burt & Code, 1995). The neutrality claim also enables the researcher to avoid what Code (1987) calls "epistemic responsibility" to the studied community.

Institutionalized concepts, theories, and paradigms considered neutral often privilege mainstream students and disadvantage low-income students, students of color, and female students. These knowledge systems and paradigms are often used to justify the educational neglect of desperate and needy students, to privilege groups who are advantaged, and to legitimize and justify discriminatory educational policies and practices.

A litany of mainstream paradigms and perspectives that harm and justify the disempowerment of low-income groups and groups of color could be cited. However, I will cite only several. They include Ulrich B. Phillips's (1966) construction of the happy and contented slave in his classic and influential book published in 1918, *American Negro Slavery*; Frederick Jackson Turner's influential essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," delivered in 1893 at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago (1894/1989); and *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980* by Charles Murray (1984). Murray is the co-author of another book in this genre, published 10 years later, *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). Murray's two books are part of the post-1970 political, social, and scholarly movement that the sociologist Herbert J. Gans (1995) calls "the war against the poor." Although the works by Phillips and Turner were published near the turn of the century, they established research paradigms that still echo in the popular culture and in the school curriculum. Mainstream paradigms that disempower marginalized groups are characterized by historical consistency; *The Bell Curve* is one of the most recent manifestations of this historical continuity, which includes the work by Arthur R. Jensen (1969) on the intellectual abilities of African Americans and Whites.

In each of the above cases, the researchers were outsiders in relation to the communities they studied. They described cultures and peoples with whom they had little insider knowledge, respect, or compassion. Phillips (1918/1966) identified with slave owners rather than with the people who were enslaved. Turner (1894/1989) perceived the West as a wilderness, although it was populated by Native American and Mexican American groups with rich cultures and languages. Murray (1984) views welfare mothers as burdens on the nation rather than as human beings who live desperate lives in a land of plenty.

In contrast to research that disempowers low-income groups and groups of color, there is also social science research that supports educational equality for marginalized

communities. This research is created by researchers with life experiences and values that differ in significant ways from those of the researchers described above. This research includes the anti-racist paradigm constructed during the 1930s and 1940s by Franz Boas and the anthropologists he trained at Columbia University; the research summarized in the brief filed by a group of social scientists to support the plaintiffs in the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision of 1954 that declared de jure racial segregation in schools unconstitutional (Kluger, 1975); and the reconstruction of historical knowledge about African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and women by historians such as Gerda Lerner (1973), John Hope Franklin (1989), Ramón A. Gutiérrez (1991), Ronald Takaki (1993), and Darlene Clark Hine (1994).

Values and the Quest for Objectivity

We also need to better understand and to make explicit the biographical journeys and values of researchers so that we can more closely approach the aim of objectivity in social science research. Even though values are embedded in social science and educational research, *objectivity* should remain an important goal in the human sciences. It is an ideal toward which we should continue to strive, although it will always remain elusive (Code, 1991). Making the values of researchers explicit will contribute to the attainment of what the philosopher Sandra Harding (1993) calls “strong objectivity.”

In his insightful book *The Nature of Social Science*, George C. Homans (1967) states, “What makes a science are its aims not its results” (p. 4). Even in this postmodern age, social science and educational researchers should have as an important goal making their disciplines sciences. An important aim of a science is to strive for objectivity. Objectivity must be an aim in the human sciences because there is no other reasonable way to construct public knowledge that will be considered legitimate and valid by researchers and policy-makers in diverse communities. *However, we need to rethink and to reconceptualize objectivity so that it will have legitimacy for diverse groups of researchers and will incorporate their perspectives, experiences, and insights.* The sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1995) states that the most objective truths result when diverse groups participate in validating ideas. Harding (1993) argues that broad participation is needed to attain strong objectivity.

Researchers should strive for objectivity even though it is an unattainable, idealized goal. Knowledge has both *subjective* and *objective* components (Code, 1991). Traditionally, these two components of knowledge have been conceptualized as discrete and dichotomous. Objective research was defined as research in which subjective or personal components did not influence the research process and products (Hempel, 1965).

One of the important epistemological contributions of feminist scholarship to social science within the last two decades has been its reconceptualization of the relationship between the subjective and objective components of knowledge. Feminist scholars state that the *objective/subjective dichotomy* is a false one and describe ways in which these two components of knowledge are interconnected and interrelated (Code, 1991; Collins, 1990). Dewey also viewed the knower as connected to what he or she studied. He defended “objective truth” but emphasized the active role of the researcher in knowledge production and argued that

knowledge construction is a process in which the subject and object interact (cited in Fox & Koppenberg, 1995). Dewey also believed that truth claims had to be revisited in different contexts and situations.

Social science and educational researchers should strive for objectivity but acknowledge how the subjective and objective components of knowledge are interconnected and interactive. Acknowledging the subjective components of knowledge does not mean that we abandon the quest for objectivity. Making the value premises of research explicit can help social scientists become more objective. Myrdal (1969) argues that if value premises—or what he calls *valuations*—remain “implicit and vague,” the door is left open for biases to creep in without the researcher’s knowledge (p. 55). He writes, “The only way in which we can strive for ‘objectivity’ in theoretical analysis is to expose the valuations to full light, make them conscious, specific, and explicit, and permit them to determine the theoretical research” (pp. 55–56). Myrdal also argues that “No social science can ever be ‘neutral’ or simply ‘factual,’ indeed not ‘objective’ in the traditional meaning of these terms. *Research is always and by logical necessity based on moral and political valuations, and the researcher should be obliged to account for them explicitly*” (p. 74, italics added).

The Quest for Authentic Voices

A major goal of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s was to eliminate institutionalized discrimination in the nation’s schools, colleges, and universities. Epistemological battles ensued when schools and colleges became populated with students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups. Students within the margins of these institutions, usually students of color and low-income students, felt that the knowledge embedded within the curriculum privileged mainstream cultures and groups and marginalized their voices and experiences (Hu-DeHart, 1995). Many scholars of color challenged traditional interpretations of their histories and cultures that had been written by mainstream scholars and researchers (Ladner, 1973). It was during this period that what Edmund W. Gordon (1997) calls an “epistemological crisis” began.

