

WHITE SCHOLARS, BLACK AND BROWN STUDIES: TEN ACADEMIC LIVES

by

CELESTINO J. LIMAS

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the College of Education
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June 2004

"White Scholars, Black and Brown Studies: Ten Academic Lives," a dissertation prepared by Celestino J. Limas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the College of Education. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:



Dr. Paul Goldman, Chair of the Examining Committee

1 June 2004
Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. Paul Goldman, Chair
Dr. Diane Dunlap
Dr. Larry Irvin
Dr. Marion Goldman
Dr. Matthew Garcia

Accepted by:



Dean of the Graduate School

© 2004 Celestino J. Limas

An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Celestino J. Limas for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Education to be taken June 2004

Title: WHITE SCHOLARS, BLACK AND BROWN STUDIES: TEN ACADEMIC
LIVES

Approved: 

Paul Goldman

This study examined why Caucasian men choose to specialize in the area of racial and ethnic scholarship and conduct research and publish in that area. The study also explores how this choice has affected their academic careers and personal lives. Data sources included on-the-record interviews with ten scholars and off-the-record with two others, followed by member checking of transcripts and notes, as well as their academic and non-academic publications. The data were analyzed using rational choice theory and reference group theory as conceptual frameworks. The Civil Rights movement was an integral motivator for entering academia and for sustaining a passion for researching and advocating for people of color. The life experience of the scholars--both in their youth and as adults--exposed them to diverse people and environments which may have added to empathy with the lives of minorities. Most of the scholars experienced complex issues in career management and in relationships with scholars of color and with white colleagues, which they attributed to their combination of ethnicity and academic specialization.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Celestino J. Limas

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
University of Nebraska at Lincoln
University of Iowa

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Leadership, 2004, University of Oregon
Master of Arts in Special Education, 1999, University of Nebraska at Lincoln
Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 1996, University of Iowa

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Higher Education
Racial and Ethnic Scholarship

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Director of Residential Life (Acting), Vassar College, Jan 2004-Present
Associate Director of Residential Life, Vassar College, 2003-Jan 2004
Leadership Development Program Coordinator, University of Oregon, 2001-2003
September Experience Program Coordinator, University of Oregon, 2001-2003
Instructional Leadership Program Advisor, University of Oregon, 2001-2002
M. Carpenter Tower Residence Hall Director, Marquette University, 1999-2001
Centennial Residence Hall Director, Nebraska Wesleyan University, 1997-1999

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express sincere appreciation to Paul Goldman for his guidance and mentorship during the preparation of this manuscript and my graduate tenure at the University of Oregon. In addition, the rest of my dissertation committee, Diane Dunlap, Matthew Garcia, Marion Goldman and Larry Irvin, have been instrumental in the completion of this study and I am extremely grateful to them.

There were many individuals who were gracious with their support and encouragement in the preparation of this manuscript and I would like to thank them individually: David Conley, Ryan Clark, Jane DeGidio, Christopher Friday, Jenela Katz-Buonincontro, Kenneth Kempner, Julianna Kyrk, Thomas Kochman, Angela Major, Jeffrey Mio, Deborah Olsen, Gary Orfield, Surendra Subramani, Ronald Trebon, Holly Vance.

Finally, I would like to recognize and thank my wife and son, Melody and Marcial Limas, for their unwavering support, encouragement and inspiration; I love you both.

Dedicated to the memory of my mother, Martha Limas

1936-1998

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE NATURE OF THE STUDY.....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
III. METHODOLOGY.....	20
IV. INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT FINDINGS.....	51
V. SOCIALIZATION AND LIVED EXPERIENCES.....	95
VI. ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES.....	115
VII. RELATIONS WITH COMMUNITIES OF COLOR.....	136
VIII. ANALYSES.....	156
IX. DISCUSSION.....	183
APPENDIX	
A. GENERAL INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT.....	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	200

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Figure 1.....	15

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Table 5.1: Early Personal and Intellectual Forces and Influences.....	96
2. Table 5.2: Lived Experiences of the Scholars.....	108
3. Table 5.3: Reasons for Getting Into Racial and Ethnic Scholarship.....	111
4. Table 6.1: Perceived Impacts on Racial and Ethnic Scholarship.....	117
5. Table 6.2: Response from Scholars of Color and Caucasian Scholars in Traditional Disciplines.....	124
6. Table 6.3: Audience for Publications.....	129
7. Table 7.1: Co-Authoring with Scholars of Color.....	138
8. Table 7.2: Job Market Difficulties.....	149
9. Table 7.3: Legitimizing the Topic of Racial and Ethnic Scholarship	154

Chapter 1: The Nature of the Study

Many scholars have studied racial and ethnic issues (Banks, 2002), with different insights such as ethnic identity, critical race theory and stereotype threat resulting from this work. Issues central to people of color as well as race relations between minorities and Anglo-Americans have been furthered by this research, and the implications for the impact on the changing face of an integrated America have been significant.

However, people of color have conducted the vast majority of racial and ethnic scholarship (Stansfield, 1993). In the early to mid twentieth century the few Anglo-Americans, such as Herbert Guttman, Eugene Genovese and C. Vann Woodward, who have conducted racial and ethnic scholarship have focused primarily on reconstruction after the civil war and slavery. In addition to them, other scholars such as Gary Orfield and Thomas Pettigrew have become public intellectuals who speak towards the policy implications of race and ethnicity as well as pursuing individual research agendas. By this I mean that these individuals may hold tenured positions at research universities, but the heart of their efforts as well as what they are most known for are their views on race and ethnicity as they relate to policies and litigation.

I am particularly interested in a less well-known group of scholars who consistently teach and write on the subject. These individuals have primarily focused on teaching and publishing in the area of race and ethnicity and have been less visible in the

national media. Unlike Charles Murray, the men I am interested in are ones who write on race and ethnicity from an advocacy perspective or write anti-racist scholarship rather than from a conservative or perpetually oppressive perspective.

I would anticipate that most Anglo-American scholars would be less attuned to the lived experiences of people of color, which makes those who do study race/ethnicity particularly interesting since they are examining politically and intellectually sensitive topics from which they have no obvious direct frame of reference to relate. By limiting the study to white male scholars, those considered to be the most privileged population, a range of issues and paradoxes can be explored.

Additionally, many Anglo-American scholars have faced opposition to examining this topics related to race and ethnicity. Racial relations in this country have historically been tumultuous, and scholarship about it emotional. Minority professors have regarded race topics as their own turf, and Anglo-Americans have at times not been welcome. Thus the latter may face an unfriendly or even hostile environment for white scholars who choose to make racial and ethnic scholarship their career path. Stansfield (1993) states "it is not uncommon to find social scientists in this country who study sensitive social and political issues to find not only their work being critiqued but also their persons. This has resulted, in many cases, in social scientists' shying away from and actually stigmatizing subfields that could be explosive (Stansfield, 1993:xi-xii)." While these scholars also had heavy teaching responsibilities, this study examines their research and publishing careers and not their teaching endeavors.

This career choice is even more interesting when viewed through the lens of rational choice theory, which postulates that individuals make choices based upon their

perceived self-benefit. One issue that is raised by this is whether or not these scholars are making racial and ethnic scholarship their career choice under the guise some level of rational choice theory; what exactly is their agenda for making a career out of racial and ethnic scholarship?

In addition, reference group theory also provides a lens for examining these individuals. Reference group theory presumes that individuals make choices concerning their actions after evaluating their options through the lenses of various reference groups (both those that the individual does and groups that the individual does not have membership in). This theory is advantageous for examining racial and ethnic scholarship conducted by white men because they are not members of the communities of color which they are studying and appear to have nothing in their own reference groups that would allow them to identify with people of color. However, are there life experiences that these individuals have encountered that enable them to either 1) become external members of the communities of color which they are examining or 2) establish membership in a new reference group that they were not necessarily born into?

The topic of racial and ethnic scholarship as a legitimate field of study has experienced a much different path than that of traditional areas of study. With the widespread acceptance of ethnic studies departments in the latter half of the twentieth century, racial and ethnic scholarship has established itself as an area of study that holds opportunity. However, in comparison to other topics in sociology, history and psychology such as religious studies, western civilization and psychotherapy, racial and ethnic studies often is relegated to the realm of 'current trends' of study that somehow will dissolve after a few years or be replaced with another topic of study.

At the same time scholars in traditional disciplines do not always legitimate the intellectual or pedagogic value of such programs as African-American or Hispanic-American Studies. Thus Anglo-American male scholars who study race and ethnicity may be faced with criticism and hostility from both sides – from their Anglo-American peers who study traditional disciplines and from their colleagues of color in racial and ethnic scholarship who question their knowledge base and commitment to the subject.

Racial and ethnic scholarship conducted by Anglo-American men should not be confused as being the same as traditional cross-cultural research conducted by Anglo-American men in countries outside the United States with native peoples. While some of the same obstacles that impede traditional cross-cultural scholars may also impede Anglo-American men conducting scholarship in race and ethnicity, the Anglo-American scholar benefits from being a citizen of the same country which their scholars are, having a similar knowledge of the class and social structure which they both are situated in, and have merely a different perspective on the lived experience of an ‘American,’ whereas a cross-cultural anthropologists have to create an interpretation of the lived experience of their scholars. The political and social issues that may arise when an Anglo-American male scholar conducts racial and ethnic scholarship are unique and have not been systematically examined.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine why Anglo-American men choose to conduct research and publish in the area of racial and ethnic scholarship. I will address the following five research questions:

1. What were the personal and intellectual forces and influences that led these scholars to focus on the general and specific areas of intellectual concentration they have chosen?

I will need to assess what the scholars believe are their most pertinent and influential background experiences. It is likely, but not certain, that many of the scholars will have had life experiences that have made them aware of the plight of people of color, and these experiences helped shape their choice to conduct research on racial and ethnic topics. They will certainly have had intellectual and political influences as well that have affected their decisions about scholarly focus.

2. What is the lived experience of these individuals? Particularly, how have they related to, or even empathized with, the experiences of minorities in their university and in the communities in which they live and/or do research?

Describing biographical information about the lives of the scholars will be essential in this research, because I assume that these individuals did not simply integrate themselves academically into the cultures they were studying. One explanation for this is that a cultural immersion was not only occurring, but was conscious and deliberate for these individuals.

3. What impacts do the scholars believe they have made to scholarship in their specific field?

This speaks to many issues, such as what part of their own research do they believe was most noteworthy and how they balance the risks and rewards of their choices. I hope to be able to assess what they believe they have contributed to racial and ethnic scholarship.

4. What was the response from scholars of color and Anglo-American scholars in traditional disciplines towards Anglo-American scholars conducting racial and ethnic scholarship?

This question will allow me to access the types and sources of political challenges that the scholars encountered, and also shed light on how they dealt with these situations. These individuals faced a situation in which many in their scholar peer group—the community of minority scholars--may have considered them to be professionally and personally opportunistic. At the same time, colleagues in academic departments may also have considered their choice of concentration or topics to be intellectually and/or politically suspect.

5. What are the similarities and differences between scholars who began their careers during the civil rights movement than those who began their careers during the height of affirmative action?

All of the scholars began their careers during one of these time periods, and I believe that there are similarities as well as unique differences between these two groups, and that their reasons for entering the field of racial and ethnic scholarship are quite different, and also had different sets of consequences and rewards. The two main

social and political movements in the second half of the 20th century United States were instrumental in the creation of disciplines that focused specifically on oppressed and underrepresented groups, yet the factors surrounding these movements may have had different impacts on the individuals in this study.

These five questions are central to examining the careers and profiles of these individuals, and by framing my research around them I will be able to most accurately portray the scholars and their work.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To position this study in existing literature, I will present a synthesis of the literature on racial and ethnic scholarship conducted by Anglo-Americans and the use of both rational choice theory and reference group theory to explain important life decisions. Prior to the presentation of that literature, I will explain the methods for collecting the literature.

I conducted a search for relevant literature using the databases of Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, Academic Search Elite, Ethnic News Watch, Educational Administration Abstracts, History Abstracts, History Cooperative, as well as the UO library collection of books. The terms used for the searches were a combination of “higher education,” “education,” “race,” “racial,” “ethnic,” “ethnicity,” “academic,” “academia,” “faculty,” “scholar,” “scholarship,” “research,” “white,” “Caucasian,” “Anglo-American,” and/or “rational choice theory.” I then consulted the annual meeting program books from the American Sociological Association, American Anthropological Association, American Historical Association, American Psychological Association and the American Educational Researchers Association for possible programs and/or discussion of books/articles on the topic of Anglo-American men who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship and/or rational choice theory. In addition, I noted which journals produced matches and subsequently gathered older volumes (1960-1980) and would regularly read through the article table of contents and reference pages to see if there were any articles that I might have missed or had not shown up in the various databases I was searching.

The articles listed below all address racial and ethnic scholarship, Anglo-American researchers, cross-cultural research, or rational choice theory. What I found is that there is research on the topic of whites conducting racial and ethnic scholarship, but that none of the literature addresses the research questions I pose in this study.

Previous scholars have been interested in racial and ethnic scholarship and why social scientists might want to make it their career path (Stansfield, 1993). The impetus for Stanfield's (1993) examination lies within why sociologists would choose racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path and the fact that most of these individuals were white men is an intriguing by-product rather than the focus.

Stanfield specifically states "I wanted to find out why, given the conditions of the 1950s and 1960s, some social scientists, mostly sociologists, decided to make careers as racial and ethnic studies specialists. The fact that the most of these prominent scholars were white men of southern and/or Jewish heritage made me even more fascinated by the Depression sociological generation (Stansfield, 1993:xii-xiii)."

There has been a steep decline in the number of Anglo-American male scholars whose career is built on racial and ethnic scholarship and a rise in the number of African-American male scholars examining race and ethnicity in the 1970s (Stansfield, 1993). Stansfield attributes this to the civil rights movement's ability to infiltrate "American professional social science associations and doctoral programs in the 1970s, which created opportunity structures for Afro-Americans, especially men, to become credentialed and to gain access to publishers and funding agencies (Stansfield, 1993:xiv)." He goes on to discuss the backlash that these white scholars faced from scholars of color, stating they "would later retire in the 1970s and 1980s, embittered over

being rejected by the very people of color for whom they had long served as advocates (Stansfield, 1993:xiii).”

The other major contribution to race and ethnicity that somewhat approaches this topic from a related fashion to what I propose in this study is a 2002 book titled *Anti-Racist Scholarship: An Advocacy* (Scheurich, 2002). The book describes how white scholars use anti-racist scholarship as a means to breakdown the hegemonic power structure inherent in America. What separates this book from the study proposed here is that the goal of the book is to illustrate how powerful anti-racist scholarship can be but does not address why whites would conduct racial and ethnic scholarship from an advocacy perspective. While the book serves a valuable purpose in the field, it has a different focus and area of impact than the study proposed here.

What is interesting about the above pieces is that they are the closest anyone has come to directly asking the question of why white men choose racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path. In the articles that follow, similar hints are made at this topic, but all of them are at best indirectly interested in the motivations of the researcher or the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship itself.

There have been studies that examine white researchers and the role they play when studying people of color in counseling (Mio & Iwamasa, 1993; Sue, 1993), data analysis (Newsom, Wimer, Ridenour, & Kinnucan-Welsh, 2001), data interpretation (Hill, 2002), and oppression through research (McGee, 1973), however all of these and most other studies either neglect or choose not to examine why white men might choose racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path. Let me describe some of these studies before I attempt to explain reasons for this apprehension.

Mio & Iwamasa (1993) focused on the interaction white professionals have with clients of color, and how they can better serve them by not adhering to a color-blind philosophy of counseling. Other scholars have examined how the background of white researchers can lead to bias in interpreting data (Hill, 2002) and results (Newsom et al., 2001) in research. Hill (2002) was interested in how researcher physical perceptions of interview scholars from a different race than themselves differed from interview scholars' physical self-perceptions, and found that there was a difference in perceptions. Newsom et al. (2001) looked at whether or not white researchers made different analyses from the same data when compared to researchers of color examining the same sets of data, and found that there were indeed differences between whites and researchers of color.

McGee (1973) lays the foundation for establishing the white researcher as responsible for perpetuating their hegemonic relationship over blacks by setting and executing research agendas that aim to keep blacks in a position of inferiority; although this may be unconscious, McGee states that it by no means lessens the impact of that research on blacks as a group.

Many other scholars have examined white scholars in terms of their own identity (Farough, 2002). Farough (2002) studied how white men function in a society that is defined by race, class and other partitioning characteristics, as well as examining how the 'white privilege' argument is dealt with by white male researchers. However, this article is not interested in how white men relate to and advocate for people of color, nor are the white men in this study interested in racial and ethnic scholarship.

Part of the problem may be in the territoriality surrounding racial and ethnic scholarship, and when there is an invisible but present emphasis on the continuation of

the status quo while allowing for racial and ethnic scholarship to be fostered by the 'other,' that being scholars of color (Traustadottir, 2001). While other groups, such as feminists, have also joined in the protest against the "marginalization of powerless groups in the production of knowledge (Traustadottir 2001:10)," people of color have long rebelled against the characterization of their cultures by the traditional white male scholars.

In 1993, a white scholar from the University of Texas suggested that there might be differences in how scholars of different races and ethnicities might approach racial and ethnic differences (Scheurich, 1993). The scholar was attempting to illustrate the topic of white racism in racial and ethnic research by pointing out that scholar bias and background might have an affect on scholarship, and there was a swift critique of the idea (Allen, 1993; Scheurich, 1993; Sleeter, 1993) and the academic taboo involved in the discourse of white differences and failings in examining racial and ethnic research was exposed.