The epistemological crisis during the 1960s and 1970s was characterized by heated discussions and debates of questions such as: Who should speak for whom? Whose voice is legitimate? Who speaks with moral authority and legitimacy? Can the outsider ever understand the cultures and experiences of insiders or speak with moral authority about them? The sociologist Robert K. Merton (1972) published an important and influential article on the epistemological crisis, “Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge.” Insiders claim that only a member of their ethnic or cultural group can really understand and accurately describe the group’s culture because socialization within it gives them unique insights into it. The outsider claims that outsiders can more accurately describe a culture because group loyalties prevent individuals from viewing their culture objectively.

Merton (1972) explicates and assesses the claims by both insiders and outsiders and rejects the extreme arguments of both. He writes, “*Either the Insider or the Outsider has access to the sociological truth*” (p. 40, italics in original). Merton concludes that both insider and outsider perspectives are needed in the “process of truth seeking.” He states, “We

no longer ask whether it is the Insider or the Outsider who has monopolistic or privileged access to social truth; instead, we begin to consider their distinctive and interactive roles in the process of truth seeking" (p. 36).

Merton (1972) problematizes the relationship between knowledge construction and group affiliations. He points out that individuals have not one but multiple social statuses and group affiliations that interact to influence their behavior and perspectives. The social categories to which individuals belong include race, ethnicity, gender, age, class, region, and occupation. The social context or situation determines which social status affiliation assumes primacy. Merton (1972) describes how insiders exaggerate the uniformity of perspectives within a group because they fail to recognize

The structural analysis which maintains that there is a *tendency for, not a full determination of*, socially patterned differences in the perspectives, preferences, and behavior of people variously located in the social structure. The theoretical emphasis on tendency, as distinct from total uniformity, is basic, not casual or niggling. It provides for a range of variability in perspectives and behavior among members of the same groups or occupants of the same status. (p. 27, italics in original)

Race and Gender

Although many social status affiliations interact to influence the knower's perception of reality and knowledge production, Merton underestimates the power of race in crosscultural interactions in U.S. society. In a society highly stratified by race such as the United States, race often assumes primacy in cross-ethnic and crosscultural interactions because of its salience and pervasiveness (Pettigrew, 1980). A *People* magazine reporter asked the tennis star Arthur Ashe, who had just announced that he had AIDS, "Mr. Ashe, I guess this must be the heaviest burden you have ever had to bear, isn't it?" Ashe replied, "It's a burden, all right. But AIDS isn't the heaviest burden I have had to bear. . . . [B]eing black is the greatest burden I've had to bear" (quoted in Ashe & Rampersad, 1993, p. 139).

Race and gender also interact in complex ways to influence knowledge production. Collins (1990) discusses ways in which gender interacts with race to provide African American women with a unique standpoint, which she calls the "outsider-within" perspective. Collins (1995) argues that African American women "as a group, experience a different world than those who are not black and female. Second, these experiences stimulate a distinctive black feminist consciousness concerning that material reality" (p. 33). She states that marginalized groups not only experience a different reality but interpret that reality differently. This important question, however, is not resolved by Collins's important analysis: Under what conditions do individual African American women fail to incorporate a Black feminist standpoint? In other words, how do we explain the standpoint of the highly politically conservative Black woman?

A Typology of Crosscultural Researchers

Merton's *insider-outsider* and Collins's *outsider-within* conceptualizations help to clarify and add needed complexity to the ideological debates and discussions about whose knowledge is authentic, who can know what, and who

speaks for whom. Another important dimension of these questions is the relationship between knowledge and power. For example: What factors determine the knowledge systems and canons that become institutionalized or marginalized in mainstream institutions?

Although the Merton and Collins conceptualizations are important and helpful, additional concepts and finer distinctions are needed to better describe the epistemological complexity related to knowledge construction, race, ethnicity, and culture. Building on the work of Merton and Collins, I will describe a *typology of crosscultural researchers* that further problematizes the types of knowers within a pluralistic democratic society. Like the conceptualizations by Merton and Collins, this typology is a Weberian ideal-type conceptualization that approximates reality but does not describe it in its total complexity. An ideal-type typology "is not designed to correspond exactly to any single empirical observation," but to facilitate descriptions, comparisons, and hypothesis testing (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 193).

This typology is based on the assumption that in a diverse pluralistic society such as the United States, individuals are socialized within ethnic, racial, and cultural communities in which they internalize localized values, perspectives, ways of knowing, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge that can differ in significant ways from those of individuals socialized within other microcultures. Individuals endorse the institutionalized beliefs and knowledge within their microcultures at greatly varying levels. A number of other status characteristics of individuals, such as age, social class, gender, and occupation, influence the extent to which they manifest the beliefs and knowledge of their cultural communities. However, individuals within a particular ethnic or cultural community are more likely to exemplify the institutionalized beliefs and knowledge of that community than are individuals outside it.

Depending on the situations and contexts, we are all both insiders and outsiders (Merton, 1972). Also, a researcher's insider-outsider status may change over the course of a lifetime, either because the institutionalized knowledge and paradigms within the studied community change or because the researcher's value commitments are significantly modified. This typology is not necessarily a general description of a researcher over the course of her or his career. In *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*, Ruth Behar (1996) describes how she was a somewhat dispassionate outsider when she observed the death of farmers in a Spanish village but became an emotionally involved insider when she observed her own grandfather's death in Miami Beach.

Although I will focus on insiders and outsiders as they relate to race and ethnicity, this typology can also be applied to other status groups such as gender, social class, and religion. Men studying women, middle-class researchers studying low-income students, and Protestant researchers studying Muslims are outsiders.

The *typology of crosscultural researchers* has four types of knowers or researchers: the *indigenous-insider*, the *indigenous-outsider*, the *external-insider*, and the *external-outsider*. (See Table 1).