Another example of this can be found in the situation that arose surrounding Slim's Table: Race, Respectability and Masculinity (Duneier, 1992) and the response that the author received as a result. Slim's Table was written by a white sociologist about a diner on Chicago's south side where mainly African-American (and some white) men dined but also formed bonds that allowed for discussion between the men on a variety of topics. Duneier criticizes previous theories and research on African-Americans as being from a privileged perspective and also being responsible for the perpetuation of many stereotypes.

As a result, Loic Wacquant (Wacquant, 2002) led a charge that strongly criticized whites like Duneier and others for putting "...forth truncated and distorted accounts of their object due to their abiding wish to articulate and even celebrate the fundamental goodness – honesty, decency, frugality – of America's urban poor (Wacquant 2002: 1469)." While there were three responses in support of Duneier and others published alongside Wacquant's critique (Anderson, 2002; Duneier, 2002; Newman, 2002), Wacquant made it public that race and ethnic scholarship was still a scholarship minefield.

Another example of this can be found in an article that examined how a white woman could conduct research on black women in South Africa (Russell, 1996). The author found that the topics being covered in interviews (such as incest) as well as the politics surrounding whites and blacks interacting were far too great to adequately finish her work, so she terminated interviews with her black scholars and instead interviewed only white women. She was then criticized as employing a racist research agenda by not interviewing black women in the latter stages of her research; this illustrates the sensitivity surrounding race and ethnicity in scholarship in that criticism can come from all directions and constituencies.

However, some research has examined different topics but under similar circumstances. Ralston (2001) specifically wrote on being a white Australian-Canadian studying South Asian women of color, and identified language, motivation, methodology and focus as being the key factors in conducting that research from that perspective. The scholar was attempting to illustrate how not being a member of the demographic she was studying impeded her ability to understand and represent the group she was studying.

This was amplified by the fact that the scholar was a citizen of a different country than her participant population as well as not being a native speaker of that population. While the cross-cultural element of that study is different from what I am proposing here, the parallels are greater than they are fewer in regards to this study.

One study that may closely mirror what I am proposing here was written by a Haole (English translation: white who was raised in Hawaii) woman who sought to examine Haoles in Hawaii in terms of their racial identity compared to the Native Hawaiians (Rohrer, 1997). The author found that by examining the culture and identity of native Hawaiians, she was better able to appreciate her role and history as a Haole and what responsibility and accountability she has for the white privilege she enjoys. It could be that the scholars in my study had the same idea and concept for choosing racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path.

The choice to make racial and ethnic scholarship the focus of a career comes with great risk. Just how risky a choice this is may be unknown to these scholars, as many consider a variety of factors when choosing a position such as professional socializations, whether to teach mainly undergraduates or graduates and outside organizational service (Keller, 1994), but little thought is given to the focus of their careers when clearly this is just as, if not more, important than where and what you will do.

Rational choice theory was originally an economic postulation and was first seen in its current form in *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (von Neumann, 1947) and was heavily influenced by the *Leviathan* (Hobbes, 1651) and *A Treatise of Human Nature* (Hume, 1740). Rational choice theory postulates that individuals make choices based upon how they will personally benefit, and beginning in the 1980s it's application

was widened to other disciplines such as social sciences (R. Campbell & Sowden, 1985; Eells, 1982; Kavka, 1983; McClennen, 1989).

In using rational choice theory in the social sciences, the model begins with an assumption that the individual is acting in an intentional and purposeful manner (Friedman & Hechter, 1988). The individual moves in progression from gathering information about the decision they need to make to the social outcome of said decision (see figure 1).

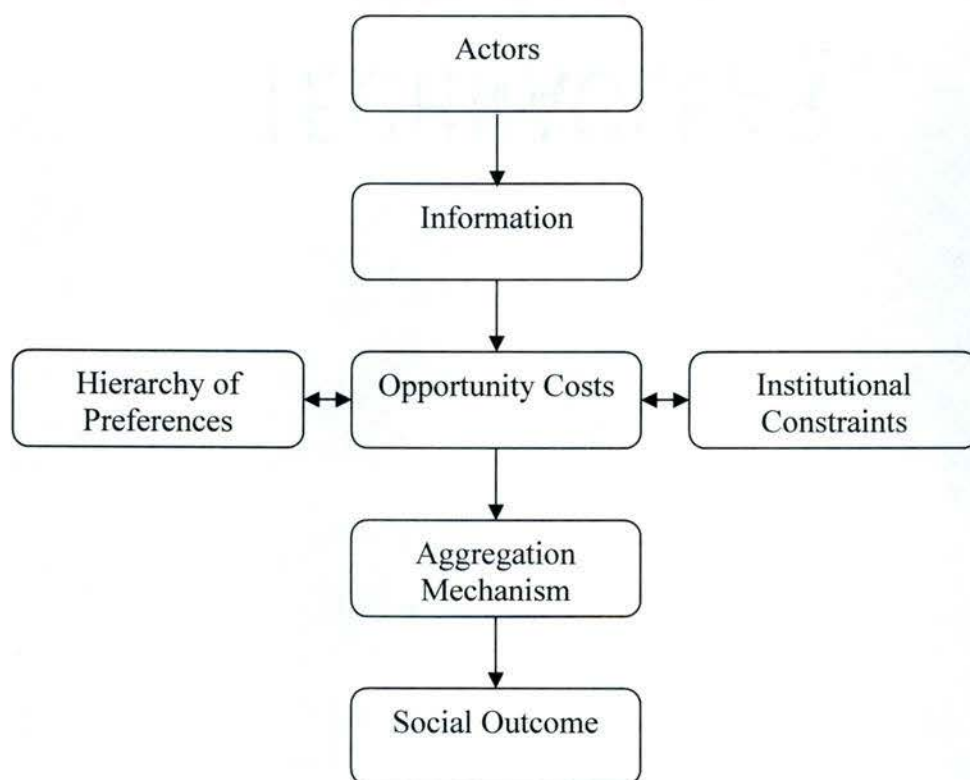


Figure 1

From Friedman & Hechter (1988:208)

Rational choice theory is applicable to this study in that it serves as a framework for examining why the Anglo-American scholars made the decision to select racial and

ethnic scholarship, when there were many potential hazards associated with making this choice. However rational choice theory accounts for calculating risk into decision-making, and exploring how these individuals process this risk is also part of this study.

For at least the past three decades, minority scholars have attempted to claim 'ownership' of most types of scholarship on minority populations. Many universities favor, or at least do not oppose, the concentration of minority scholars in such programs as Ethnic Studies or African-American Studies and are often willing to hire minorities to teach such courses as Race Relations in sociology and Black History in history departments. This raises the question of why Anglo-American scholars would choose to enter racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path. Under the logic of rational choice theory, far more career rewards would seem to accrue to people of color than to Anglo-American scholars.

Previous research has asked whether even the most pious career choices, such as that of Mother Teresa, in fact are decisions made with indirect self interest at heart (Kwilecki & Wilson, 1998). While I do not believe that a martyr complex affects the individuals I wish to study, there may be some element of 'white guilt' at work and this may be an interesting area of exploration. A previous study examined rational decision making when individuals transition from school to work (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997), and found that it played a significant role in the selection process; so why or why not is that consistent with the individuals I would like to study? While the scholars may have much to gain personally in terms of fulfilling academic responsibilities, clearly the risk for an Anglo-American specialist in this area is great.

Another use of rational choice theory that may be parallel to choosing a career path is that of choosing to and to whom to marry (Becker, 1991). Becker used rational choice theory to examine why an individual would choose to marry and he concludes that people make this decision based upon whether or not it is in their best interest. The conclusion he draws is that a person decided whether or not and who to marry based upon "...their utility from marriage exceeds their utility from remaining single (Becker 1991:82)."

One interesting justification for the use of rational choice theory for this study can be found in the belief that rational choice theory itself was "constructed in line with an implicitly gendered model of decision-making (Wolkowitz, 2000)." While this quote is a generalization at best given the foundation of rational choice theory in the field of economics, it does provide a unique perspective on the application of rational choice theory.

Why did these scholars make the decision to select racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path? One reason may be that these individuals felt empathetic to people of color and risks associated with conducting racial and ethnic scholarship were not as great as the personal rewards they stood to gain from people in their lives who were of color. Another reason may be that they did not know the potential risks associated with selecting racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path. Finally, these scholars may have chosen racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path because they felt the risks were worth the reward of studying such an important topic.

Reference group theory postulates group theory presumes that individuals make choices concerning their actions after evaluating their options through the lenses of

various reference groups (both those that the individual does and groups that the individual does not have membership in). The first use of reference group theory can be found in a 1942 article published in *Archives of Psychology* (Hyman, 1942). The article sought to examine seven categories of questions in a qualitative study of the attitudes people held about their status; one of those categories was 'reference group.' Hyman states "for each status reported, the subject was asked what group of people he compared himself with (Hyman, 1942:7)." Hyman found that some scholars in the study cited many reference groups rather than just one; one of the major findings of the study was that the individuals in the study "operate for the most part in small groups within the total society, and the total population may have little relevance for them (Hyman, 1942:81)."

An additional contribution to reference group theory originally came in 1950 and was reprinted in 1968; *Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior* (Merton & Rossi, 1968) described the use of a systematic data set from a study titled *The American Soldier* which sought to identify the adjustment that occurs when American service personnel transition from civilian to service life.

Muzafer Sherif wrote on how reference groups affect human relations, especially when the society as a whole is partitioned and segregated (Sherif, 1968). One of the main points of the publication is that "in many cases, of course, the individual's reference groups are at the same time his membership groups. However, in cases where the individual's membership groups are not his reference groups, it does not follow that the groups in which the individual actually interacts will not have an affect on him (Sherif, 1968:86-7)."

Sherif also discusses this issue of conflicting reference groups and states that “when an individual has multiple reference groups, the norms of which conflict in various areas, he will sooner or later find himself in a situation where the norms of different reference groups point in different, even opposite directions (Sherif, 1968: 88).” This explanation for the interaction and conflict of normative reference groups is also enhanced by the rationalization that these types of situations are “clarified by speaking of a reference group as a negative reference group in one respect and positive in another respect. Probably at some time or other almost every group member is negatively inclined toward at least some norms of his group (Sherif, 1968:88).”

Marginality plays a significant role in reference group theory as it helps illustrate why individuals do not feel tethered to a particular reference group. Marginality was first discussed by Stonequist as a way to explain the fluctuations and gravitations of a man and how his behavior can be inconsistent at times (Stonequist, 1937); with reference group theory, we see that marginality results from a “lack of stability in reference group ties. The individual cannot relate himself in a consistent way to either group (Sherif, 1968:90).”

Another contributor to reference group theory was Herbert Kelley who was the first to identify the two functions of reference group theory (Kelley, 1968). Unlike Hyman’s previous identification of reference group theory, Kelley defined two distinctly different uses for reference group theory. Using two examples, Kelley explained that “in the first case, the group is in a position to award recognition to the person or to withhold it. In the second the group is merely a standard or checkpoint which the person uses in making judgments (Kelley, 1968:80).”

Chapter 3: Methodology

My participant sample consisted of two groups of five scholars, which was divided by generation. The first group was comprised of individuals who began their scholarly careers during the height of the civil rights movement (1954-1968) and the second group was comprised of individuals who began their scholarship careers during the height of affirmative action legislation and court decisions (1978-1996). The rationale for the choice of years in the parameters for the groups is due to some historical events that are key in the racial history of the United States.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation in public schools was a violation of the fourteenth amendment. This is significant because it marked the end of school districts intentionally and openly segregating students of color from white students. 1968 is an important year as well as it marked the year that Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee; this was not only devastating to the civil rights movement but also to America in general, as Dr. King was a messenger of the movement that could inspire and reach liberal and moderate white in this country.

In 1978, the United States Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Regents of the State of California v. Bakke* that institutions could use race as a factor in admissions decisions. This was important because it made it legal for institutions to revise their admissions policies to account for race in the process, thus making it possible to increase the number of students of color in higher education. In 1996, the Fifth Circuit Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Hopwood v. the Regents of the University of Texas* the University of Texas School of Law could not use race as a factor in deciding which applicants to admit in

order to 1) achieve a diverse student body, 2) combat the perceived effects of a hostile environment at the law school, 3) alleviate their poor reputation in the minority community, or 4) eliminate any present effects of past discrimination by actors other than the law school.

I believe that Anglo-American male scholars who began their careers during these time periods had very similar attitudes towards the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, but that their reasons for entering this arena were quite different.

The process of selecting individuals began with a review of qualitative literature in race and ethnicity. Every time that I came across a surname that appeared to be Anglo, then I would investigate the author by examining the department which the author was listed as being a member of, to see if there was a photograph of the author on the department's website. While this strategy was not completely accurate, it did yield an initial set of scholars who qualified for participation in my study. The next phase was to employ the technique of 'chain' or 'snowball' sampling (Patton, 1987) to contact some scholars of color in the field, such as Jeffrey Mio, and explain my research idea and ask for names of possible scholars, and this led to additional new names.

Next, I consulted with Matt Garcia, associate professor of history and ethnic studies at the University of Oregon, to explain my research idea and ask for names of possible scholars, and he was able to supply additional names that would fit as scholars in my study. Finally, Paul Goldman, associate professor of education at the University of Oregon, sent out emails to several of his colleagues with my research idea asking for names of possible scholars, and at this point several of the names supplied were already on my list, but there were some new names of possible scholars that resulted from these

efforts. All of the possible scholars earned their degrees from major research universities, are either currently serving or have served as tenured faculty at major research universities, primarily specialize in racial and ethnic scholarship, and hold positions in one or two of the following academic departments: Anthropology, Communication, Community Studies, Counselor Education, Education and Social Policy, Counseling Psychology, Ethnic Studies, History, Psychology, Psychology and Educational Services, and Sociology.

As I began to examine the list of possible scholars, I noticed that the majority of the individuals were faculty in one of three disciplines: sociology, history and psychology. I began to wonder if it would perhaps be advantageous to use these three disciplines as a means of comparing results, so I made the decision to not use any scholars from any disciplines other than sociology, history and psychology. This reduced the possible number of scholars by a small amount but I felt that the opportunity to make this across group comparison was worth the reduction in possible scholars.

The reduction of Anglo-American scholars in racial and ethnic scholarship may be attributed to the increase of scholars of color (Stansfield, 1993), and this could prove to be an interesting area for discussion with the scholars. The scholars for this study fall into 2 different groups: those who began their post-secondary education or academic careers during the civil rights movement (1955-1968) and those who began their post-secondary education or academic careers during the inception of affirmative action (1978-1989).

During the process of preparing to schedule the interviews for the study I began to wonder if it would be interesting to attempt to set up a cross-discipline sample while

selecting interview scholars while keeping in mind my generational groupings rather than exclusively focusing on generational groupings and not paying attention to discipline groupings.

After careful examination of the original sample of possible scholars I decided that the best cross-discipline groupings would come from the use of psychology, sociology and history. This was the most advantageous given three reasons: 1) the sample pool supported enough scholars from these disciplines; 2) the scholars from these three disciplines were stratified across both my original two as well as my new three generational groups; 3) these three disciplines have been recognized as traditional disciplines for some time now rather than fairly new disciplines such as communicative studies and ethnic studies. In addition, these disciplines have by far the most number of scholars in my possible participant sample pool, thus making my decision to limit my study to those individuals from these three disciplines easier to justify and more methodologically sound.

I used four different qualitative data sources for this research: academic publications of the scholars, non-academic publications (such as interviews with local newspapers and television stations), interviews, and participant review of interview transcripts as a means of providing a solution to the issue of researcher exclusivity bias (Denzin, 1978). All of these data sources contributed to the understanding of these individuals and collectively produced a complete picture of my research scholars and lead to a convergence of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1994). While the crux of this research will depend mostly on the interviews I will conduct with the scholars, I describe all of the data sources below.

I gathered and read the major academic publications of my sample by acquiring current vitae from each of the scholars (from the scholars themselves or from other sources such as their website, departmental publications, etc.). I determined which publications to select based upon four different criteria, described from most to least important: 1) which publications generated a published reply from other scholars? These publications are the most valuable to this study because they elicited a published response from other scholars, and will be interesting sources to frame interview questions.

2) Which publications did the author list as 'selected,' 'key,' or 'important' on their personal or department website? By self-identifying specific publications, the author is making a qualitative distinction between those works he identifies on his website and those he does not identify.

3) Which publications are found in refereed journals? The peer-review process is important to refereed journals as it serves as a filter for new and interesting works, and I believe that these journals will be a good source for interview questions.

4) Which publications not meeting the first three criteria are discussed by the scholar in non-academic publications? I am assuming that if a scholar mentions a publication in an interview or news piece that he must believe it to be an important piece, hence the inclusion of it here.

By reading and examining the academic publications of the scholars, I was able to identify threads that are consistent throughout all of the publications, as well as individual points that were made that stand out as being unique. From here, I will use my interviews with each participant to ask them questions surrounding my interpretations of

their academic publications and their specific thoughts regarding certain pieces both the participant and I believe are unique.

As a second source of data, I gathered and read related non-academic publications about the scholars and their research (such as from university and local newspapers, alumni mailings, etc.). This will be done by performing searches via the web, contacting the scholars' departments, and also contacting the scholars themselves.

I determined which publications to select based upon three different criteria, described from most to least important: 1) Which non-academic publications are listed in the scholar's vita? By reviewing the scholar's vita I may find non-academic publications that the scholar believes addresses his work. 2) Which non-academic-publications did the participant themselves identify as being interesting or relevant to their work? By asking the scholars for leads on non-academic publications about themselves and their work, I can access publications that they are aware of that might not be listed on their vitae. 3) Which non-academic publications appear from a web search of the scholar in question? As a means of gathering extraneous publications, I will conduct web searches for the scholars to see if any non-academic publications may exist that I am not already considering.