The *indigenous-insider* endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her primordial community and culture. He or she is also per-

Table 1
A Typology of Crosscultural Researchers

Type of researcher	Description
The indigenous-insider	This individual endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her indigenous community and culture and is perceived by people within the community as a legitimate community member who can speak with authority about it.
The indigenous-outsider	This individual was socialized within his or her indigenous community but has experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into an outsider or oppositional culture. The values, beliefs, perspectives, and knowledge of this individual are identical to those of the outside community. The indigenous-outsider is perceived by indigenous people in the community as an outsider.
The external-insider	This individual was socialized within another culture and acquires its beliefs, values, behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge. However, because of his or her unique experiences, the individual rejects many of the values, beliefs, and knowledge claims within his or her indigenous community and endorses those of the studied community. The external-insider is viewed by the new community as an "adopted" insider.
The external-outsider	The external-outsider is socialized within a community different from the one in which he or she is doing research. The external-outsider has a partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge of the community he or she is studying and consequently often misunderstands and misinterprets the behaviors within the studied community.

ceived by significant others and opinion leaders within the community as a legitimate member of the community who has a perspective and the knowledge that will promote the well-being of the community, enhance its power, and enable it to maintain cultural integrity and survive.

The *indigenous-outsider* was socialized within the cultural community but has experienced high levels of desocialization and cultural assimilation into an outside or oppositional culture or community. The values, beliefs, perspectives, and knowledge of this individual are indistinguishable from those of an outside culture or community. This individual is not only regarded as an outsider by indigenous members of the cultural community but is viewed with contempt because he or she is considered to have betrayed the indigenous community and "sold out" to the outside community. The indigenous-outsider is often chosen by leaders of the mainstream community as their spokesperson for public and visible issues related to his or her ethnic group, is often highly praised and rewarded by the mainstream community, and is viewed as legitimate by the mainstream but not by the indigenous community.

The *external-insider* was socialized within another culture and acquires its beliefs, values, behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge. However, because of unique experiences, such as personal experiences within an outside culture or community or marginalization within the culture into which he or she was socialized, the individual rejects many of the values, beliefs, and knowledge claims within the community in which he or she was socialized. The external-insider may also become publicly oppositional to many of the cultural assumptions and beliefs of his or her cultural community. This individual internalizes and acts on the institutionalized beliefs and knowledge claims of his or her second or "adopted" community. The external-insider individual is viewed by the new community as an "adopted" member and is often negatively perceived and sanctioned by his or her first community.

The *external-outsider* was socialized within a community different from the one in which he or she is doing research. He or she has a partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge of the community he or she is studying. Because of a lack of understanding of and empathy for the culture or community that is being studied, the external-outsider often misunderstands and misinterprets the behaviors within the community, distorts when comparing them with outsider behaviors and values, and describes the studied community as pathological or deviant. The external-outsider views the studied community as the "Other." The external-outsider believes that he or she is the best and most legitimate researcher to study the subject community because he or she has a more objective view of the community than researchers who live within it. The external-outsider is criticized by members of the studied community but is often praised and highly rewarded by the outside community, which is often more powerful and influential than the studied community.

The external-outsider may violate the integrity of the communities he or she studies, his or her work may contribute to the disempowerment and oppression of these communities, and it may be used by policymakers to justify the marginalized positions of the indigenous people in the studied community. The external-outsider's research and the policy derived from it often raise serious ethical problems about the responsibility of researchers to the communities they study.

Case Studies of the Lives of Researchers

The case studies that follow examine the lives and values of a select group of researchers who have done race relations research that has important implications for education. I will describe critical incidents in their biographical journeys that are related to their values, to race relations research, and to educational policy. The lives of these individuals ex-

emply and support the observations and conceptual distinctions I make in the theoretical discussion and in the typology described above.

I will use African American culture as the basis for classifying the scholars and researchers. I will first describe the lives and works of the psychologist Kenneth B. Clark and the historian John Hope Franklin, individuals who may be considered indigenously-insiders within the African American community for most of their careers. I will then discuss the lives and works of a group of social scientists who were external to the African American community but who did work that was empowering and liberating for African Americans. These researchers were, to varying extents, external-insiders in reference to the African American community. They are Franz Boas and two of his students, Ruth Benedict and Otto Kleinberg, and the social psychologist Thomas F. Pettigrew, who did pioneering research on race relations and school desegregation.

Kenneth B. Clark and Research on Race

The research, scholarship, and actions of the psychologist Kenneth B. Clark (b. 1914) illustrate the ways in which personal experiences, perspectives, and values influence scholarship and how scholarship influences action. Clark's work also epitomizes the role of the socially responsible scholar in a democratic, pluralistic society. Throughout his career, Clark consistently opposed institutionalized structures that promoted racism and inequality and constructed scholarship that challenged existing knowledge systems and paradigms. (See Figure 1.)

The values and perspectives that underlie Clark's scholarship, research, and action were developed early in his life. His mother taught him, by her examples, to strongly oppose racial discrimination. She and her two children emigrated from the Panama Canal Zone to New York City when Clark was 5. She took a job as a seamstress in a sweatshop, helped organize a union in the shop, and became a steward for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (Moritz, 1964).

Clark's early experiences with racial discrimination and his mother's decisive action against it strongly influenced his perception of race in America; the research questions, issues, and people he studied; and his commitment to act both as a scholar and a citizen to help create a more just society. Clark and his mother were refused service at Childs restaurant when he was 6 years old. His mother reacted with "verbal hostility" and "threw a dish on the floor" (Clark, 1993, p. 3). When he was in the ninth grade, Clark again witnessed his mother's strong reaction to discrimination when his White guidance counselor told him that he should attend a vocational high school. Writes Clark, "I again saw the anger on my mother's face that I had seen at Childs restaurant. She said, 'You will not go to a vocational high school. You are going to an academic high school'" (p. 5).