Both non-academic and academic publications are integral sources of data because they add to the overall picture of how the scholars have had an impact on their field, their departments, their campuses and their respective communities. I believe examining both the academic and non-academic publications of the scholars will be important sources of data as I used approximately half of each specific interview discussing the academic and non-academic publications of the scholars.

After reading the non-academic publications of each participant, I incorporated them into my interviews, asking questions regarding specific publications and their content. I believe these publications were important to this research because they helped guide the scholars to my five research questions.

The reason for using both academic and non-academic publications for framing interview questions is that it provides an insight as to what the researcher may have previously said in other interviews about his scholarship and what he believes to be important contributions he has made to racial and ethnic scholarship. As well, this will provide me with an opportunity to follow up on questions or issues that may have arose in previous interviews during the course of my interview with the scholar; in a sense these non-academic publications can serve as preliminary interviews for my study and allow me to ask follow-up type of questions during my interview.

For this study, I conducted lengthy interviews using a combination of conversational, biographical and narrative interview techniques (Rossman & Rallis, 1998), with twelve to twenty different Anglo-American male scholars who have conducted research and published on the issue of racial issues. In essence, these will be phenomenological interviews (Rossman & Rallis, 1998) which address the scholars' past, current work, and their reflections on their impact. These interviews will be interactionist in nature rather than positivist, given that I am interested in discovering what the experiences of the scholars were rather than searching for some facts about the world of racial and ethnic scholarship (Spickard, 1993). I believe that this number would be optimal for my methodology and for this type of qualitative research, due to the large

amount of transcription involved as well as the desire for obtaining enough scholars to view similarities, differences, and threads in the data.

I have developed an interview instrument (see Appendix A) that both addresses the scholars' work and also taps into their reasoning about and interest in this area, which I revised several times using techniques for transforming closed questions into genuinely open ended questions (Patton, 1990). Each interview will also be structured around the individual's publications and the research of each of the scholars, and interviews will be conducted in person, which will require some travel. However, I believe that this would be the best way to gather data for this study, as it provides the best opportunity for extraneous data collection. Specifically, by visiting each participant I will have the opportunity to view their office and possibly the neighborhood they reside in as well as their homes, which would allow me to see if there are any items of cultural significance on display that is consistent with their research interests, or if the community they reside in is at all reflective of their research interests.

In an effort to fine tune the instrument, I conducted two trial interviews with scholars from my sample pool prior to conducting any of the interviews for the study itself. I selected the scholars for the pilots based upon qualifications for this study (white men who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship) and specific interest in groups other than African-Americans or Hispanic-Americans. This is because the focus of this study is on white men who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship, specifically about African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans; this allowed me to select scholars for the pilot phase of this study that focused on other areas of racial and ethnic scholarship such as Asian-Americans and Native Americans.

The selection of these two individuals from the sample was based on two criteria. First, in the process of collecting possible scholars for this study I was able to identify five possible scholars who focus exclusively on people of color who are not African-American or Hispanic-Americans. I decided to solicit their participation as they would be very helpful to this study by serving to pilot and improve my interview instrument as well as providing me opportunities to strengthen my overall methodology. Of these five possible scholars, two agreed to participate in this study and their presence was instrumental in the success of this study.

I transcribed each interview and then sent the transcripts along with my preliminary notes back to each participant for them to review, clarify, and add other thoughts on what they said during the interview; this process is also known as 'member checking' (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). They will then send the transcripts with comments back to me for final data analysis. This will be an important source of data because it will allow for the participant to review his own words and not only verify my preliminary notes but also identify new themes that he believes were present in what he said. This process is the "single most crucial technique for establishing credibility (Guba & Lincoln 1989:239)," and allows the participant to participate in six essential functions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

First, it allows the participant to address the intent behind the data provided. By reviewing the transcripts along with my preliminary notes, any assumptions or conclusions I may believe are present in the data can be verified or clarified by the source of the data. This leads to the second function of member checking, the opportunity to correct false assumptions made by the researcher. Reading between the lines can be an

effective use of data, but if the assumptions are incorrect, it can be detrimental to the analysis of the data.

Third, it allows the participant the opportunity to make additions to their interview by adding information. By reviewing what information they provided, scholars may feel it necessary to elaborate so that points made during the interview can be clarified. Fourth, it offers the participant the opportunity to validate the conclusions made by the researcher; by making notes such as 'exactly' or communicating that researcher inferences are correct, this aids the research a great deal. Fifth, it allows the researcher to summarize the data as an initial step of data analysis, and finally, member checking allows the participant a chance to critique the overall interview as a data source.

After collecting all four sources of data, I analyzed the data using the NUD*IST software program as a means of organizing and analyzing the data from the transcripts along with Yin's 'chain of evidence' technique to make the connection from research question to conclusion (Yin, 1994). As a check to ensure the application of NUD*IST was done correctly and had given me the best results, I also analyzed the data using Carney's ladder of analytical abstraction technique to in essence duplicate the work of NUD*IST in a low-tech manner. I wanted to employ this step not only to verify the NUD*IST findings, but also to test my skills in qualitative data analysis. The academic and non-academic publications were used to help build the interview questions and were not analyzed beyond their use in this manner aside from their use as a source of triangulation with the interview transcripts and transcript reviews by the scholars. The notes the scholars sent back after reviewing their respective transcripts were read and

used on their face value, rather than subjecting them to the same analysis as the actual transcript data.

I used the software program NUD*IST as a means of coding and managing my data; NUD*IST is available through the Australian software company QSR, and it is widely used within qualitative research. The strength of the software is that you can quickly import transcribed qualitative data and then create various codes (within the NUD*IST software they refer to them as 'nodes'); from this point a researcher can then label various sections of the data according to the codes created, so that for example sections pertaining to the first academic position of each of the scholars can be viewed, printed, or analyzed on demand. Often the problem with qualitative data lies in the management of the data; if interview data is organized as whole interviews, then themes within each interview as well as across different interviews can be hard to find (Dey, 1993). However, if the interview data is organized according to themes, then it is difficult to view each interview as a whole piece of data (Dey, 1993). NUD*IST allows for the best of both of these data management strategies without being hindered by their drawbacks. The final codes that I used are displayed in the findings chapters for the reader to see how the codes relate to each other and the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) has proven to be not only an effective and efficient way of freeing a researcher from coding data by hand, but it also provides a new way of extracting themes from qualitative data by immediately being able to view multiple codes from unlimited sources of data on demand (Fielding & Lee,

1998). Regarding the codes I used with the software, I will base these codes on my original five research questions.

Research question 1: What were the personal and intellectual forces and influences that led these scholars to focus on the general and specific areas of intellectual concentration they have chosen? For this question, some examples of codes might be “early life experiences,” “early academic experiences,” and “‘lightbulb’ moments (i.e. a defining event).”

Research question 2: What is the lived experience of these individuals? Particularly, how have they related to, or even empathized with, the experiences of minorities in their university and in the communities in which they live and/or do research? For this question, some examples of codes might be “home life,” “neighborhoods lived in,” “organizations associated with,” and “other immersion instances.”

Research question 3: What impacts do the scholars believe they have made to scholarship in their specific field? For this question, some examples of codes might be “most important contribution,” “various contributions,” and “future contributions.”

Research question 4: What was the response from scholars of color, Anglo-American scholars in traditional disciplines, and students of color towards Anglo-American scholars conducting racial and ethnic scholarship? For this question, some examples of codes might be “backlash from scholars of color,” backlash from other white scholars,” and “backlash from students.”

Research question 5: What are the similarities and differences between scholars who began their careers during the civil rights movement than those who began their

careers during the height of affirmative action? For this question, some examples of codes might be “civil rights specific,” “affirmative action specific,” and “same for civil rights and affirmative action.”

The codes that will be used in data analysis will be added to once data analysis has begun. This is due to the fact that the codes described above are merely assumptions as to what the data might yield, but there may be many different themes that emerge from the data that I am not privy to at this time. Dey (1993) illustrates this point stating “generating and developing categories is a process in which one moves backwards and forwards between the two. It is this interaction of category and data, which is crucial to the generation of a category set. To try to generalize categories in the absence of both these resources would be premature (Dey 1993:99).”

Yin’s (1994) chain of evidence technique involves making “explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected, and the conclusions drawn (Yin, 1994:78).” The purpose of this technique is to allow the reader to understand the connection between the initial research questions to the end conclusions that result from the study. The technique is explicit in nature in that it should be obvious to the reader why the various facets of the study are connected so that any questions that may arise in the conclusions can be traced back into the data interpretation, to the body of data, to the literature review and to the original research questions. The chain of evidence technique was beneficial to this study as a means of connecting multiple sources of data to five different research questions, and the best way to draw conclusions from this study will be by tethering all facets of it together with this technique.

The ladder of analytical abstraction method (Carney, 1990) is used to derive meaning and themes from a set of data. The process involves three levels that result in ideas and patterns that are able to be used in a theoretical framework for thorough comprehension. Level one entails taking the data, in this case the data sources of interviews with the scholars and the member checking of the transcripts. These data sets are transcribed and then initially coded and notes concerning my beginning analysis are added in an effort to begin the parsing our process of patterns and themes.

This leads to level two in the process of abstraction, attempting to find themes that are present in the overall data set. This is accomplished by examining the codes to see if there are any relationships that are visible and also looking for possible holes and incomplete areas in the data. Relationships are instrumental in this level as they are what allow the codes to transform into patterns and provide a structure for the overall data set to be viewed as a biography of sorts.

Level three of the ladder of abstraction entails developing and testing hypotheses about the meaning of the data while still showing how the themes and patterns developed and are present. This step can be difficult because of the temptation to draw conclusions without showing the reader who was not privy to levels one and two why those hypotheses are valid and possible. The final step in this level involves integrating these hypotheses into the author's theoretical framework for comprehension and structure.

After I have coded and analyzed the transcript data, I returned to my other data sources and triangulate the interview data with the publications of the scholars (both academic and non-academic) and the transcript review notes the scholars made (Denzin, 1978). Method triangulation involves checking data conclusions against multiple data

collection modes (in this case, interviews, academic and non-academic publications, and member checks), so that a researcher can be sure that his/her inferences are consistent and not merely an anomaly (Denzin, 1978).

Triangulation itself is an engineering term, used most often in surveying, map construction, etc., as a means of using multiple points of reference to reduce the error in locating a specific point (Berg, 2001). Triangulation was first utilized in the social sciences in the mid to late 1950s (D. T. Campbell, 1956; T. T. Campbell & Fiske, 1959) as a way to synthesize multiple sources of data (Berg, 2001). While some may argue that the very use of triangulation is a positivist action that can be substituted in an interactionist arena with the use of member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), I believe that triangulation is an effective way of comparing all of the data sources given the naturalistic nature of this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Theoretically, member checking could be used for all of my data sources, however I believe that triangulation is a better path of analysis due to the fact that it can be more easily used in conjunction with the chain of evidence technique. As well, "no single item of information should ever be given serious consideration unless it can be triangulated (Lincoln & Guba 1985:283)."

The findings will be presented in both within case and cross case formats, as well as in narrative displays (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Regarding cross case analysis, this will be utilized in the initial research questions, emergent discoveries, rational choice theory and reference group theory. The within case analysis will be contained to each participant and will be presented in individual participant finding sections.

The across-case findings will also be displayed in case-ordered effects meta-matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) for optimal reader comprehension. Meta matrices are a way for qualitative data to be displayed easily for a reader without having to sift through all of the pages and pages of data that tend to accompany the findings sections of qualitative studies. Case-ordered effects meta-matrices are used in this study as opposed to time-ordered matrices, partially ordered matrices or predictor-outcome matrices due to the effects that the scholars in this study listed as resulting from their life experience with a set dimension or issue. The displays will begin each chapter and lead into the in-depth findings that the displays are built onto.

I strategically planned my interviews to coincide with scholars who are in the same geographic region, so that I could conduct 3-5 interviews during each trip by flying to a major metropolitan location and then driving to relatively close institutions to conduct interviews. I both audio taped and videotaped each interview with each participant's consent. The reasoning for this was two fold; one, this would provide me with adequate information in order to transcribe the interviews. As a hard of hearing man, I can use the hearing I have to listen to the audio recording of the interview at a high volume but often background noise can make this process difficult.

With the addition of a video recording of each interview I was also able to lip read the scholars from the videotape to supplement the audio recording. In addition, the video recordings of the interviews also served as visual records of the interview environment; this was especially helpful in the noting of paintings on walls, books on shelves and pictures on desks. All of these items were purely secondary in importance to the interview itself but they provided an insight as to the values and tastes of the scholars.

Unfortunately, not all of the interviews took place in a participant's home or office, so the benefits of this were not consistent; but any additional insights are always good for a study.

History of Sample

The scholars for this study were selected through the aforementioned methods of acquiring their names from a variety of sources. To better illustrate that process I have provided this diagram to show the path from initial idea genesis to final sample of ten scholars. For anonymity purposes, I assigned pseudonyms to the actual scholars and their respective institutions that were in this study.

There were 28 possible scholars which I was able to find based upon reading the existing literature on racial and ethnic scholarship and investigating the ethnicity of the scholars in order to identify the white authors. This process took a great deal of time as I needed to 1) locate various sources of academic literature on racial and ethnic scholarship, 2) read those works in order to assess their philosophical content and viewpoint and 3) investigate the ethnicity of the authors of the publications in an effort to see if they would qualify for participation in this study, but I wanted to ensure that I made the best effort I could to generate the initial list of scholars.

This process yielded eleven possible scholars from the field of history, five possible scholars from the field of psychology and twelve possible scholars from the field of sociology; I have grouped the scholars by discipline and they are in no particular order. I then solicited professional contacts outside of this study for names of possible scholars for this study. I contacted three individuals, Paul Goldman, Matthew Garcia and Jeffrey Mio, for names of possible scholars in this study and had some success in identifying additional names.

Matthew Garcia was able to provide me with two possible scholars that I was unable to identify previously, Chris Friday and Eric Burin in addition to two possible

scholars, which I had already identified. Jeffrey Mio was able to identify two possible scholars for this study, one I had not identified (Michael D'Andrea) and one I had already identified. Finally, Paul Goldman was able to provide the names of three sociologists who would be knowledgeable about possible scholars for this study and contacted them about this study with the request. This process yielded ten names of possible scholars I had already identified as well as one name, which did not fit the qualifications of this study (Thomas Pettigrew); in addition, these contacts yielded several names of white and non-white female scholars, which I had to exclude due to the sample constraints of this study.

The reason for soliciting names of possible scholars through outside scholars was because I wanted to ensure that I made contact with sources in each discipline to see how much success I had generating my initial list of possible scholars. As well, I believed it important to use scholars of color for soliciting names of possible scholars so I could ensure that I would have the perspective of scholars of color in this process. This was important due to the strong advocacy perspective necessary for this study and I believed that scholars of color would be in the best position to identify advocates in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship.

At this point, I added the new names that were generated by this process to my original list that I had generated. I then provide this list to each confirmed participant and asked them if they knew of any other names of possible scholars that I did not have on the list and this process yielded five additional names. I was very comforted by the fact that six of the ten confirmed scholars told me that my list was exhaustive in their opinion and the other four scholars provided only five additional names. I then contacted the five

new possible scholars but was unable to get any of them to agree to participate in this study; this left me with a final list of ten scholars for this study out of a possible thirty-five scholars.

The findings chapters of this study are divided into two sections: individual participant findings and group findings. The individual findings allow for the presentation of unique views and data that were only found within that specific participant; the group findings are themes and patterns that were consistent across multiple scholars, both across their group in comparison to the other two groups and across all three groups. The method of using a 'ladder of analytical abstraction' (Carney, 1990) was used to verify the findings that resulted from the use of NUD*IST software in order to present the most thorough across participant findings. For the individual findings listed first, they are necessary to construct personal differences between themselves and the rest of the scholars and provide a framework for the across participant findings.

Grouping Strategy of Scholars

One of the first points that became clear after beginning the interviews was that my original grouping strategy of having two groups from the civil rights movement and affirmative action was not the best way to group the scholars. My rationale in choosing the time period of affirmative action as a second group was because it was the most significant social policy change after the civil rights movement and conveniently fell into a time period that was an ideal compliment to my first group based on the civil rights movement.

However, during my interviews none of the scholars from the second group initiated a discussion on how affirmative action was instrumental in their decision to pursue racial and ethnic scholarship and when I brought up the topic during the interview they downplayed the topic's significance in their decision to pursue racial and ethnic scholarship. Conversely, the scholars from both the first group and the second group often spoke of the civil rights movement as having a profound affect on them and their decision to pursue racial and ethnic scholarship.

When scheduling my interviews, I realized that I would be in the same geographic location as some of the older white scholars whom I had decided were from a generation before the civil rights movement and therefore weren't compatible with my original groupings. Because of their impact on future white scholars as well as scholars of color I decided to interview them as well for purely referential purposes. What I found was unique in contrast to my original two groupings. These researchers who began their careers prior to the civil rights movement had a vastly different experience than those scholars in my original two groups.

At the same time, I began to realize that my original two groups had issues surrounding the time periods in which they were supposed to fit into. My original two groups were defined by important dates that were built around two different historical events, the civil rights movement and the inception of affirmative action. But what I began to see was that the scholars from both of these groups themselves felt that affirmative action was not nearly as important as the civil rights movement; additionally, the scholars in the second (affirmative action) group felt that affirmative action had very little if any impact on their careers or impetus for becoming interested in racial and ethnic scholarship.

Everyone pointed to the civil rights movement as being the sole impetus for their interest in this field of scholarship and the clear distinction between all of the scholars was whether or not they had 1) lived at the same time as the movement, 2) were young enough to not have been integral in the movement but were influenced by it, or 3) were so young that their only exposure to the movement was purely historical and left to the impact the movement had on society, academia and America itself.