The lessons that Clark's mother taught him were reinforced by his personal experiences and by his professors at Howard University, the historically Black university where he earned his bachelor's and master's degrees. Clark's professors at Howard included the philosopher Alain Locke and the political scientist Ralph Bunche. When Clark was a senior at Howard, he and a group of students demonstrated inside the U.S. Capitol because African Americans were not served in the Capitol's restaurant. When the pres-



FIGURE 1. *Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie Phipps Clark—Library of Congress, Washington, DC.*

ident of Howard and the disciplinary committee wanted to suspend or expel the students for "threatening the security of the university" (Clark, 1993, p. 8), Ralph Bunche strongly defended the students and threatened to resign if the students were disciplined.

Bunche and the students won the day; the students were not punished. This incident taught Clark important lessons about contradictions in American society. He writes:

Howard University was the beginning of the persistent preoccupation I have had with American racial injustice. . . . At this stage in my personal development, I became engrossed in the contradictions which exist: the eloquence of American "democracy" and academic hypocrisy. These members of the Howard faculty I respected all became my mentors against American racism. *My life became dominated by an ongoing struggle against racial injustice. . . . These outstanding professors made it very clear to me that under no circumstances should I ever accept racial injustice.* (Clark, 1993, p. 7, italics added)

Clark's research on racial attitudes and their effects on the personality development of African American children, for which he became widely known, was an extension of work originally done by Mamie Phipps Clark for her master's thesis at Howard University. The Clarks, who met at Howard, were married in 1938. From 1939 to the 1950s, they conducted a series of important and influential studies on

the racial awareness, preference, and racial self-identification of African American children (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1940, 1947, 1950).

John Hope Franklin's Experiences With Race

The historian John Hope Franklin (b. 1915), a specialist in Southern history, grew up in the South at a time when it was tightly segregated by race. Franklin's view of history, of America, and of the efforts that it will take to create a just society in the United States have been strongly influenced by his early socialization in his native Oklahoma. "Two factors," writes Franklin, "plagued my world of learning for all my developing years. One was race, the other was financial distress; and each had a profound influence on every stage of my development" (1991, p. 352, see Figure 2).

Franklin was born in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, the all-Black town to which his parents moved after his father, a lawyer, was expelled from court by a White judge because he was Black. Franklin's parents strongly believed that they should not accept any form of racial segregation. They moved to an all-Black town to escape racial discrimination. The move made a lasting impression on their son, the future

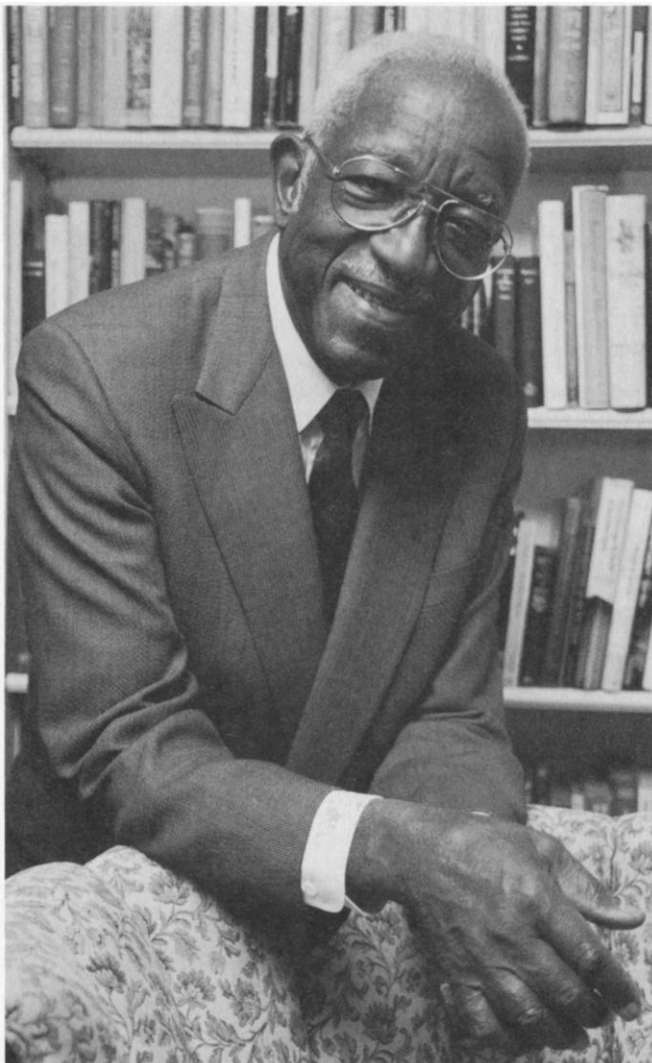


FIGURE 2. John Hope Franklin—Jennifer Warburg, Durham, NC.

historian. The family later moved to Tulsa to seek better work, educational, and recreational opportunities. While living in Tulsa, Franklin's parents refused to attend any events that were racially segregated, including the concerts at Convention Hall that greatly appealed to their son. However, they allowed their son to attend the concerts.

As a college student at Fisk University in Nashville (a historically Black university), Franklin had a number of powerful and memorable personal experiences with racial discrimination that left their marks. When he bought a streetcar ticket with the only money he had—a \$20 bill—the clerk screamed racial epithets and gave him \$19.75 change in dimes and quarters. The 16-year-old Franklin was shocked and stunned by the incident. Three years later, a young Black man, Cordie Cheek, was taken by a gang of Whites from a Fisk-owned house and lynched on the edge of campus.

Franklin did not acquire a monolithic view of Whites during his coming of age in the South. Approximately half of the Fisk faculty was White. Franklin admired and respected most of his Fisk professors. He changed his lifelong ambition to follow his father's footsteps and become a lawyer because of the exciting lectures given by his White history professor, Theodore S. Currier. Currier became Franklin's mentor when he decided to become a historian. He borrowed \$500 and gave it to Franklin so that he could attend Harvard University.

Franklin and the Reconstruction of American History

Franklin's important work to reconstruct and reinterpret American history with African Americans in visible and significant roles draws on and extends the research of African American historians who were his predecessors—such as Carter G. Woodson, Charles H. Wesley, W. E. B. DuBois, and Luther B. Jackson. Franklin published the first edition of *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* in 1947. This influential book is now in its seventh edition (Franklin & Moss, 1994). At the time of the publication of the first edition of the book, African Americans were largely invisible in most mainstream school and college textbooks. When they did appear, they were often stereotyped as happy slaves who were loyal to their masters. Ulrich B. Phillips's (1966) view of slavery dominated textbooks as well as mainstream intellectual discourse about slavery. Although Franklin's textbook received a warm reception in predominantly Black colleges and universities when it was first published, it was not until the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s that Franklin's work began to significantly permeate mainstream textbooks and scholarship. Prior to the 1960s, scholars such as Woodson, DuBois, and Franklin worked primarily in the margins of their disciplines to construct the history of African Americans and to reconstruct mainstream American history.

Franklin has written a score of scholarly books, monographs, and articles that reinterpret Southern history and the role of African Americans in the development of the United States. In some of his most insightful writings, Franklin (1989) describes how the Founding Fathers and the Constitution played a significant role in racializing the United States.

Throughout his long and impressive career, Franklin has been viewed by most members of the African American community as an indigenous-insider. He is also highly respected by the mainstream scholarly and public com-

munities. He is a former president of each of the major national historical professional associations. He was appointed by President Clinton to chair the Advisory Board for the President's Initiative on Race and Reconciliation in 1997.

The Anti-Racism Project of Anthropologists

The rise and spread of Nazism in Europe and racial conflicts and riots in the United States stimulated a rich period of race relations research and writings during World War II and the postwar period. A number of the books published during this period became classics including *An America Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* by Gunnar Myrdal (1944), the Swedish economist; *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* by Ashley Montagu (1942); *The Authoritarian Personality* by Theodor W. Adorno et al. (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, Sanford, & Nevitt, 1950); and *The Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon Allport (1954). Much of the work published during the 1940s and 1950s was born out of the hope of stemming the tide of Nazism and anti-Semitism.

Franz Boas (1858–1942, Figure 3) of Columbia University and the anthropologists he trained initiated a major project to discredit scientific racism, which was widespread and institutionalized when Boas arrived in the



FIGURE 3. Franz Boas—American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

United States in 1887 (Stocking, 1974). Boas immigrated to the United States from Germany because of the limited opportunities for Jewish scholars in his homeland (Barkan, 1992). The anti-racist work done by Boas and his former students was very important in countering racist scholarship and knowledge. Boas and other anthropologists became involved in an anti-racist project for a number of reasons. Some of Boas's Jewish students, such as Otto Klineberg and Melville Herskovits, realized that a racist ideology not only victimized African Americans but other groups as well, including Jewish Americans.

The anti-racism project initiated by Boas and his colleagues benefited African Americans as well as other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Much of their research and writing opposed and deconstructed racist ideologies that argued that African Americans were genetically inferior to Whites (Klineberg, 1935). The work of Boas and his anthro-

Social science and educational researchers should strive for objectivity but acknowledge how the subjective and objective components of knowledge are interconnected and interactive.

pology colleagues indicates that outsiders may identify with and promote equality for a studied community in part because they view the interests of the studied community and their own personal and community interests as interconnected. By opposing racist theories directed against African Americans, Boas and Klineberg were pursuing the interests of their own cultural communities while promoting the public good.

Otto Klineberg (1899–1992), a former Boas student who did significant and influential work that challenges and undercuts scientific racism, was of Canadian-Jewish descent. He believed that his professional training with Boas and a chance visit to an American Indian community were the major factors that motivated his work on racial and ethnic issues. He minimized the role that his personal ethnic experiences played in his desire to study race and to oppose scientific racism.

While visiting an Indian community in Washington state, Klineberg (1973) conducted a study and found that the Indian students took longer to complete an intelligence test but made fewer errors than did the White students. He concluded that the conception and use of time in Indian and White cultures, rather than differences in intelligence, explained variations in performance on the test. He felt that the results of this study "entirely vindicated" Boas's views on the influence of culture and learning on intelligence test performance (Klineberg, 1973, p. 41).

Boas's experience with anti-Semitism and Klineberg's work with Boas and research experience in an American Indian community are important factors that help to explain their race-related work and the values exemplified in their research. Other researchers who become involved in race relations research and who become anti-racists are mainstream Americans who pursue research and exemplify values that are often oppositional to those institutionalized within their cultural communities. In his study of scholars who specialized in race relations research during the 1950s and 1960s, Stanfield (1993) found that White men of Southern and/or Jewish origin were among the most prominent of these scholars. Ruth Benedict and Thomas F. Pettigrew are two mainstream scholars who did influential race relations work.

Ruth Benedict and Anti-Racism Work

Ruth Benedict (1887–1948, Figure 4) was a former Boas student who later became his colleague at Columbia University. The focus of her work was the study of culture, not race. She became involved in race relations work reluctantly, in part because she realized she was not an expert in the field. In 1940, she published *Race: Science and Politics*. In popular language, Benedict described both the scientific facts and the myths about race. She (1940/1947) wrote, "[R]acism is an *ism* to which everyone in the world is exposed; for or against, we must take sides. And the history of the future will differ according to the decision which we make" (p. 5). In 1943, Benedict published (with Gene Welt-



FIGURE 4. Ruth Benedict—Vassar College Libraries, Special Collections, Poughkeepsie, NY.

fish) the *Races of Mankind* for a popular audience (1940/1947). Both *Race: Science and Politics* and *The Races of Mankind* were widely disseminated and influential. Benedict and a high school teacher in 1941 wrote a teaching unit, *Race and Cultural Relations: America's Answer to the Myth of the Master Race*.

Benedict became involved in Boas's anti-racism project for several reasons. First, anti-racism work was an extension of her earlier research on the characteristics of culture. A key assumption of Benedict's (1934) cultural project was the need for people to view outside cultures as similar to their own. Benedict's family experiences are another factor that compelled her interest and participation in the anti-racist project. These experiences caused her to be interested in other cultures, to reach beyond her own cultural world, and to study cultural and racial differences.