Because of the above discoveries I made the decision to reclassify my groups based upon the civil rights movement entirely and group the scholars into three groups: 1) Pre-Civil Rights - this group is comprised of white men who began their careers before the civil rights movement and entered the academy before the struggles and social movements that encompassed the 1950s and 60s; 2) Civil Rights - this group of individuals is comprised of white men who began their careers during the civil rights movement and were heavily influenced by the ideas and social changes that were taking place at the time; 3) Post-Civil Rights – this group of individuals is comprised of white

men who began their careers after the civil rights movement had faded and were too young to have been influenced directly by the movement.

What follows here are the general findings specific to each of the scholars along with findings in terms of three main finding areas (socialization and lived experiences, academic experiences and relations with communities of color), as well as an examination of the many emergent discoveries that were discovered.

Group 1 Scholars (Pre-Civil Rights)

Three scholars (two history, one sociology)

Group 2 Scholars (Civil Rights)

Four scholars (two history, two sociology)

Group 3 Scholars (Post-Civil Rights)

Three scholars (one history, one psychology, one sociology)

There were some issues that arose both prior to and after completing the interviews that had a direct affect on this study. First, there were two scholars that withdrew from the study for similar reasons. Both scholars eleven and twelve chose to withdraw from the study after I had completed face to face interviews with each of them in their homes.

I had anticipated some rejections from possible scholars when soliciting their initial participation in this study and I did in fact receive many rejections; however, I did

not anticipate attrition of scholars once I had visited them and conducted the interview. The two scholars both contacted me four weeks after their interviews and were very apologetic in stating their wishes to withdraw from the study altogether.

The reason both scholars gave was rooted in the fact that they were both associate professors who would be applying for full professor status in the fall of 2004 and did not want to be associated with anything that could be possibly detrimental to their candidacy. Participant eleven was very courteous and answered most of my questions as to what the circumstances were that led him to this decision, saying that after discussing this study and his responses to my questions with some of his colleagues of his, he was advised to not participate 'just to be on the safe side.' Participant twelve was not quite as forthcoming with his reasons but did say that he 'didn't want my answers to come back and bite me in the ass in the fall.'

Both participant eleven and twelve are both academics in psychology departments who do little private practice; when I inquired if they were apprehensive about the ramifications of this study on their private practice I was assured that was not an issue in their decision to withdraw. Participant twelve said that this was definitely not the case due to the small amount of private clients he has as well as the fact that he believed his clients would not be reading about this study in academic journals or as an academic text. Participant eleven stated that his decision to withdraw from this study was not based upon any impact he believed it would have on his private practice but that 'unfortunately this is more about tenure acquisition than anything else.' I informed both scholars that I would gladly remove them from the study and I thanked them for their participation this far and their honesty with me about their situations. Given these scholars' circumstances and

wishes I believe this was the most appropriate way of protecting their identity while adhering to the integrity of this study.

The affect their attrition had on this study was significant for a few reasons. First, despite the fact that this is a qualitative study with a small sample size, the loss of two scholars out of twelve damaged the overall quality of the sample. After I spoke with both of the scholars I began to wonder if any other scholars would also choose to withdraw from the study, realizing that while it would have had a negative affect on the study but would have been within the rights of the scholars to do so. Second, the disciplines of the two scholars were both psychology; this left me with only one psychologist in the study and made it effectively impossible to compare and contrast the findings between the disciplines of sociology, history and psychology.

However, their attrition from this study also illustrates some other points that would not have been illuminated were it not for their decisions. First, the attrition of scholars eleven and twelve illustrate the sensitivity surrounding the topic of white conducting racial and ethnic scholarship. The fact that these two scholars believed that their involvement in this study could actually be detrimental to their candidacy for full professorship at their respective institutions was something that I would not have been able to gain had they stayed in the study. While it may be true that they, in addition to other scholars in the study, alluded to the sensitivity regarding both the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship as well as their work as white men on the topic.

Second, their standing as associate professors is an interesting feature to this situation that underscores the sensitivity of this topic. If these were assistant professors looking for tenure as associate professors, then perhaps their reaction could be construed

as somewhat normal given the importance of acquiring tenure for junior faculty.

However, these two individuals already had tenure as associate professors and were applying for full professorships at their institutions; since the clock for applying for full professorships is not as strict as the six year associate professorship clock, I found these two scholars' fears of reprocutation interesting. When I asked participant twelve about this he told me 'even if I wait a couple years, your dissertation will still be out there and if you publish other works, that could generate interest in your early works, such as this project. I'd really just prefer to withdraw and not worry about it.'

Description of the Sample

Using the new grouping strategy of three groups based strictly on generations in relation to the civil rights movement, here are descriptions of the scholars framed within the new groupings.

Group 1: Pre-Civil Rights Movement

Robert Blauner earned both his bachelor's degree and master's degree in sociology (1948; 1950) and his Ph.D. in sociology (1962). He currently serves as a professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Somewhere.

Blauner has a rich academic, political and social history that dates back to his days at the University of Somewhere and spans both the United States and other countries. His research interests lie in race relations, African-American history and social and political movements. He does not have a website but does have a brief biographical sketch on the University of Somewhere sociological website.

Evan Wagner earned his bachelor's degree (1951) and Ph.D. (1958) from the Sometime State University, where he currently serves as a professor of American history and has been teaching at SSU since 1964. He was the son of Russian immigrants, and grew up in an ethnically diverse community in California.

Wagner self identifies five different publications on his website and the theme throughout all of these publications is that of thoroughly establishing the plight of the African-American as a means of contextualizing racial disharmony, non-equality and strife today. He currently teaches only one course, the History of American Society, due to his status as a senior professor.

Louis Goldstein has a long history of publications in the area of race and ethnicity. He began his post-secondary education in 1965 at the University of Sometime, where he later earned a Bachelor's in 1969; in 1976, he earned his Ph.D. from the University of the North. He currently teaches

Similar to his dissertation, much of Goldstein's scholarship revolves around the post-civil war racial climate of Littletown, Mississippi. Interestingly, Goldstein has acquired an extensive database of all persons and farms reported in U.S. census reports from 1850 to 1880 for Littletown, Mississippi. He has presented papers at twenty-six different annual association meetings, illustrating the wide reach of his research.

Group 2: Civil Rights Movement

Mark Wellington earned his bachelor's degree in sociology, psychology, and Spanish (1974), his master's in sociology (1977), and his Ph.D. in sociology (1978). Mark Wellington currently serves as chair and professor of sociology at the University of That One School.

Wellington's research interests are race and ethnicity, urban sociology and Mexican society and immigration. He has also served as president of the American Sociological Association and has been involved in many collaborations with scholars of color both foreign and domestic.

Michael Kensington earned his bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees in sociology (1973; 1977 and 1979). He currently serves as a full professor of sociology and director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Policy Studies at That One School

State University. Kensington's areas of expertise lie in social movements, African-American political trends and cultural framings.

Paul Spickard earned his bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees in history (1973; 1976; 1983) and currently serves as professor of history at the University of Small School. Spickard's research interests lie in race and ethnicity, immigration, multi-ethnic and multi-racial identities, Asian-Americans and African-Americans.

Howard Winant has an extensive publishing record in racial and ethnic scholarship. His main area of focus centers on race and racism, political sociology, social theory and human rights. He received his Ph.D. in 1980 from the University of Liberal Thought and he currently serves as a professor of sociology at the University of Conservative Thinking

Winant self-identifies four different publications on his website as being 'key'; all of these pieces have the common threads of not just race but also world systems theory as well as how the hegemonic relationship between white Americans and American people of color.

Group 3: Post-Civil Rights Movement

Eric Burin currently serves as an assistant professor of history at the University of Someplace, specializing in African-American history, the south and race relations since 1999. Eric Burin earned his Ph.D. (1999, History) and M.A. (1993, History) from The University of the East and his B.S. (1991; Political Science, History and Social Sciences) from the University of the West.

Burin specializes in African-American history, Antebellum America, comparative race relations and civil war/reconstruction. He does not have a website nor does he make a distinction on his vita between all of his publications and selected publications. He is the most recent graduate of his Ph.D. program in this study and he has made great strides on his way towards the tenure review process.

James Fisher serves as an associate professor of sociology at Somewhere State University and prior to this appointment he served as an assistant professor of sociology and African-American studies at Someplace State University. Fisher earned his bachelor's in humanities (1990), his master's in public policy and administration (1992), a second master's in sociology (1994), and his Ph.D. in sociology (1996).

Fisher authored a memoir about his life and research and has written on race and social policy, reparations for African-Americans and welfare and its affect on children. James Fisher uses sociological theory to examine how race and social policy impacts people of color, especially children, and has focused his tenured career towards branching out and tackling issues related to race and ethnicity such as wealth and sibling order within communities of color.

Joshua King earned his bachelor's degree in psychology (1980) and both his master's and doctorate degrees in counseling psychology (1981 and 1985). He currently serves as a full professor in psychology at Large School University.

King's research interests lie in multicultural counseling, multicultural assessment and affirmative action. While he does not have a website, his vita lists all of his publications and makes no distinction from selected and non-selected publications. Due

to his dual status as a licensed psychologist, his vita has a large section focused on professional counseling and supervision of graduate students experiences.

NUD*IST and Ladder of Analytical Abstraction Techniques

After I collected all of the transcripts I began the process of loading all of the data into NUD*IST so I could locate threads consistent within and across participant interviews. The entire process of sorting the data into nodes and codes was done prior to a follow up non-technological review of the transcripts by myself as a way of validating the threads and themes that NUD*IST found using Carney's ladder of analytical abstraction technique (Carney, 1990) as a way of also sorting the data into themes and patters that build a framework for understanding the study.

While this process necessitated much extra work on my part, I felt it necessary to ensure that this study would not be compromised due to misapplication of software. I had previously used NUD*IST for much smaller projects and while my decision to also hand-review the transcripts and code them was not necessary it did do a good job to reassure my paranoid tendencies concerning this study.

I was very comforted and reassured when my hand-review of the transcripts using the ladder of analytical abstraction method yielded almost all of the same themes and threads that NUD*IST did when running the program. This similarity could have been due to my previous viewing of the results from the NUD*IST program influencing my hand-review of the transcripts but nonetheless I was very happy with the themes and threads that were identified in this study.

Chapter 4: Individual Participant Findings

Here I present findings of participants from all data sources specific to them. Some issues arose that made the use of all four data sources difficult with each participant, but there were some very interesting findings nonetheless. There was a significant lack of non-academic publications from the scholars, with only two providing or having contributed to this type of publication; this rendered the non-academic publication data source moot.

Another issue arose with the data source of member checking. After I had transcribed all of the interviews, conducted initial data analysis and made interpretations of the data based upon the data analysis, I sent out the transcripts and my notes to each participant and asked for revisions, clarifications and corrections with specific instructions for making changes and returning the materials to me when they were finished.

I made two follow-up emails as well as one follow-up phone call to each participant reminding them to please look over the materials and to send me their changes. However, I only received materials back from four of the ten scholars and of those four they all agreed with my data analysis and theme identification from the transcripts and only made semantic changes to the transcript itself (e.g. removing names of individuals, correcting misspelled titles and locations, etc.). When I asked the four scholars who returned materials about their thoughts concerning the themes I identified in their respective transcripts I was told that they agreed with my identified themes and did not dispute any of them.

After the interviews were completed and I was in the process of member checking, two of the scholars expressed concern that the comments they made could be potentially detrimental to themselves and their careers depending on who would read the findings of my study. These two scholars did not wish to withdraw from the study but wanted to ensure that their identity would be protected. As a result, I assigned each of the scholars a random number and present the findings within each participant below; I also replaced any names and locations with pseudonyms as to protect the identity of all scholars involved.

The issue of confidentiality and anonymity is a large factor in the presentation of these findings. Because there are several scholars who did not consent to their names being revealed, using their academic publications is extremely difficult. For this reason, I refer to each individual's academic publications in broad general terms without direct quotations or citations.

In the following sections I describe the individual interviews with each participant. After that, I present the findings specific to each research question along with emergent discoveries that arose during the individual interviews.

Group One: Pre-Civil Rights

Robert Blauner

My interview with Robert Blauner took place at his home, which was located about one mile from his institution in an affluent white neighborhood. He has not been an active member of the faculty of his institution for a while but he continues to have office space at his department.

Upon arriving at his home he invited me in and gave me a brief tour; I noticed the usual large amount of books on shelves, common to most academics, along with various art pieces, baseball memorabilia and pictures of him with family, friends and colleagues. The people in the pictures represented a wide array of races and ethnicities; when I inquired as to the authors' and artists' ethnicities of the books and art pieces in his home he said that 'there is a larger percentage of people of color's influence on my shelves and walls than in the average old white guy's house.'

When I asked if this was intentional he replied 'you'd think so, wouldn't you?' with a wink; I then asked about the baseball memorabilia and he said that it was an interest of his since he was a boy and that he was currently working on a book about race and baseball. Nothing in his writings had alluded to such an interest and I was curious to hear how this would influence our conversation.

Blauner began by describing his youth and early influences; he then spoke about his first adult experiences and how communism in particular had an impact on him as a scholar.

“I got married very early at the age of twenty, too early, and with another couple who had just gotten married and with these three other guys we went to France in the beginning of 1951 because of fear of fascism coming into America with the McCarthy era under way. I mean it really wasn't fascism but that's what we thought it was or it was going to be and I didn't want to get drafted into the army and for all these reasons I went to France and we didn't know how long we would be there. I stayed almost a year and that had the effect of totally radicalizing me again in the communist direction. I didn't know really anybody in other aspects of the left and the French working class was very influenced by the communists at that time and the party was very strong and so you know I got really gung-ho (Blauner Interview).”

Blauner eventually returned to the United States and after his experience with the French workers he sought out a similar experience in America but found his reach and ability to have the experience limited for a couple reasons:

“I got over all my mixed feelings and ambivalences and eventually came back and went back to graduate school just for a while to stay out of the army and that's when after early 1952 I went to work in a factory for almost 5 years. I never regretted that I spent five years mostly at international harvester, that was a plant in Emeryville, CA. At the two factories I worked, my closest relations seemed to be with minorities; I was just very interested in race and I tried to influence other white workers on the issue but it wasn't easy to have any influence at that time. Also because me and the other two guys who

were also in that same plant, we didn't really belong to the working class it was kind of hard but it was a great experience in terms of educating me (Blauner Interview)."

Blauner later described this experience in an article he published in the late 1950s in relation to how the worker relates and responds to industrialization; he states that while there is not the response that he saw overseas, American workers still suffer under similar circumstances regardless of whether they live in a capitalist, socialist or communist society. This was also further articulated in another article published in the early 1960s, but with the focus on the worker as an underappreciated participant in an economy. Blauner went on to describe what he felt was a watershed moment for him as an adult and helped steer him out of the formal communist party and back to graduate school.

"1956, well it was a bombshell, a lot of people don't even know about it today, but, Nikita Khrushchev, who was the second or third person to succeed Stalin after Stalin died in 1953, made this speech on the crimes of Stalin which as soon as his speech became public it just lead to a mass exodus of people from the communist party all over the world, particularly in the US and in the youth organization. That gave me kind of the permission to leave; also I was restless in the factory. I knew I wasn't effective at all and the work was getting boring and I liked my fellow workers but I went back to graduate school (Blauner Interview)."

Blauner had the unique experience of being a professor when the civil rights movement was beginning to take shape and witnessed the metamorphosis of the students

at his institution. This is also reflected in a book that he wrote in the late 1980s that specifically chronicled the relationships between African-Americans and whites.

“Meanwhile in this time from 66-68, in 66 there were still very few people of color at my institution, very few. By 67-68 they started coming in at the undergraduate level and my courses on race relations began to get enormous. You know from 50 –100 people, they became 500 people because it was the topic of the day. So it was exciting and I led these free floating discussions which I was able to moderate, you know left, right, and center, white, black, brown, and it was all very exciting (Blauner Interview).”

Blauner also addressed the events that were happening during this time in several articles published in the mid to late 1960s. He sought to provide a context for why events like the Watts riots were happening, but also Blauner provided opportunities for people to discuss the budding Black and Chicano cultural movements and whether or not they paralleled white cultural movements. Blauner was often misinterpreted, but as described in the above quote, Blauner always sought to provide a forum and/or topic in this area and was not concerned with the response he may have received as evident in the following quotes.

Blauner had some very interesting thoughts on his contribution to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship. When reflecting on his contribution to the field, Blauner cited his status as a white scholar as important because of the perspective it gave.

“Looking back, I think its important that I did this as a white person, because then there was a white perspective out there (Blauner Interview).”

This perspective is also found in a book that Blauner wrote in the early 1970s that also stated the need for the white voice in the discussion of race relations in the United States, not to dictate the discussion but to allow for contrition by whites to be heard alongside the empowerment that was being expressed by people of color. Blauner also cited some published works as being essential but this particular quote was interesting to me because it speaks to a perspective that values multiple voices in racial and ethnic scholarship that is not shared by later scholars. The scholars who are in the other two cohorts did not cite this as being important to them and it would be easy to attribute Blauner’s quote to a generational difference, but it may be due to other factors such as his religious, political and social ideologies that will be highlighted alongside the other scholars in this study in later sections.

Regarding the decline in the number of whites in racial and ethnic scholarship over his tenure, Blauner attributes this to the rise in the number of scholars of color in the field over the same period of time. In Blauner’s view, white scholars sort of acquiesced to scholars of color in regards to this topic:

“My sense is that because you know the people of color kind of took over this field that you know my sense I wasn’t getting any, almost no, whites interested in race relations when I was teaching graduate students the last 20 years. I mean, because they figured it wasn’t their field any more (Blauner Interview).”

Blauner's experience is different from Goldstein's in the fact that they are in different disciplines as well as having very different life histories. However, they do share similar experiences in their age and coming about at about the same time and watching the civil rights movement and other political events influence them and their students.

Louis Goldstein

My interview with Louis Goldstein took place over the phone after four previous attempts to meet him at his home, his office and in two different cities while he was on business. After having these trips cancelled we agreed that it would be best to have the formal interview over the phone and continue to attempt to meet face to face before spring.

We agreed to a late night interview where I would call him at his home after he had returned home from bible study and I asked him to begin by describing his home and upbringing for me. He stressed the importance of his mother in his development of empathy for people of color as she always supported him and provided him with the message that what he was doing, in having African-American friends, was not only “alright” but also the right thing to do:

“My mother always said that you should do what you think is right so I did and she stood by me and never mad me feel bad so I guess I’d have to attribute to her everything else (Louis Goldstein Interview).”

Goldstein later realized that racial and ethnic scholarship was a topic that was abnormal for whites to be studying. This was a precursor for later academic experiences but it was an eye-opener that was bound to occur given the topic, Goldstein’s race and the time period in which he grew up.

“It didn’t occur to me that people thought it was unusual to be involved with Black causes. I guess it was the summer after that summer that I was accepted to go to the Harvard/Yale summer intensive study program and I was like one of two or three, maybe it was four, non African-Americans in the entire group of about a hundred kids who were brought in for this program. Supposedly an academic field program to encourage you to go to graduate school or law school. I loved that experience, but I think my ideas were already in shape in a weird way. I guess it was my mother’s religion that influenced my views the most you know in terms of race and my friends (Goldstein Interview).”

This quote is interesting as Goldstein attributes his mother’s Christianity as being influential in shaping his values and norms about race and ethnicity. This is a theme that is true for many of the scholars in this study and will be discussed further in later sections of this paper.

Goldstein also touched upon the job market difficulties both he and whites in this area face. He spoke of what helps keep whites out of the field of racial and ethnic scholarship; he believes it to be very dangerous for a Black historian not to be Black.

“I think that people are more concerned about getting a job and we’re just in a deadly field; as a scholar who’s not Black in Black history I think it’s a big concern. The field, the profession, isn’t as interested, as I said they are interested in other kinds of questions. It really is a bad thing because we are not reaping the benefits of good scholars and also we are instead focusing on other areas of study, which are looked upon as being more

current. This is not to say that Black history is not a traditional area of history, but the truth is for some people it isn't (Goldstein Interview)."

Many of Goldstein's experiences reflect those of the other scholars in this study, not just within his generational group, but also across generations and disciplines. The impact of his family and their religious teachings is evident in many other scholars in this study.

Evan Wagner

My interview with Evan Wagner took place in his office on campus late in the afternoon. He and I had not met previously, so I decided to come early and watch him interact with various faculty, students and other individuals.

I was immediately struck by how many people were coming up to him in the hallways, in the departmental office and in his own office to welcome him back and express their admiration for him; of the individuals that came by, two of every three were people of color and both they and the white individuals all seemed to view Evan Wagner as someone who understood them and whom they wanted to let know that they cared about. The exchanges were not 'color-blind' in any manner as the fact that Evan Wagner is white was referred to in some way by many of the individuals, yet they all expressed respect for him.

Wagner began by describing his familial influences and youth in general. He then spoke of his adolescence and his early topics of thought:

"I was editor of my high school newspaper, which got me into a lot of trouble at times with the vice principal because of my views, which I made well known in my editorials. We had a special issue on brotherhood week, which talked about the oppression and repression that confronted African Americans as well as Mexican Americans, and we called to an end of 'the fiesta,' which is the annual event that celebrates so called Spanish heritage, and we said that money could be better spent on low cost housing for Mexican Americans (Wagner Interview)."

The social justice elements Wagner describes are also present in other participants in this study and they all led to difficulties for these individuals for not “knowing their place.” Other influences that he had were from books and this helped set a stage of conflict when Wagner would compare the books he was reading with the information being presented in his textbooks.

“I was already starting to collect books as well, I am a book collector, and I started my collection in those years, that’s when I remember buying the first Langston Hughes books and mostly books by prominent Black authors. I had taken quite an interest in Richard Wright’s work and white novelist Howard Fast, who was a historical novelist but was very important in my junior high school years. The textbook was my first confrontation with history as I call it, because I asked the teacher for fifty minutes to refute the textbooks’ version of slavery and reconstruction and she gave me the time to do it and I went off and went to the public library and checked out WEB Dubois ‘Black reconstruction’ and came in with a report that I thought was irrefutable and so rebutting the argument of the textbook that was by large being foisted upon the students across the country, I believe college and well as high schools and colleges in the West. When I finished my report, the teacher said “Well class, you must remember that Evan is bitterly pro labor.” Well that was a peculiar thing to say about a report that was, well that was about African Americans it wasn’t about laborists per say. And I suppose later on I interpreted her remark as meaning that ‘class you must beware because Evan is very pro-labor and that might color other opinions that he had about other subjects, including reconstruction.’ But anyway, I was hooked by this time (Wagner Interview).”

This describes the type of resistance he received in his youth from authority figures and it illustrates some of the associations people were making then regarding a person's views on race and therefore what their other political ideologies would be.

Wagner also spent time talking about the audience of his publications and had a very different view on what that audience is than most academics. Regarding the scholars in his discipline, Wagner states that his colleagues write for themselves and use academic language as a way of limiting the accessibility of their scholarship.

"I think historians spend too much time writing for themselves and talking to themselves and I don't want to be in that group. I sometimes call it a circle jerk and that interests me that they play a language only the privileged can understand. We spend so much time writing for each other that when someone writes a fine book or just a book in American history, and the person is not as academic, we're very good at denouncing that book, finding all the little flaws in that book. By default, we've given up the field (Wagner Interview)."

Wagner makes the point that he thinks historians also keep outside voices at bay by denouncing their views as uninformed if they come from a non-academic. Given the time period in which he began his career, this point is especially salient because of the lack of scholars of color in the field in the 1940s and 1950s. The point takes on a different meaning as time has passed and is meant more for outsiders regardless of their race or ethnicity, but it speaks to the notion of exclusion that Wagner is making.

Group Two: Civil Rights

Michael Kensington

I interviewed Michael Kensington at his off-campus office early in the afternoon; he was busy finalizing some details of a grant proposal that was due the next day but agreed to meet with me for a couple of hours. Michael Kensington is a very accomplished researcher who had secured enough funds from grants to run a completely self-supported office away from his department on campus.

After discussing his youth and neighborhood, I asked Kensington about societal influences he can recall and how they had influenced his ideologies and views on people of color and racial and ethnic scholarship.

“For instance freedom summer or that summer of 1964 when, I couldn’t have recounted this at the time, but I certainly know it as a scholar now the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party the challenge at the Democratic convention in 1964. The whole thing fascinated me as political theater and I wasn’t anymore than ten or eleven; I remember big chunks of that including some testimony of people that were testifying at the convention about racism in Mississippi and remember being very moved and affected by this but not having any real kind of context for understanding any of this given my own background. I remember the Watts riots in 1965 and again because this is occurring in LA I remember being scared and frightened and certainly not understanding exactly what was going on, but I do have that as a clear memory (Kensington Interview).”

These events left an impression on Kensington that helped steer him towards opportunities in his late adolescence that involved cross-cultural interaction and addressing racial and ethnic issues. Kensington stated that the spirit of the civil rights movement heavily influenced him and he believed that his experience was indicative of the scholars in this study from the civil rights generation.

“I remember joining certain groups in high school that were essentially sea beds of progressive human activities, wound up being involved in projects that sought to link racial groups across different communities in this area. I got very involved in the anti-war movement right before I left high school, I was very active in my college years which were sixty nine to seventy three, actually took leave or even dropped out at least I remember one year or for a semester took leaves to go do organizing and volunteer work in Washington on behalf of a coalition of peace groups and so you know I would attribute my gravitation this way to sort of the times. I mean this was the sixties and certainly by the late sixties early seventies I was clearly identified with the movement, whatever that was and it meant more than Vietnam, it certainly included racial justice as a component and the women’s movement quite quickly after the environmental movement, the standard cluster of left progressive issues from that period (Kensington Interview).”

Paul Spickard

I interviewed Paul Spickard in his office late in the morning in the first week of June 2003. He was busy preparing for a workshop he was conducting with a colleague of color for graduate students in ethnic studies programs but agreed to make time to visit with me for a few hours.

Spickard and I spoke for a while about his youth and the influences that have made him one of the most noted white historians who write about racial and ethnic issues. Spickard came from a white family but a very diverse neighborhood that exposed him to people from both African-American and Asian-American backgrounds on a daily basis that shaped his definition of what his youth was and who he was comfortable interacting with.

“Except for two friends, when I went away to college, I had never had a conversation with a white person who wasn’t a relative that had lasted longer than five minutes in my life (Spickard Interview).”

Spickard married a woman of color and he learned first hand about the fascination and anger that whites would exhibit towards him and his family and these instances left a distinct impression on him. He was clearly not seeking to marry a woman of color for the immersion experience, but the immersion experience was a by-product of the relationship itself.

“I was in an interracial marriage for many many years with a Chinese American woman and people didn’t hassle us on the street, but they would look at us curiously like ‘Oh, you’re Chinese, well how very strange,’ and of course you’re going to stop because the place was just so white it was really hard, you know to wrap one’s head around it (Spickard Interview).”

“We tried living in Ohio and it was worse cause there my kids did get beat up on the street; it was really bad and there were explicitly racial incidents. For example, my son was seven years old and was sat upon by a couple of nine year olds who stomped him and kicked him between the legs and as they ran off, and a neighbor heard this, they said ‘your father can stay in town but you and your mother and your sister have to leave’ (Spickard Interview).”

Spickard also discussed the notion of co-authoring with his graduate students of color; he believes that it is his responsibility to co-author with them in an effort to acclimate and mentor them into the world of academe. He has been criticized at times for allowing co-authors to take most of the credit in these endeavors, but Spickard is adamant about his rationale for handling these types of situations the way he does. He also addressed the very real possibility that he may in fact feel this way because he has the luxury of white privilege in these situations, which speaks to his level of awareness about himself in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship.

“I’ve been criticised for giving most of the credit in publications to other scholars actually by some of my colleagues. One of my colleagues, who is now retired, felt that I was giving too much credit and that I should keep more of that credit for myself. I think that was because she had done a couple of books where all the work except for the introduction had been done by her students; they had written their names on chapters and stuff but their names didn’t appear on the title page or the cover or anything and they only appeared on the individual chapters. You know she made a different choice and I’m not criticising that choice but it seems to me that one ought to err on the side of sharing. And actually, that’s not a value that’s close to the core of ethnic studies; it does run counter to everything that we’re supposed to be doing in building our careers, but I think if you’re willing to work hard and if you do good work you’re gonna have a great career so why are you so concerned about it but maybe that’s just white privilege speaking. Maybe that sense of trust in the world to not be a hostile place you know comes from an experience of growin’ up in an upper-middle class white family, you know I mean it’s entirely possible (Spickard Interview).”

An interesting caveat to this was the frankness with which Spickard cited initial suspicion he faced from students of color as well as his willingness to be open to feedback from students of color. Spickard believes that students of color have an inherent right to criticize white faculty in this area and he embraces this process as an opportunity to prove himself as an ally.

“When I was applying for this job, there was an Asian-American student who didn’t want to meet me in my interview, he said ‘a white guy cannot do that job.’ The outgoing chair of the department who was running the search said he had to take me home from the department dinner and he had to talk with me for fifteen minutes and he laid it right up front said ‘I don’t want to talk to you I don’t want you to be here, I don’t think a white guy can do this job’ and so I said ‘well you know, maybe not and maybe I’m not the right guy for this job. Why don’t you get to know me and if you think I’m not the right guy for this job then fine, I don’t know if I want the job. But I think I have some skills so lets talk about it’ and so I kinda laid that to him and who I was and we talked about my history and stuff like that so we ended up talking about four hours. At the end of that he went back and told everybody that they had to vote for me (Spickard Interview).”

“I haven’t always had complete success you know with those kinds of encounters, but sure there’s that suspicion factor and rightly there should be anytime some white guy walks into a space inhabited by people of color and he says ‘I’m the man, I’m gonna tell you what to do.’ You know, you gotta be real careful about that stuff umm and that’s not my intent and check me and if you see me doing something like that I’d like to be called on it (Spickard Interview).”

Spickard is a scholar who has had many experiences with people of color from his youth to his professional career, with varying degrees of acceptance and resistance, Later in this paper, Spickard’s experiences are contrasted with scholars of his generation and other generations where similar experiences also are described.

Mark Wellington

My interview with Mark Wellington took place at his office on campus of the institution he currently serves. I asked him if it we could conduct the interview in his office and while he agreed to that, when I showed up for the interview I found out that he had scheduled a conference room in his department for us to speak in. When I inquired about the change he told me that he thought the conference room would be more conducive for the interview and did not offer to conduct the interview in his office so I decided to go along with the new location for the interview.

Wellington began by discussing his youth and familial influences; I asked him about his family's history and he talked about their status as immigrants and how their encouragement allowed him to explore other cultures and social issues of the day.

"I do come from an immigrant background. Both my grandparents from my mother's side are Scandinavian, so I grew up with grandparents and aunts and uncles who all spoke with accents; I thought that, you know, that this was normal, everybody had a grandparent that came from, what they used to call the Old Country. I was encouraged by my family to explore as I wanted so I started taking Spanish when I was in third grade and I took Spanish courses all the way through twelfth grade. By this time I was exposed to the Civil Rights Movement because of what was happening at the time politically and I was very conscious and aware. I had read the autobiography of Malcolm X and started reading other black literature as a senior or junior in high school and through my Spanish classes, I was starting to read Mexican literature and becoming familiar with the basics of Mexican culture, history and writing. So by the time I graduated from high school in

spite of the sheltered background that I came from, I came to learn and become quite interested in other people (Wellington Interview).”

I asked Wellington about the reception he had received from both scholars of color and white scholars and he had a very interesting story to tell that is fairly well known among sociologists.

“It was about two or three years ago, just after I became President-Elect of the ASA. Earlier that year there had been a council meeting where we were discussing editors for the American Sociological Review and one of them was an African American. There were a number of other candidates and I didn't feel the African American was the best candidate and I said so fairly and forcefully that I favored another team, which was the team that ultimately became editors, Charles Camick and Franklin Wilson, who is African American. I thought this team was much better qualified and in a better position to run the flagship journal in the field and because I was opposed to Walter Allen, whose at UCLA, and his team, I made a lot of people mad and I knew I would. I didn't like it but you take it (Wellington Interview).”

This experience of having to oppose a scholar of color for what he perceived to be very legitimate reasons is a very difficult task to undertake. As an advocate for people of color, Wellington was aware that there were certain understandings among white scholars, particularly that opposing a scholar of color for a leadership position is not the most audience-friendly stance to take. He knew this yet felt compelled to act this way

regardless; this speaks to the prioritization Wellington has for his ideological beliefs about people of color and racial and ethnic scholarship and his desire to hold all his colleagues to a certain level of qualifications. Wellington discussed this issue further by explaining why he takes issue with the 'free pass' many of his white colleagues give to students and scholars of color.

"A lot of well meaning liberal whites do minorities a huge disservice because they are afraid to criticize them, are afraid to tell them what they're doing really isn't that good because they're afraid of being accused of being a racist, or maybe afraid of their own motivations. Well, what happens is you end up patronizing people, and you don't give them the feedback you'd give to your very best white student and you don't offer them the opportunity to grow. So, I try to always give my honest appraisal to people and you know, if you do this you're going to get people mad at you sometimes (Wellington Interview)."

Regarding the audience of his publications, Wellington spoke about the fact that because he has established himself within academic circles as a qualified expert on racial and ethnic scholarship, he can now reach a wider audience outside of academe.

"When you're a young person on the way up trying to make your reputation as a social scientist, you're really not in a good position to write a bunch of opinion pieces. Your job is to get tenure to put yourself in a position to weigh in on important debates. Well,

I'm there now so, I'm really trying to write more things for a broader audience, not just something in the United States, but around the world (Wellington Interview)."

Wellington is a scholar who has attempted to be a friend to the cause of racial and ethnic scholarship and has had both success and challenges in relating to people of color.

Howard Winant

I interviewed Howard Winant in a coffee shop in late May of 2003 a few miles away from the campus of the institution he previously served at prior to serving at his current institution. He still maintained homes in both cities and at the time was conducting both personal and professional business in his former hometown. This was the only time Howard Winant had until late fall to be interviewed and I was going to be in the area at the time so we agreed to conduct the interview then.

We began by getting to know each other, as we had exchanged biographical information prior to this interview but had not visited in person prior to this interview. He spoke of his current and former positions and that conversation lead into some advice on my professional endeavors. We quickly transitioned to our interests in racial and ethnic scholarship and it was quite apparent that we shared similar philosophies and conducted much of the conversation in both English and Spanish as he is fluent in both languages.

Winant began to describe what drew him to racial and ethnic scholarship, and he specifically touched upon how, for him, his experience as a white person was a source of disconnect for what he was seeing and learning about the world and how his approach to learn from those experiences shaped him:

“I think it’s just the centrality of those struggles in North American political life and progressive politics and how much in the struggle to create democracy in the United States is being driven by anti racism in ways and the more you get involved in it the more you learn and the more you find. I think for people that grow up within it there’s a

certain kind of experiential dimension which helps a lot in terms of being conscious of it but if you grew up white, it's kind of like a shock, a repeated shock. If you're open to it as whatever reason human rights or democratic concerns or just you know a desire to live a reasonable decent moral life or something like that. And it doesn't have to be ideological at all (Winant Interview)."