According to her biographers, Benedict felt alienated and marginalized within the Anglo-American culture into which she was socialized (Caffrey, 1989; Mead, 1974; Modell, 1984). Writes Mead (1974), "[S]he often spoke of how she had come to feel, very early, that there was little in common between the beliefs of her family and neighbors and her own passionate wondering about life, which she learned to keep to herself" (p. 6). Fleming (1971) also describes Benedict's alienation and sense of marginalization within her family and community culture. He writes, "She had been estranged from what she took to be the inevitable nature of life; she now asked if she might have been more at home in another time and culture, say in ancient Egypt" (p. 130).

Benedict also became involved in Boas's anti-racism project because of her high personal regard for him. She greatly admired and respected her influential mentor, friend, and colleague. Becoming involved in his race relations project was an expression of loyalty to Boas, which he appreciated and expected from his former students.

Pettigrew and School Desegregation Research

Thomas F. Pettigrew (b. 1931), of Scottish-American descent, grew up in Richmond, Virginia, in the 1930s and 1940s. He witnessed racial discrimination and often challenged it when he was a youth. Pettigrew (1993) attributes the development of his progressive racial attitudes and his interest in race relations research to his family and Mildred Adams, his family's African American housekeeper. (See Figure 5.)

Pettigrew was expelled from school several times for calling his seventh-grade teacher a bigot because she praised Hitler's anti-Semitism and used derogatory names when referring to African Americans. His mother and grandmother went to the principal's office and defended his actions each time he was expelled. Pettigrew (1993) was deeply influenced by the harsh racial discrimination that Mildred Adams had experienced, which she shared with him. He writes:

Once a "white" movie theater refused us admission, although she had taken care to dress in an all-white uniform. By the time I was 10 years old, the many psychological defenses that blind most white Americans to the racial injustice that surrounds them were no longer available to me. (p. 160)

Other factors influenced Pettigrew's decision to become a social psychologist and specialize in race relations research. These included a social psychology class he took at the University of Virginia, his professor's suggestion that he do graduate work at Harvard and study with Gordon Allport, and Allport's (1954) work in race relations. Allport (1954) was writing *The Nature of Prejudice*, which became a classic, when Pettigrew was doing graduate work with him.

Pettigrew has made major contributions to race relations research. He has summarized research on the intellectual abilities of African Americans that refutes theories of Black inferiority (Pettigrew, 1964) and has been a major researcher and activist scholar supporting school desegregation. Pettigrew was the chief investigator of the massive study of race and education sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in response to a request made by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965. The report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), concluded that racial isolation in the public schools was extensive and that it harmed the nation's students.

Intellectual Leadership and Action

The researchers discussed in this article were transformative scholars and intellectual leaders (Banks, 1993, 1995); they were researchers who also had value aims, which they pursued through action to influence public and educational policies (Burns, 1978). Klineberg, Clark, and Franklin sup-

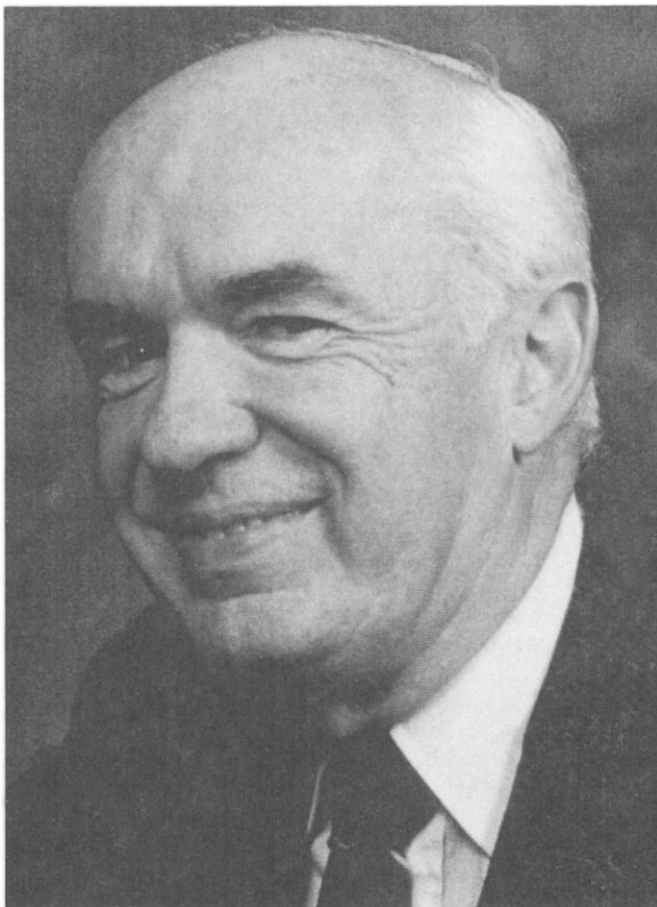


FIGURE 5. Thomas F. Pettigrew—Courtesy of Thomas F. Pettigrew.

ported, in various ways, the plaintiffs in the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case. Pettigrew was an outspoken advocate of school desegregation during the 1960s and 1970s. He challenged Coleman's "White flight" thesis, which stated that large school districts risked losing White students and parents when desegregation took place under certain conditions (Pettigrew & Green, 1976). Benedict was a minor participant in the intercultural education movement (Caffrey, 1989).

Scholars who become intellectual leaders have many opportunities to make a difference in their communities and in the nation. However, they also experience conflicts, dilemmas, and problems. Scholars, especially those who work within marginalized communities and who promote policies and practices that conflict with those institutionalized within the mainstream academic community, experience a number of academic risks when they become intellectual leaders. They are open to charges by mainstream researchers that they are political, partisan, and subjective. Mainstream scholars who promote policies consistent with those institutionalized within the mainstream academic community are less subject to these risks; their normative-oriented work is more likely to be viewed as "objective and neutral."