Winant reiterates this point in several articles and book sections published in the early and mid 1980s. In them, Winant states that for whites in America, there needs to be a conscious effort to see and hear what people of color experience everyday; this notion of passive compliance is something that when made aware of, whites are very affected by and are in a better position to see the complete picture in this country.

Winant's parents were Jewish immigrants and he attributes much of his current ideologies and views to the influences of his parents. The lessons and perspectives they gave him were both consistent with his experience as a Jew but different because America was a haven for his parents and Winant, as a first-generation white American, recognized the privilege he was afforded that other people were not.

"I mean even when I think about my parents, they were pretty strong progressives or at least humane people that didn't approve of racism and supported the NAACP and stuff like that but and they also saw the United States as a place that had saved their lives from Auschwitz or some place like that. So I think that duality was also going on for me in other ways; it's not only the disillusionment but it's also the potentiality and the tension that's there that drives a lot of political awareness. Everything is ruined everything is a

disgrace and a horror and the cynicism about the country makes it impossible to fight for anything or struggle for anything and on the other hand if you think well basically 'ok, if there are a few mistakes here and maybe some brutal cops here and there but basically if things are not so bad that you're not motivated politically.' So it's being forced to have some kind of contradictory consciousness, some dualistic consciousness some of the sense of something that I think that I think is a real motive at least in terms of anti-racism (Winant Interview)."

Winant quickly turned to his particular life experience and how he was influenced by the generational happenings of his youth and adulthood. In his youth he became very aware of the civil rights movement and was active in protests and speaking and writing against the Vietnam war and for the civil rights movement. He and his family made choices to immerse himself in the world of not just Mexican-Americans and Mexicans.

"I was involved pretty early on as a student in civil rights stuff, not led by my parents, but certainly encouraged by them in battles and struggles and conflicts, even in junior high and high school and then by the time I got to college it was in the middle of the nineteen sixties and I was in the class of sixty eight so I was also an anti-war person without question, but a lot of my focus on that time was on domestic issues and I was involved in community reorganizing work and any service and civil rights movement work pretty straight through, and I guess I've never really gone beyond that (Winant Interview)."

“Well, I think there are a range of things here. I mean, it may be a classic path you know, I got involved with the farm workers with struggles and I guess that was in the late sixties early seventies. With the boycott and so on and so forth, I had to spend some time in California by then. I was involved with some farm organized here in the east as well in Long Island actually, which was not really by no means largely Mexican workers, more Caribbean and Jamaican and a whole mix of Caribbean folks, Haitians and so on. By then I had began learning Spanish, we went to Mexico and learned more Spanish. My wife’s spoke Spanish so that helped as I have to keep up with her as she had she had worked in Mexico, in Tijuana. She’s a health care person and early on in Tijuana we also had a refugee family living with us. They were a mixed family, the husband was Brazilian and the wife was Argentinean; they had a daughter and they’ve been through the dictatorship and you see in the early seventies I used to speak more Spanish to them or learn more Spanish form them (Winant Interview).”

This immersion experience had a significant impact on Winant and the level at which he and his family made the commitment to not only immerse themselves in the life of Mexicans but also to speak the language as to get a more complete experience. This may seem like a natural inclination but it speaks to the dedication to the process that Winant was willing to commit.

“I think the main source of my information from this kind of experience was far more important working with them, organizing boycotts and stuff with them, just being there and seeing their life styles and eating with them and meeting kids. Just that kind of stuff

really changed my awareness and really expanded my awareness of the Mexican mentality and Mexican experience in the United States or something like that that and I was a scholar so I was reading and stuff like that and I remember readings early stuff, so I got a very different experience from that and different colleagues sent me to a lot of stuff (Winant Interview).”

Winant stressed these points in a few articles and book sections that he published in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In these publications, he makes many points, all surrounding the need for comprehension of cross-cultural differences and their applicability or non-applicability to racial issues in America. One of the more interesting points Winant raises is that Americans tended to view race as a dichotomous relationship after the civil rights movement ended; he states that this has helped cloud our view of other issues of race in America (with Mexicans and Mexican-Americans and other groups) and in other countries where colonialism still is a factor.

Winant also spoke of the differences between whites who study African-Americans and whites who study Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, making the point that there are so many within group differences that instead of looking for inconsistencies or covering them up in the interest of forming a demographic, we should embrace them as comparison reference groups to better understand ourselves. This examination was not necessarily bad, in fact Winant believes it is what allows people to better understand nationalism.

“I mean I don’t think there’s anything really exclusive, I mean obviously there are tremendous differences in collective experiences that people had had, I mean the experience of being Salvadorano or Mexicano or being a Palestinian, being a black person from Georgia versus being a black person from Haiti or Jamaica, obviously there’s tremendous variation but at the same time I think there’s a certain kind of possibilities, almost like a necessity almost in order to understand yourself or your own group experience. So you compare and contrast with others and when you do that, you find that there are many common elements; this had made me more open to nationalism (Winant Interview).”

Winant goes into great detail about this topic in many of the articles he published in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In two articles in particular, he describes the process of racial formation in various groups and how that process is influenced and shaped by the majority as well as how race intersects with culture and politics to determine the direction of social movements and how those are articulated to people outside those groups.

The topic of how racism in academe exerts itself on scholars of color was addressed by Winant in his description of how white scholars make assumptions about the path of scholars of color and the appearance of ease with which they operate in academe.

“As a white person doing race work, which was what your question was about, I think that a lot of people have told me that this is not strategic but I don’t think that’s really so true but there’s sort of a latent liberal racism that we see a lot of in academic time. A

good example of that is say a talented black or Chicano graduate student is, and I think is particularly true of black graduate students, I'm not sure about Chicano but I'm sure it's probably true as well, that you can write your own ticket man or woman; everybody's going to want you as if affirmative action or something like affirmative action was a complete solution for the complete inequality and discrimination that has existed in the past. You'll hear white academics say 'if I were only black I would get such a great job with the work I'm doing' and you know basically their assumption is that they can be the same person that they already are just as you know like race is just as superficial as your skin color as if they wouldn't have had a totally different experience (Winant Interview)."

Winant is making the point that even whites who would consider themselves allies to the cause of racial and ethnic scholarship are part of the institutional racism that is pervasive in academe, especially with this topic.

Winant went on to discuss the volatility of a white scholar conducting racial and ethnic scholarship, especially when he collaborates with a scholar of color on a project or publication.

"I mean it's not that I knew nothing but obviously I didn't have the level of awareness that he had about that so in a certain sense if a white scholar say working on racial issues or anti racist scholar is connecting to a basically defined minority person in a collaborative effort what that's going to do beyond legitimizing it's going to deepen the project. It's not symbolic though, symbolic stuff I feel pretty mistrustful of, not that that

doesn't go on all over the place, sort of a tokenism of everything but going on a deeper level it's more it's more like an epitomization of everything (Winant Interview)."

Winant is clearly a scholar that has been around for some time, and to see him admit that after all of the struggle and advances that have been made in higher education that the level at which most scholars of color still operate is at the token or symbolic level is honest and at the same time sad for him. He also spoke of the difficulty he has had in the past with having to give a young scholar of color a reality check when other white mentors have failed to do so; this process is one of the rare times in Winant's life as an academic where his philosophical ideals clash with his pragmatic responsibilities he feels towards academe.

"I've also been in positions in my life where I've wound up opposing someone for tenure or something like that and it was a black scholar and that's a weird situation. Obviously one doesn't want to do that but you have to at some times recognize that sometimes someone doesn't make it it's not the only question there that you want to have an integrated or diverse faculty or something like that it's just like managing these things in the concrete and being pragmatic and progressive at the same time those are the kinds of questions that you have to think about (Winant Interview)."

I asked Winant about the issue of whites studying people of color and how the reverse would be received, if people of color were to study whites. He then responded by

re-stating the question to be what if people of color did not study racial and ethnic scholarship:

“I think it’s probably weirder for Black people or Latinos maybe Asians scholars as well, but American scholars to work on something that’s not racial you know Condi (U.S. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice) is not exactly my model of what’s white or black, but she worked on Russia right? That’s something she’s not supposed to be doing that, you know? I know somebody that used to teach at Michigan, a black woman that used to work on Greece, it’s like ‘well what’s your problem? Aren’t you concerned with your own race?’ (Winant Interview).”

I found this response to be fascinating, as Winant was clearly establishing the belief that people of color are the prime supporters for racial and ethnic scholarship and when a person of color deviates and studies a more traditional area of scholarship, white scholars sometimes find this odd. I would venture that scholars of color would also find it odd for the same reasons as Winant but would dismiss these types of scholars as assimilated or “Uncle Toms” of sorts.

Group Three: Post-Civil Rights

Eric Burin

My interview with Eric Burin took place over the phone in late June due to scheduling conflicts. We had previously attempted to visit in person three different times but I had to cancel once due to a death in the family and he had to cancel twice due to a death in his family and an unscheduled event that necessitated his presence elsewhere. Similar to the arrangements made with Louis Goldstein, we agreed to conduct a phone interview for the formal interview with plans to meet face to face in the spring.

Burin described his upbringing, life experiences and influences that had shaped his current ideologies toward racial and ethnic scholarship. At one point in our interview, I asked Burin about his current position, where his institution is very homogenous and there are few students of color at the institution and even fewer that take his courses in history and African-American history. I wanted to know how different he believed it was for him as a white male to teach white students about African-American history rather than as a scholar of color teaching students. He described some very unique benefits to this type of arrangement.

“What I was going to say in a related sense, is that being a white person teaching black history to mostly white students does come with certain advantages, especially for the white males in the population amongst my students. There is a trust factor that is implicit in the student population. I more or less look like them, I sort of talk like them, and I think they’re more receptive to ideas that I might articulate in class than they would if it were an African American woman or if I were even an African American man because,

again I think there would be a certain tension there. So in a way there are certain advantages I suppose to being a white person teaching black history to essentially white students (Burin Interview).”

I was also interested in Burin’s experiences of possibly being mistaken for an African-American to those people who did not know him and were only aware of his publications. I asked him about whether or not he was interested in what the race or ethnicity of his peers was; many of the other scholars had touched upon the issue of legitimacy and how they may or may not judge scholarship differently if it is from a white scholar versus a scholar of color.

“I think one of the curiosities of my own experiences in this profession, often times when I read other scholars, I don’t know if they are black or white, and part of me thinks well, you really should become more familiar with the individuals in your profession and then there’s another part of me that says in a way I don’t want to know. So I’m of mixed opinions on that matter (Burin Interview).”

James Fisher

My interview with James Fisher took place in his office. He lives within one mile of campus. However, due to scheduling difficulties, he thought it would be optimal for us to visit for a couple of hours at his office in the afternoon in between meetings.

His office was adorned with various pieces of pop culture art and prints, with none of them suggesting his scholarly interests. However, the books that were on his shelf were a venerable who's who of racial and ethnic scholarship from all disciplines. There are also texts relevant to his discipline but by far the books in his office indicated what his research agendas were; also in place were pictures of his family and friends as well as the various diplomas and awards that he had received that helped accentuate what he wished to convey to visitors.

One area that was very interesting to hear James Fisher speak on was the impact he believes he has made to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship as well as the response he received from people of color:

"Just like Wilson got interpreted, William Joyce Wilson got misinterpreted, with his 1979 book, the Declining Significance of Race, which had it been titled the Increasing Significance of Class would not have got him in trouble if he had just changed the title, because he was not arguing that race was no longer important, he was arguing that class was more important than it ever was before. So in terms of that book, that was never a problem, I think it just always made me feel a little bit more sensitive, or on display, or on my toes, or whatever you want to call it, self-conscious, when I was speaking about issues of racial inequality to a diverse audience, meaning, an audience of different race

than myself. Um, that's, now coming to this book, that's a different experience. There, I thought that self-consciousness was heightened by tenfold in that a lot of times when I would speak to say a predominantly African American audience, people would be very, if they had read the book, they would be very suspicious up front, again, maybe that's also a function of the title, and the sense that maybe this is another white guy complaining about reverse discrimination and all that stuff. But I think that it was interesting and challenging, because I noticed that by the end of the time I was explaining the book, I remember one particular event at Audrey Cohen College, which is now called Metropolitan College, it's a sort of a human services college for people who are working and it's mostly serving a low income minority population. I spoke to a huge crowd there and people have their arms folded, and were very very, giving wrinkled eyebrows, and giving me sort of quizzical, stern looks in the beginning, and by the end they were sort of expressing total agreement with what I was saying, and thanking me for a white person telling it like it is finally, and things like that, so that kind of experience is very gratifying, um but for sure its , especially talking about your own life, it becomes a lot more raw than it does when you're talking about the statistics of a national representative sample kind of thing, and now my work is moving away from race, so I am confronting this issue less and less I think (Fisher Interview)."

"I mean I think one of the lessons of the book is that there is a sort one way revolving door for race, in the sense that I think that even though I didn't quite fit in, I had my own social problems in the community, they were nothing compared to what it would have been like had it been the complete flip of situation, had I been a young Puerto Rican or

African American kid trying to grow up in a working class or poor white neighborhood in, I mean we've all read about like kid being beaten to death in Bensonhurst, um you know and in another neighborhood in Brooklyn that I'm blanking in, so it's not, yet a white can go in and grow up in a minority community, and won't, maybe not be completely accepted, but face a lot less resistance. So I sort of regret the title in that sense (Fisher Interview)."

Fisher encountered many experiences where his race was an issue because people had perceived him to be an African-American man due to his name and his writings. This presented awkward situations where he needed to respond and also made him conscious of the fact that this issue would arise for the rest of his career unless he took steps to make it very aware he was white:

"I remember one interview when I was really uncomfortable when this woman was talking about, if someone, it was a Black radio network, now I never met her but I assume, being told it was a Black radio network, that she was Black, but she was saying like you know now what if a person like you or if we were married and people like us moved into a white neighborhood, and she was going on about the racial discrimination in housing, and like I was trying to figure out how am I going to explain but it was like one of those conversations where you can't remember the person's name, but you're so far into the conversation, like twenty minutes, that it would sort of be rude by then to admit that you don't remember their name (Fisher Interview)."

Fisher decided after his first book that he needed to self-identify himself as a white man because he was being mistaken for an African-American and also because he wanted to show that a white man could be doing this type of work from an advocacy perspective:

“I remember that one particular interview was very awkward, but I kept thinking to myself, you know what, after my next book comes out (with my picture on the jacket), no one’s going to make this mistake ever again. For the first book I consciously put my picture in the book rather than not having it, but I also consciously didn’t put it on the cover. I put it inside the back, because I didn’t want people to judge the book by my race, yet I didn’t want to hide it either. Conversely I have a colleague at another institution who is an African American woman who wrote a book about the response to the AIDS crisis in the black community and she purposely put her picture on the back cover, because her name sounds Jewish and not Black, and she wanted to show that she was Black, so you know everybody’s got their own approaches (Fisher Interview).”

This is interesting because Fisher touches upon the notion that whites should self-disclose in these areas due to an assumption that many people make that people of color are the ones who conduct this type of scholarship. Another interesting quote from Fisher was in regards to the notion of having to ‘win over’ people of color. Fisher believes that there can be a tendency for people of color to be distrustful of whites, especially white scholars who have ‘othered’ them in their writing for so long.

When I brought up where he lives currently as a means of illustrating how closely he lives his research, he acknowledged that if he were living in a mainly African-American neighborhood he would be perceived to be more in touch with the Black community. However, he did provide a rationale for living in a predominantly white neighborhood:

“I mean [my institution], they put their faculty around near here, and it’s an upscale neighborhood. It’s the very same neighborhood that my parents lied about our address to get me to go to school and in fact next year my kids are going to the very same school I eventually went to when we started lying about our address. Like all these parents, all these white bohemian sort of you know artist type, but relatively well off parents I know are now bussing their kids to go to the exact spot where I was bused out of. I’m not sending my kids there, not just not because of any particular ideological reasons but just because I think after actually experiencing community on a bus to school and to be separate from the community um where you’re having two separate communities where you live and go to school, I hated that and we live two blocks from PS 41 where the one that I ultimately went to for grade school, and I think that will be a great experience for my kids (Fisher Interview).”

Fisher’s experience in many ways is reflective of the other scholars in this study; the difficulties he faced in the job market and the response he received from scholars of color were issues that most of the scholars encountered. He is unique, however, in his status as a new scholar and how he has pursued other areas of scholarship.

Joshua King

I interviewed Joshua King in his office on campus of the institution he currently serves. He was extremely busy with a heavy summer teaching load and thought that he could devote his undivided attention to me at his office in between courses he was teaching so we met there rather than at his home.

King began by reflecting on his childhood and some of the influences he remembers, especially being raised in an Italian-American family and moving to Italy in an effort to learn about his Italian heritage.

“Growing up in a bi-lingual, bi-cultural house in terms of my parents and grandparents, although I didn’t speak Italian early on, my grandparents taught me when I was still young and I guess I can communicate with them, but my mom and dad talked to us mainly in English. I think they wanted us to acculturate to some degree but also to maintain our bi-cultural heritage. My dad had a love of languages and an appreciation of multiple religions even though he was pretty Catholic. I was pretty Americanised in the US and they wanted me to go to an Italian school, so in third grade I went to a school in Italy. It was very interesting cause I didn’t really speak Italian at that point and I certainly wasn’t really bi-cultural. When I came back, I remember not wanting to speak Italian cause my friends didn’t speak Italian and I was kind of embarrassed to speak Italian and I didn’t want to show off or anything. So I sort of suppressed that and I remember my dad saying ‘Joe, you know, someone who speaks two languages is twice as smart, you know’ and he equated it with intelligence. It had a profound impact on me in

terms of what it's like to be mistreated or stereotyped and I was blown away by the perceptions Italian kids had of me and even the parents (King Interview)."

This experience helped King see things from an outsider's perspective as an Italian-American in Italy. What is also interesting is the support he received from his father to not be ashamed of his heritage. As well, King's father was also making a statement about bilinguals in general that would help King view bilingual people of color in a positive light. This would come into play later in King's career when he was mentored by a Mexican-American professor in his doctoral program; he was exposed to many facets of social justice and education from the Mexican-American perspective and it proved to have a very positive affect on him and his ideologies.

"I started working with Miguel and we worked closely for four years while I was in the doctoral program and he mentored me very closely, professionally and personally in terms of my personal growth. The things that he would share and say that were cultural insights, I just learned so much about the little things. For example, instead of meeting on the campus for a research team we might meet at a café in a Mexican-American community because you know he was very well recognized and very well respected on the campus but also in the community as he was very active in the Chicano community particularly with the kids and getting them, making sure they had access to everything in terms of social justice issues, educational issues; always spoke on behalf of lower income populations of all ethnic groups but had a particular affinity for Chicano populations. So

working very closely with him on a number of studies had a big impact on me (King Interview).”

King also spoke about how he began to merge traditional psychology with racial and ethnic scholarship through the use of assessing how traditional theories and instruments were being used by psychologists, as well as having the opportunity to study and speak with scholars of color.

“I remember even as a graduate going to a conference and getting very interested in racial identity development; Janet Helm’s work and Thomas Parm’s work, we saw it was so exciting and for us it was so refreshing to look at within group differences instead of comparing blacks vs. whites or on self-esteem or the MMPI or whites vs. Hispanics and we knew there was something missing there. I mean there weren’t really tools to assess within group differences except gender, religion, socio-economic status, the psychological aspects of identity weren’t really covered. Then Jean Finney’s work with ethnic identity development and Janet Helms and Thomas Parm and William Cross, and I remember going to a presentation Janet Helms was the chair I think Thomas Parm and Robert Carter and some others were members and I went up afterwards and talked to Thomas Parm. I had a question about using his scale and he took the time to mentor me and meet with me and follow up and that was very empowering to have these renowned scholars who were also of color they had a very big impact on me to say what you’re doing is valuable...I think the scholars of color supporting me was more personally

poignant and powerful for me in terms of renewed energy to stay in the field and learn more and study with them and read their work (King Interview).”

King is an individual who clearly had a strong level of support from his family in his youth and coupled with a strong mentor of color, he made racial and ethnic scholarship his career path. This experience is interesting in that King appeared to not have any difficulties in having an audience with or learning from scholars of color. This experience was not the case with the other scholars in this study and the reasons for this will be discussed further.

Chapter 5: Socialization and Lived Experiences

Most all of the scholars touched on many issues that addressed socialization and lived experiences; for many scholars, life experiences were one of the driving forces in the choice of studying racial and ethnic scholarship for a career choice. In addition, the role of peers was also existent and may have had an influence on what they learned both outside and inside of the classroom. Some of the scholars described a childhood that was filled with liberal thinking, family and friends who were open to differences and individual relationships with people who were from different cultural backgrounds than the one they grew up with and some described experiences growing up in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods.

Some of the scholars described an immigrant history in their families that had an influence on their rearing and familial influences, as illustrated in column 1 of table 5.1. This immigrant experience of the scholars' parents is in contrast to the experience of the scholars themselves as first generation Americans. Wagner stated "My parents had come here from Russia, the Ukraine and had essentially hitchhiked across the country; they hadn't known each other till they met in San Francisco (Wagner Interview)." Contrast to the Russian background of Wagner, King's family history was from southern Europe and his neighborhood was comprised of fellow European immigrants: "Mine was an immigrant, primarily Caucasian community, Italian American, Polish American, German American, early on in the late fifties early sixties, very few neighbors of color in terms of Asian, Hispanic, African American, Native American (King Interview)."

The other immigrant perspective in this study was that of Winant's family who fled the Nazis as Jewish immigrants to this country: "I was born in New York City, my

parents were Jewish refugees who narrowly escaped the Nazis in Europe. My father was Viennese from Austria and my mother who is still alive, my dad is dead, is Dutch, so she came from the Netherlands, and they met in this country (Winant Interview)."

Table 5.1

Early Personal and Intellectual Forces and Influences

	Immigrant History	Religious Influence	Non-White Neighbors	SES	Peers as Infl.	Parents as Infl.
Group 1						
Goldstein		Prot	YES	LOW	YES	YES
Blauner		Jew	NO	LOW		
Wagner	X	Prot	YES	LOW	YES	
Group 2						
Winant	X	Jew	YES	MIDDLE		YES
Kensington		Prot.	YES	MIDDLE		
Spickard		Prot	YES	MIDDLE	YES	
Wellington		Prot	NO	MIDDLE		
Group 3						
Fisher		Jew	YES	LOW		
King	X	Cath	NO (But Non-English Speakers)	LOW		
Burin		Jew/Prot	YES	LOW then UPPER		YES

"I mean even when I think about my parents, they were pretty strong progressives or at least humane people that didn't approve of racism and supported the NAACP and stuff like that but and they also saw the United States as a place that had saved their lives from Auschwitz or some place like that. So I think that duality was also going on for me in other ways;

it's not only the disillusionment but it's also the potentiality and the tension that's there that drives a lot of political awareness. Everything is ruined everything is a disgrace and a horror and the cynicism about the country makes it impossible to fight for anything or struggle for anything and on the other hand if you think well basically 'ok, if there are a few mistakes here and maybe some brutal cops here and there but basically if things are not so bad that you're not motivated politically.' So it's being forced to have some kind of contradictory consciousness, some dualistic consciousness some of the sense of something that I think that I think is a real motive at least in terms of anti-racism (Winant Interview)."

The religious upbringings of the ten scholars were Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. Examining the scholars' childhood and adolescent religious upbringing, influences, and identity helps illustrate the extent to which they believe these experiences influence their attitudes about racism and social justice issues so prevalent in their work.

One aspect of that background that was particularly interesting was the issue of the religious backgrounds of the scholars; four were Jewish, four came from Protestant homes, one had no religious influence growing up and one was raised Roman Catholic. This participant, Joshua King, grew up in a very Catholic neighborhood as well: "All of my neighbors were almost all Catholic. I didn't know a Jewish person or Non-Catholic until I probably was a teenager (King Interview). There was one participant, who although raised as a Jew, his father who he did not live with followed a different religious

practice: "As far as religious influences go, my mom's side they were Mormon for a while, my dad's side's Jewish. I'm agnostic on my optimistic days (Burin Interview)."

While it is important to note that many academics are Jewish, the majority of them that are Jewish are not conducting racial and ethnic scholarship as a career choice. Their background of growing up Jewish was a topic that many of the scholars touched upon during their interviews.

It may be that as Jews, these scholars have a sort of kinship with the plight of people of color based upon the history of Jews as an oppressed group. This seems to be something that was discussed with the scholars' families growing up and left an impression on them once they began to choose activities and causes to become affiliated with. For the non-Jewish scholars, they did not mention anything that was inherent about their religious upbringing or current practices that leads them to pursue the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, as Kensington states, "My family went to church sporadically I'd say when I was fairly young and we were of Protestant denomination. I was sort of vaguely aware of something of religious diversity, there were Jews in the community, a sizeable Catholic population, but not much beyond that (Kensington Interview)."

The neighborhoods of the scholars in this study also exposed them to various communities of color and religious backgrounds. This process may have been influential as it provided them with additional exposure to people and practices that were different than their own families' experiences due to the often split makeups of these neighborhoods: "Mine was a lower middle class neighborhood, a lot of apartment buildings but some individual homes and I think of it as about 1/3 Jewish 1/3 Irish Catholic 1/3 Protestant, white Protestant (Blauner Interview)." While Blauner's

neighborhood was a mix of three different faiths but ultimately the same race, Goldstein grew up in an all Christian neighborhood with different racial groups: "There were seven white churches, several African American churches, all Protestant as we were. There were a couple of Jewish families there, the two that I remember most were clothes merchants (Goldstein Interview)."

Not all of the participants were that aware of the different religious practices of their neighbors and peers. There was a scholar in this study that was relatively unaware of the existing differences between religious practices, much less the facets of those practices that define those religions: "The only (religious) thing I was aware of, at a young age, was Catholic versus Protestant and I didn't know much about what the differences were other than my friends couldn't eat meat on Fridays (Wellington Interview)."

These religious influences may point toward various teachings, mostly rooted in Judeo-Christian teachings, that require followers to treat their fellow men as equals due to their equality in the eyes of God. This may have set the stage for an openness to racial and ethnic equality that is evident in later chapters of this paper.

The religious background of the scholars in this study played a significant role in the ideologies of the scholars and serve as an interesting comparison between Jews and Non-Jews. Four scholars were raised Jewish, five were raised as Protestants and one was raised as a Roman Catholic and these differences were highlighted by the ability of the Jewish scholars to empathize with people of color without having the lived experiences that their Christian counterparts in this study.

The lone Roman Catholic had such strong ethnic ties to his family and people that he was in a unique position to understand other cultures that a Protestant of European decent whose family has been assimilated for at least two generations may not have had. The Jews in this study all had areas of Jewish teachings, customs and traditions pervasive in their early lives, but all of them were aware of the plight of Jews in history and therefore were perhaps more able to understand oppression and hegemony than their Christian peers. It is important to differentiate between the religious and ethnic aspects of Judaism; the four Jewish scholars were all raised in the Jewish faith, but the ethnic ties to Judaism were varied and therefore create different experiences for these scholars.

The racial and ethnic makeup of the neighborhoods the scholars grew up in were quite varied, with an even number of scholars growing up in diverse neighborhoods as those who grew up in fairly homogenous neighborhoods (table 5.1). This is important, as the exposure these individuals had by virtue of their proximity to diverse populations may have had an impact on their capability to empathize and understand people of color.

Conversely, the individuals who grew up in fairly homogenous neighborhoods as children present an issue in that their empathy for people of color should be explained by some other facet (e.g. religious influences, etc.). One possibility for this may be the civil rights movement; the scholars in group one (pre-civil rights movement) all grew up in neighborhoods that were not homogenous and the scholars in this study that did grow up in homogenous neighborhoods grew up during or after the civil rights movement and cited it as being influential to them.

Some scholars grew up as one of a few whites in their neighborhood that was predominantly Puerto Rican or Mexican: "My immediate neighborhood was

approximately seventy five percent Puerto Rican I'm told by the census, although it actually didn't feel that Puerto Rican to me; then it was probably twenty percent black, African American and then five percent other (Fisher Interview)." This experience for them as ethnic minorities is interesting in that it was an involuntary immersion experience and taught them about the culture of Latinos: "My immediate neighborhood was approximately seventy five percent Puerto Rican I'm told by the census, although it actually didn't feel that Puerto Rican to me; then it was probably twenty percent black, African American and then five percent other (Fisher Interview)."

Conversely, there were scholars that grew up in racially mixed neighborhoods where they were not the racial and ethnic minority that the above scholars were, but there were significant communities of color that they were exposed to that had an influence on them: "A few people claimed decent from Native Americans, and you know probably were, but to us those were considered white. So it was basically Black and white in a segregated community (Goldstein Interview)." "I lived in a white middle class neighborhood on the edge of a large Black and Asian inner city neighborhood (Spickard Interview)." There was also a scholar whose family moved quite often as a child and this exposed him to a range of people and cultures: "I was born in Chicago, but we very quickly moved first to Memphis and then to Utah and then to California. So by the time I was, you know, 4, 5, or 6 I had already moved around quite a bit. Then my folks got divorced and what I would say is that having moved around a lot, I got exposed to a variety of different people (Burin Interview)."

As well, there were scholars who grew up in fairly homogenous neighborhoods and had little exposure to people of color who were their neighbors: "My neighborhood

was Rogers Park and I think of it in terms of the high school area which was Sullivan High School and it was about 99.9% white in the 1930s and 40s when I was growing up (Blauner Interview).” These scholars could not rely on proximal exposure to people of color as a method of exposing themselves to the experiences of other groups; rather, they learned about people of color and their experiences in other ways and later on in life: “Racial diversity, there was virtually none, I wouldn’t even be able to guess percentages. I don’t remember Blacks at all in the city but there was a small Mexican American population, probably a small segment of Asian Americans as well, but overwhelming Anglo.” – Michael Kensington Interview).

The ethnicities of the scholars in this study were much more varied than the race of the scholars, as they are all white men. Of the ten scholars, the four Jewish scholars all were raised with Jewish traditions, customs and foods to varying degrees; but of the six Christians only Joshua King, who is a Roman Catholic, was raised with any of the ethnic identity native to his parents and their homeland (Italy). There was one Protestant, Mark Wellington, whose family had strong ties to their Scandinavian heritage but for the most part did not raise him in those traditions. The other four Protestant scholars were all raised primarily as WASPs with no ties to their ethnicity other than being white Americans.

The scholars in this study all came from socio-economic backgrounds ranging from poor to middle class (table 5.1). The only participant that was raised in a comfortable situation was Eric Burin who only late in his adolescence experienced the affluence of his father’s lifestyle after living most of his childhood and youth with his mother in a rather poor situation: “I grew up fairly poor, but then when I moved to my

Dad's, I went from a pretty, pretty, impoverished situation to a relative affluent situation. My mom was very much a liberal through the 60s (Burin Interview)."

This element of need that these scholars experienced may help explain the economic position that many people of color face unlike their white counterparts; by living in an environment where there were not the luxuries that others may have had ("My father was a painter and my mother was a writer; they say that they had no choice with limited income for that time but to move where they did (James Fisher Interview)."), these individuals had an opportunity to empathize with the economic burdens that many people of color face: "It was a lower class working neighborhood in the northeast section of the Bronx and my friends were diverse in terms of ethnicity but all Catholic and all white (King Interview)."

The above scholars in the post-civil rights generation all share a similarity in that they all came from poor socio-economic backgrounds; this may have been a factor in their ability to empathize with people of color who also were poor through the fact that their financial situations were less than average. Similarly, all of the scholars in the pre-civil rights generation also grew up in poor families: "To the best of my memory it was a poor community and I can't think of anybody but Black and white when I grew up there (Goldstein Interview)." The generational differences between the pre-civil rights generation and the post-civil rights generation are many, however it appears that SES is a common bond between the groups: "I was born in Santa Barbara, California, and my parents were working class in the sense that my mother hung out a shingle in front of my house saying 'dress making alterations.' My father was a gardener, not a landscape architect, but a gardener (Wagner Interview)," "Mine was a lower class neighborhood, a

lot of apartment buildings but some individual homes and I think of it as about 1/3 Jewish 1/3 Irish Catholic 1/3 Protestant white protestant (Blauner Interview)."

An interesting facet of this topic is that while the scholars from the pre and post civil rights groups all came from poor homes, all of the scholars in the civil rights generation came from middle or upper middle class homes: "I lived in a white middle class neighborhood on the edge of a large Black and Asian inner city neighborhood (Spickard Interview)."

"Well I grew up in a town that was firstly all white, fairly homogenously middle class, in the state capital of Washington. My mother was a school teacher, my father worked for the state, as a cost accountant for the television transportation commission and when I was growing up I didn't have a very strong notion of either class or race and ethnicity (Wellington Interview)."

One aspect of this difference may be due to the civil rights movement; where the pre and post civil rights groups both did not come of age during the civil rights movement, the civil rights generation did. The pre and post civil rights scholars all came from poor homes, and this may have aided in their ability to empathize with people of color. The civil rights generation scholars, however, grew up in privileged homes; the difference of the civil rights movement may be the reason what the scholars in the civil rights generation were able to become interested in racial and ethnic scholarship despite their middle and upper middle class background.

The scholars in this study share a common experience in that they all had friends growing up who were not white and helped to acclimate them to difference and break down the stereotypes they may have had or been exposed to before cultivating these relationships “The people that I would hang out with were largely the kids in my neighborhood and obviously they were they were not white, they were not Anglo; their parents had come to this country from Mexico, largely (Wagner Interview).”

Some of the scholars had rich and meaningful relationships with people of color growing up (table 5.1) and those experiences helped to almost immerse them into the lives of people of color: “Seattle’s Chinatown and Japanese community next door to that and the Black community also next door were the places where I spent my almost all my time. All my friends were in these places, the women that I dated, the guys that I played ball with, folks who I hung out on the streets with were all people of color with just a couple of exceptions (Spickard Interview).”

Even the scholar who came from a rural background had a strong notion of what peers meant to him and what was different about his particulatr friend: “Well I grew up with my best friend, I always called him brother, we were always together and we lived right across from them, the only thing that separated us was a cow pasture; he was African American (Goldstein Interview).”

Some of the scholars had parents that were very influential in their sensitivity towards the issues that people of color are forced to deal with in America. While all of the scholars described parents that were socially aware and encouraged people to be treated equally, there were some scholars who had parents that were very explicit in their teachings and examples they wanted their children to learn: “My best friend was African

American. He was older than I was, very smart. He did everything better than I did. That experience was influential in the way that my family accepted him and our relationship. We looked over each other, and ate with each other and rode in the car with my mom. I didn't know there was, that anything was considered wrong about that (Goldstein Interview)."

These experiences were very influential to the scholars and the range of which their parents were coming from philosophically was quite varied:

"My mom was very much a liberal through the 60s and to this day she insists that you know, she doesn't care if a person is black, white, or purple, you know, to her they are just good, you know, they're human beings and that's all they should be regarded as. And so I think her liberal sentiments were pretty important down the road (Burin Interview)."

"I would say that their experience of fascism and anti-Semitism, which was a form of racism, it had a big effect on me in that I'm very concerned with issues of tolerance, I'm very sympathetic to civil rights. My parents were generally very progressive people, they weren't big socialists or anything like that, but they admired Dr. King and I got an early education in the evils of racism from them and they made the connection pretty clearly between segregation, the Klan and so on (Winant Interview)."