Intellectual leaders within marginalized communities are keenly aware of these risks. Historically, most African American scholars have considered themselves objective scholars. They believed that objective scholarship would help to correct the distorted representations of African Americans in mainstream scholarship. Many African American scholars became involved in civil rights work and activities. However, they viewed their roles as *scholar* and as *citizen* as separate. The historian Carter G. Woodson considered himself an objective historian and did not become involved in any direct civil rights activities. Woodson's actions were limited primarily to professional tasks such as promoting Negro history week (now African American history month) and to soliciting funds for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

John Hope Franklin considers himself an objective historian. Although he has promoted civil rights, he considers his action as part of his role as a citizen, not as a historian. Franklin helped prepare the brief for the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case. He participated in the Selma civil rights march in 1965 to protest legalized segregation. Franklin presented a statement to the judiciary committee opposing the nomination of Robert H. Bork for the Supreme Court.

Kenneth B. Clark views his action as an essential extension of his scholarship. Throughout his career, Clark (1963) has consistently used his research and scholarship to influence public policy and to guide action to improve race relations. In his books and articles, he describes the ways in which racial prejudice and discrimination damage both White and African American children. Much of Clark's scholarship and activism have focused on efforts to desegregate the nation's schools. He played an important role in the 1954 *Brown* decision. Clark coordinated the expert witnesses for the case and submitted to the Supreme Court, with a group of other social scientists, the *Social Science Index to the Legal Brief*. This research is cited in footnote 11 of the *Brown* decision. In 1946, Kenneth and Mamie Clark es-

tablished the Northside Center for Child Development to improve the life chances and possibilities for Harlem youth (Markowitz & Rosner, 1996). He organized Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) to reduce the number of school dropouts, juvenile delinquents, and unemployed youth in Harlem in 1962.

Social Action for Scholars: Benefits and Risks

Transformative scholars who become involved in action are not only subject to criticism from their academic colleagues; they are also subject to the vagaries, whims, and contradictions of political struggle in the real world. When the HARYOU project was joined with Associated Community Teams (ACT) in 1964, Clark became involved in a bitter controversy over control of the project with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell that resulted in Clark resigning from the HARYOU-ACT board.

Although Clark had spent most of his career actively working for school desegregation, he was harshly criticized by many African American nationalists during the late 1960s and 1970s when the utopian hopes for desegregation were fading and cries for Black power echoed throughout

Because education is a moral endeavor, educational researchers should be scientists as well as citizens who are committed to promoting democratic ideals.

the nation. Clark's beliefs about the possibilities of desegregation hardened as some scholars began to criticize his position. Clark's biography documents how a scholar who had been viewed as an indigenously-insider began to be perceived by many people within his community as an indigenously-outsider when the beliefs and ideologies of many vocal members of the African American community began to change. Clark remained consistent in his beliefs, but the beliefs and ideologies of many leaders and scholars in his community changed.

Social scientists increase their possibilities for direct influence when they become involved in social and community action. However, they also increase their possibilities for risks and disappointments. Clark's biography exemplifies the high risks taken when scholars become involved in social and political action. As Clark was witnessing the nation's retreat from desegregation, affirmative action, and other equity issues late in his life, he expressed a sense of despair. This is ironic because Clark had strongly influenced the lives of many scholars—including mine—and had been a highly influential intellectual and policy activist for several decades. At age 76, he described his disappointment with his career (Clark, 1993):

Reluctantly, I am forced to face the likely possibility that the United States will never rid itself of racism and reach true integration. I look back and I shudder at how naive we all were in our belief in the steady progress racial minorities would make through programs of litigation and education, and while I very much hope for the emergence of a revived civil rights movement with innovative programs and dedicated leaders, I am forced to recognize that my life has, in fact, been a series of glorious defeats. (p. 19)

The risks of social action became painfully evident to Franklin after the Bork Supreme Court hearings. Franklin, who testified against Bork, was deeply disappointed when President Ronald Reagan said that the people who opposed Bork's nomination were a "lynch mob" (quoted in Franklin, 1991, p. 364). Writes Franklin: "One must be prepared for any eventuality when he makes any effort to promote legislation or to shape the direction of public policy or to affect the choice of these in public service" (pp. 363–364).

Implications for Citizenship Education in a Multicultural Society

Implications for Students and Teachers

A significant challenge facing educators in the coming century is how to respect and acknowledge the community cultures and knowledge of students while helping to construct a democratic public community with an overarching set of values to which all students will have a commitment and with which all will identify (Banks, 1997). In other words, our challenge is to create an education that will help foster a just and inclusive pluralistic national society that all students and groups will perceive as legitimate. This is a tremendous challenge but an essential task in a pluralistic democratic society. An important aim of the school curriculum should be to educate students so that they will have the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to help construct and to live in a public community in which all groups can and will participate.

Teachers should help students examine and uncover the community and culture knowledge they bring to school and to understand how it is similar to and different from school knowledge and the cultural knowledge of other students. Students should also be helped to understand the ways in which their values undergird their personal and community knowledge and how they view and interpret school knowledge.

Teachers, like students, also bring to the classroom personal and cultural knowledge that is situated within a set of deeply held values that result from their personal and professional experiences. However, the values that teachers hold, and their knowledge related to those values, are often unexamined. Teachers need to critically examine the value assumptions that underlie their personal knowledge, the knowledge taught in the curriculum, and the values that support the institutionalized structures and practices in the schools. Because of the increasing social-class, racial, ethnic, and gender gap between teachers and students, teachers can also be classified using the typology described in this article. Teachers are also indigenously-insiders, indigenously-outsiders, external-insiders, and external-outsiders. An important goal of teacher education should be to identify teacher education candidates who are able to acquire the knowledge, skills,

and perspectives needed to become insiders within the communities in which they teach.

To educate citizens for the next century, it is also important to revise the school curriculum in substantial ways so that it reflects the nation's new, emerging national identity and describes the process of becoming an American. Students from diverse groups will be able to identify with a curriculum that fosters an overarching American identity only to the extent that it mirrors their perspectives, struggles, hopes, and possibilities. A curriculum that incorporates only the knowledge, values, experiences, and perspectives of mainstream powerful groups marginalizes the experiences of students of color and low-income students. Such a curriculum will not foster an overarching American identity because students will view it as one that has been created and constructed by outsiders, people who do not know or understand their experiences. Educators should try to create a curriculum that will be perceived by all students as being in the broad public interest.

Implications for Researchers

Researchers can play a significant role in educating students for citizenship in a diverse society. Their most important responsibility is to conduct research that empowers marginalized communities, that describes the complex characteristics of ethnic communities, and that incorporates the views, concepts, and visions of the communities they study. Each social science and educational researcher is, depending on the context and situation, likely to function at some point as an indigenous-insider, an indigenous-outsider, an external-insider, and an external-outsider. This typology describes individual researchers within particular contexts, times, and situations.

As I noted earlier, Kenneth B. Clark's status as indigenous-insider was seriously challenged when he continued to conduct research on racial desegregation and to advocate school desegregation when many African American intellectuals and leaders began to endorse Black nationalism and to search for alternatives to school desegregation. Researchers should not avoid studying a community because they are external to it or because they are criticized for the way in which the community has been studied by previous external researchers. Wilson (1996), for example, points out that many social science researchers abandoned research on poverty after Moynihan (1965) and other mainstream researchers were harshly criticized for their research on low-income communities and communities of color in the 1960s and 1970s.

Outsider researchers should continue to study marginalized communities but should change some of the ways in which they are now studied. External researchers need to be keenly sensitive to their research status within the studied community and to work with people indigenous to the community who can provide them with an accurate knowledge of the perspectives, values, and beliefs within the community and who can help them to acquire insider status. One way to do this is to involve indigenous community members in the study as researchers. Myrdal (1944), the Swedish economist, involved a number of African American researchers in his study, *An American Dilemma*, published in 1944. Myrdal did not escape criticism; he was criticized by mainstream policymakers because they found his

findings too challenging to the status quo. Some African American scholars criticized him because of his interpretations of African American culture—which he minimized—and because of what they considered their marginalized role in the study (Southern, 1987).

Despite the criticisms of his work, Myrdal created a classic study of U.S. race relations. The reception of Myrdal's study indicates another consequence of conducting research crossculturally: Crosscultural researchers will be criticized no matter how culturally sensitive they are or how well they do their jobs. Such criticism is an essential part of the discourse within an academic community. It is one of the consequences of researchers doing their work, especially in crosscultural settings.

Researchers indigenous to a marginalized community also face important challenges. When they become professionally trained at research universities, they are likely to experience at least two important risks: (a) They may become distanced from their communities during their professional training and thus become indigenous-outsiders, or (b) They may be perceived by many members of their indigenous communities as having "sold out" to the mainstream community and thus can no longer speak for the community or have an authentic voice. In an informative article called "The Colonizer/Colonized Chicano Ethnographer," Sofia Villenas (1996) describes her struggle to remain an insider within a Latino community she was studying. She was identified and treated by the mainstream community as an insider, "one of them." The Anglo community viewed the Latino community she was studying as the "Other." She found maintaining legitimacy in both worlds difficult and frustrating.

The Need for Committed and Caring Researchers

As Jonathan Kozol (1991) points out, there are many "savage inequalities" within American society and within the schools. We are living in a time that Stephen Jay Gould (1994) calls "a historical moment of unprecedented ungenerosity, when a mood for slashing social programs can be powerfully abetted by an argument that beneficiaries cannot be helped, owing to inborn cognitive limits expressed as low I.Q. scores" (p. 139). Social science and educational researchers cannot be neutral in these troubled times. As Martin Luther King (1994) stated in his *Letter From the Birmingham Jail*, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" (pp. 2-3).

Because education is a moral endeavor, educational researchers should be scientists as well as citizens who are committed to promoting democratic ideals. In other words, they should be intellectuals. The political scientist James McGregor Burns (1978) defines intellectuals as researchers who pursue normative ends. He writes, "[T]he person who deals with analytical ideas and data alone is a theorist; the one who works only with normative ideas is a moralist; the person who deals with both and unites them through disciplined imagination is an intellectual (p. 141). Intellectuals should be knowledgeable about the values that are exemplified in their research and be committed to supporting educational policies that foster democracy and educational equality. Kenneth B. Clark (1974) argues that the intellectual must seek the truth, but this quest must be guided by values. Clark believes that "The quest for truth and justice [is]

meaningless without some guiding framework of accepted and acceptable values. These terms—truth and justice—have no meaning independent of a value system” (p. 21). Clark (1965) incorporates a value commitment into his beliefs as a social scientist:

An important part of my creed as a social scientist is that on the grounds of absolute objectivity or on a posture of scientific detachment and indifference, a truly relevant and serious social science cannot be taken seriously by a society desperately in need of moral and empirical guidance in human affairs. (p. xxi)

Social scientists cannot be “neutral on a moving train” (Zinn, 1994) because the fate of researchers are tightly connected to the fate of all of the nation’s citizens. James Baldwin (1971), in an open letter to Angela Davis, wrote, “If we know, then we must fight for your life as though it were our own—which it is—and render impassable with our bodies the corridors to the gas chamber. For if they come for you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night” (p. 23).

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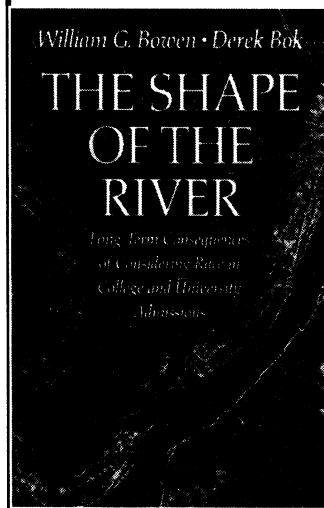
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