The influences of family and peers were both important to the scholars in this study, however it appears that there was not a conclusive difference in the overall importance of one versus the other. For example, the role of family was very important for Louis Goldstein and the role of peers was far more important than the role of family to Paul Spickard; but there was nothing that appeared in the data that would support one influence as being overall more important than the other. What is apparent in this data set is that the influences are situational and respective to each participant.

The issue of whether or not and to what extent the scholars immersed themselves in communities of color proved to be interesting in the responses from the interviews. What I found was that most of the scholars had not made efforts in their lives to better understand people of color by attempting to duplicate their life experiences or immersing themselves in communities of color

Table 5.2

Lived Experience of the Scholars

Immersion in Communities of Color	
Group 1	
Goldstein	
Blauner	
Wagner	
Group 2	
Winant	YES
Kensington	
Spickard	YES
Wellington	
Group 3	
Fisher	
King	YES
Burin	

It appears that their background and life experiences had a direct impact on their choice of pursuing racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path, but that most of them did not choose to immerse themselves in a community of color. However, the few scholars that did immerse themselves in communities of color cited the lasting impact it had on them and the benefits it afforded them. Of the three scholars who had immersed themselves in communities of color, two made them in the populations that they study and were members of the civil rights generation. The third participant, who is a member of the post-civil rights generation, family's made a life change by moving to their ancestors homeland and living as native Italians; while this is not the same immersion

experience as the other two scholars, it is a significant life change that nonetheless should be acknowledged.

There were only a few scholars in this study who made choices in an effort to experience the daily lives of people of color and these choices were varied in nature as seen in table 5.2. All of them involved moving to and immersing themselves as much as possible in a culture where they were the minority: "BYU-Hawaii was a wonderful place for someone who's an ethnic studies guy because three quarters of the students were Asians and Pacific Islanders and you know I was in heaven in lots of ways; although there was this-this difficult cross-cultural thing for me to get used to with me being white and not Mormon but it was worth it (Spickard Interview)." This had a dramatic affect on these scholars as they became aware of many facets of life for people of color and earned a respect they may not have been able to get had they not immersed themselves in the world of people of color.

"That was another thing that changed my orientation to Mexicanos, living in Mexico; I was living in Chilpo at that time and watching people being driven out of the town, out of their ejidos because it was still you know an ejido system at that time. A lot of people were coming into town to sell something on the streets you know some nuts or some chalupitas or something; basically were starving (Winant Interview)."

"We went to Italy, and just picked up we rented our house to some students and our cousins helped us find a little apartment in Rome that was

big enough for all eight of us. We went there and my dad and mom saw it as an opportunity for me to get more bi-cultural cause I was pretty Americanised in the US and they wanted me to go to an Italian school so I did third grade there in an Italian school, it was very interesting cause I didn't really speak Italian at that point I certainly wasn't really bi-cultural. I would say within three or four months I would say I was fully bilingual and by the end of the year fully bi-cultural in terms of just my comfort with Italian culture and nuances and so it was a very powerful experience for me although it was traumatic at first (King Interview)."

While these three individuals benefited a great deal from their immersion experiences, the majority of scholars in this study did not receive this benefit. The other scholars relied on their life experiences, history and other influences as well as areas of study for their insights on racial and ethnic scholarship.

Table 5.3

Reasons for Getting into Racial and Ethnic Scholarship

	Pers. Awakening
Group 1	
Goldstein	
Blauner	YES
Wagner	
Group 2	
Winant	YES
Kensington	YES
Spickard	YES
Wellington	
Group 3	
Fisher	YES
King	
Burin	

The scholars in this study all had different reasons for choosing racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path. Half of the scholars in this study cited a realization that they had a personal awakening that lead to interest in racial and ethnic scholarship as the reason for pursuing the topic as seen in table 5.3.

Five of the scholars in this study experienced a personal awakening that led them to believe that they should make racial and ethnic scholarship their career path. This was influenced by a variety of experiences ranging from self-realization of the role that race and ethnicity already played in their lives to immersion experiences to popular artists to interaction with peers that had a lasting impression.

“In the process of thinking up that proposal and writing that book, I realized why I was studying race and class, I mean I went through my whole dissertation writing about these issues without much sort of psychological self-reflection, of like you know, duh of course you’re interested in this because of your own childhood of feeling privileged or different from the kids around you without ever really understanding ultimately why. So yes, I do think that ultimately, myself certainly, and I think most academics are studying themselves in some way you know or doing autobiography in some way. I don’t know how that works for like a mathematician or a historian of you know fourteenth century something or other, but for me certainly, I think studying race and class is a way of trying to figure out a lot of feeling and experiences I had while growing up (Fisher Interview).”

“It’s a kind of shock that you go through all the time if you’re not armored against it. I mean I remember learning about the deportations that happened in California in the depression times and the rounding up of Mexicanos and the sealed trains that went to Michoacan and they didn’t discriminate and there was no due process or investigation to determine if you’re a citizen of the United States or what just ‘who cares, get on that train.’ I was just shocked and we grew up in a kind of naïve patriotist, patriotic, chauvinistic environment where you know America my country the bastion of truth, liberty and justice for all and so on and truth justice

and the American way, Superman. When that begins to break down you have to really examine everything. I think that was my experience, just being disillusioned (Winant Interview).”

These scholars cited how race and ethnicity played a significant role in their lives and that they wanted to learn from those lessons and their scholarship was the vessel for articulating those lessons. For one participant, he cited a lack of cultural identification with being a Jew as a reason for identifying with Black people through the influence of baseball, boxing and popular music.

“There were friends of mine in high school who remember me saying something that I don't remember myself, saying when these friends being mostly Jewish talking about how bad things were for the Jews in the 1930s or 40s, I would say things are much worse for the Negro people. I'm not sure how, as I wasn't that political so I don't really know where that came from actually or when it started. I know that I started to identify with Joe Louis watching his fights and you know from the time when I was maybe 7 years old I was a big baseball fan, I'm writing about that now. But I'm not even sure how aware I was that baseball was all white but I must have known that there were Negro leagues but I don't think I paid much attention to that. Though by the time I was 17 when the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson to play his first year with Montreal in the minor leagues, I immediately became a Brooklyn fan even though I had

been a fanatic for the Cubs because that was very meaningful. I was very influenced in terms of race also by Paul Robeson; I went to all his concerts, bought all his records, I mean he was a great hero of mine as I was growing up. I guess Paul Robeson was a tremendous influence both in terms of race issue and the civil union. But I'm not really sure where that came from except that I didn't have a very strong identification as a Jew. I mean I was very aware that I was Jewish but I didn't have any cultural background or religious training except the very the quick bar mitzvah you know and a few weeks of Hebrew school you know that some relative paid for and thought was important but it didn't go very deep and so I think that I started to identify with Black people because it was almost a substitute for the absence of real identification with being Jewish (Blauner Interview)."

Chapter 6: Academic Experiences

The scholars in this study may not have wanted their contribution to racial and ethnic scholarship to be not necessarily as standout sources of intellectual stimulation for their academic peers, but rather perhaps to reach the very people they were writing about and connect with students, both white students and students of color.

Only two of the scholars sought to be a leader in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship in the more public arena where as none of the others held that as a goal (table 6.1). The goal some of them hoped to achieve through their scholarship was to initiate dialogue and give voice to the voiceless.

The scholars in this study shared a common viewpoint that if they chose to, they could have easily misused their role as members of the mostly white academy and appropriate the histories and cultures of people of color. However, they were not only very conscious of this fact but also wanted to ensure that they were empowering people of color through their research. Almost all of the scholars said that in some way they can only increase the power of people of color by relinquishing some of their power both as white men but also as academics. This theme is best described as ‘empowerment is inversely proportional to appropriation,’ as mentioned by one of the scholars.

Five of the scholars in this study pointed to a book they wrote as being their seminal contribution to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship, as seen in table 6.1. In discussing this point with the scholars, the actual question they were asked was “what would you consider your most important contribution to racial and ethnic scholarship?” and they were free to respond by citing a book, an article, a theory or any contribution. The scholars that referred to a book did not cite the ability to discuss more than they

could in an article, but rather focused on the content within the book: “I wrote a book that you probably know a little bit about and I picked the topic you know partly because I’ve been around that kind of issue all my life and I was in an intercultural-marriage (Spickard Interview).”

In addition, scholars at times cited the extent to which their book had an influence on the field of racial and ethnic scholarship, both in their historical application: “I guess it would have to be [my first book], I think that it had a larger influence but I’ve done a number of things that I like and certainly liked what I did in May’s biography but it changes all the time (Goldstein Interview)” as well as their timeliness as cutting edge reading: “I mean I think that [my first] book has been the most influential thing I’ve managed to do and yeah there’s like a lot I can say about that book. It came out mid – eighties when, believe it or not, racial issues were not as central as today (Winant Interview).”

It is interesting that below, two of the three scholars in the post-civil rights generation felt their book was their most important contribution to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship, as those two scholars have earned tenure with their book and the other the post-civil rights generation participant is in the final stages of completing his text. One of the scholars in the post-civil rights generation mentioned the impact of their book, similar to the scholars in the civil rights generation: “In terms of my written work, I have to say the books, the research articles, I mean a few people read them to reference them, but I think my first book, a lot of people have talked to me about that that it was the first research ethics book in methodology book in multi-cultural counselling specifically (King Interview).”

There also was a scholar in the pre-civil rights generation that mentioned the theoretical contribution he was able to make with his text as a reason why he cited a book as his most important contribution: "I'd say my first book on race and wealth. I just think that those, like I said the race wealth connection had been put on the map already by Oliver and Shapiro, but I think that in terms of really, race class debate as it's called that been going on for at least since Wilson wrote his 1979 book on 'The Declining Influence of Race' it seemed to be going in circles to me, so I really felt like I made a contribution in terms of understanding, looking at it through a new lens and sort of opening up new avenues for research, for policy more importantly (Fisher Interview)."

Table 6.1

Perceived Impacts On Racial and Ethnic Scholarship

	A Book of Theirs	Theoretical Contribution	Giving Voice to Voiceless
Group 1			
Goldstein	YES		
Blauner		YES	YES
Wagner			YES
Group 2			
Winant	YES	YES	
Kensington		YES	
Spickard	YES		YES
Wellington			
Group 3			
Fisher	YES	YES	
King	YES		
Burin			YES

Many of the scholars in this study also cited a theoretical contribution they were able to make in their careers as being the most important contribution to racial and ethnic scholarship, as seen in table 6.1. The theoretical contributions the scholars named speak to the way they framed issues and had an impact on how people since then have discussed a particular topic, such as this quote from Robert Blauner indicates: “Most people think of me and they say ‘he systematized the theory of internal colonialism in an academic sense’ but I don’t see that. I mean yeah, that is what most people would think but I have such mixed feelings about that I can’t say that is my most important contribution, because I think that theory has so many holes in it that I won’t even use it now (Blauner Interview).”

Another theoretical contribution was self-identified by Howard Winant, who described how he and a colleague were able to place their theory in the existing literature in race and ethnicity and also help structure the already present literary contributions:

“We sort of reframed the issues the issues in racism and have now become very common but were less that way at the time although at the time we weren’t the first to say that that race was socially constructed or something like that. I think that we were the first to really make that case systematically and we also sort of reviewed that whole range of racial theories and if you look at the book it really has a good structure. I think we take a critical distance from other theories of race and sort of what we call reductionist theories of race and ethnicity class and nation based theory and we offer our own theory and locate that theory in the

political sociology and I still think that's the best stuff in that book (Winant Interview)."

There were some of the scholars in this study that believed it was their duty and responsibility to speak for those populations they believed had not had an opportunity to tell their stories in academic literature. Part of their rationale may be due to their recognition that they are in privileged positions as academics that have the ability to reach a particular audience that the populations they study would not have the opportunity to speak to directly through published literature.

"My work differed from other people writing in the area of race and ethnic relationship as I made more of an effort to listen to the people who we were studying the so called, you know, oppressed; I tried to understand what the voices were saying and ensure they had a chance to speak for themselves and, you know in a sense, they wrote the book. I tried to bring forth their authentic voices and I take more pride and meaning in the fact that the Black men in that book said that their story in that book in a sense gave meaning or justification to their entire lives (Blauner Interview)."

There were three scholars in history departments that spoke of their ability to help add the voice of people of color to history and help re-write the contributions they have made, as illustrated in this quote from Eric Burin: "I'll answer this by way of a complement I got; I was at a conference on manumissions and somebody came up to me

towards the end of the conference and said, you know what I really like about your paper was that it explored manumission from the perspective of the slaves (Burin Interview)."

These scholars may view it as their obligation to allow people of color to have a voice in their publications and for those people in the past, honor their memory and history by presenting their stories: "I think the most important contribution I have made is the extent to which I have brought into history, people who have long been excluded from that history. Not so much black leaders that have been a part of history, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, but Black working class people, industrial workers, farmers, sharecroppers, whose lives have been pretty much neglected and ignored because it was felt that you can't get at people who leave you no manuscripts. So my hope is that I will at least help to personalize the African American experience and to bring into my books people who should have been in a long time ago (Wagner Interview)."

Another historian, Paul Spickard, also echoes this sentiment; what is interesting about the comments is the consistency of the content and perspective in both statements:

"Something that I try to remember in my own writing is that the lives of the people that I'm writing about are scared objects and that means that what I say about them, there's a kind of permission factor that you need to get from that group. Now if it's an interview that's one kind of thing; you can get formal permission but what do you do when you can't get permission? I do a lot of historical work where folks are long dead; how can you represent them fairly and with honor? Well, maybe you don't

unpeel things that would embarrass them if they were living; how you depict them would have to be comprehensible to them to the best of your ability, which means also like you don't write Pomo speak because the work that you do needs to empower the people that you do it about (Spickard Interview)."

The responses the scholars in this study received from scholars of color and white scholars in traditional disciplines were varied as they experienced a wide range of reactions from both scholars of color and white scholars.

One area that I found intriguing both prior to my interviews with the scholars and after we had spoken was that of the quality of relationships that the scholars had with scholars of color. I had anticipated that there would have been some initial difficulties in forging relationships with some scholars of color by the scholars given their topic of interest along with their own ethnicity, given the territoriality surrounding the topic and this proved to be the case with many of the scholars. In addition, some of the scholars were encouraged by their white peers to explore a different area of expertise that racial and ethnic scholarship for a variety of reasons.

One of the assumptions I made from the beginning of this research project was that the scholars would have had frequent interactions with scholars of color based upon the fact that the topic they study is vastly populated by people of color and their membership in international organizations (e.g. American Sociological Association) would provide opportunities for interaction with other scholars. In addition, I had assumed that the scholars' desire to empower people of color and the tone of advocacy in

their publications would have them interacting with scholars of color on a regular basis. However, I discovered that this was not necessarily the case.

The majority of scholars in this study experienced at least one negative interaction or response from a scholar of color towards them conducting this type of scholarship, as seen in table 6.2. These interactions ranged from relatively minor interactions such as this one described by Eric Burin: "Only once was I given straight forward advice where an individual said there's no place for a white boy to be teaching black history. But for the most part certainly those things aren't explicit (Burin Interview)" that seem to be prevalent throughout their careers as being something they need to constantly address: "If there is any question that I have heard more than any other in my life it is 'what's the white guy doing here?' But that was also true at junior high school, playing ball on a street corner or wherever; the racial placement was always an issue I had to address (Spickard Interview)."

What is also present in these recounts is the ease at which the scholars felt in the situations concerning whether or not they should have been subjected to these reactions; it seems as though these individuals may have anticipated, accepted and conceded the points scholars of color raised to their presence in this field. This willingness to accept this type of criticism and yield to scholars of color on this issue was very fascinating and at times was essential in their maneuvering through difficult circumstances: "Well I've never really encountered any serious roadblocks but I've encountered hostility and suspicion, sometimes, and then I've been publicly attacked and denounced. But, you know, from my own understanding of race in American society, this comes with the turf. And if you're not pissing people off, you're probably not doing anything important.

Because this is a very raw issue in American society and if you say something that gets nobody mad, you're not saying very much. I've received threatening letters from the Klux Klan calling me a "nigger lover" and I've been denounced on the floor of an ASA business meeting as a racist (Wellington Interview)."

The scholars also cited instances where they received negative responses from people of color due to their actions being viewed as appropriating their experiences: "[A colleague] wrote on the black family and I thought his work was fair, not great. We were on committees together that had to do with race. He was I think about the only personal I sensed who resented me because I was a white person kind of horning in on his turf (Blauner Interview)." Sometimes it is not so much the fear of appropriation but also the fear of misinterpretation that these scholars come up against: "I did get some people of color who thought that I was sort of putting it all on the differences in education and labor force behavior and in family structure between blacks and whites could be attributed to the class differences in wealth, that I was neglecting the importance of race (Fisher Interview)."

As well, many scholars in the study cited examples where people of color were suspicious of their intentions and often withheld trust until they believed they truly knew the intentions of the scholar: "The dynamic with scholars of color is of course a real different one and that is rightly so; both scholars of color and the small number of whites who work seriously on racial issues as opposed to just intellectually, you know cause that's a distinction you're making at the core of your work. The distinction I'm making, both between those whites and most scholars of color, is that there is an immediate

question mark when they see me and there is that automatic suspicion factor that you face (Spickard Interview).”

In terms of conducting research, sample pools that have people of color can also be tricky for these scholars. We see how students and scholars of color have expressed concern with these scholars above and for scholars conducting human subject research it also can be an issue: “I’m gonna try to be sensitive but you know I have been confronted mainly by subject pools where people ask me a lot you know ‘Josh, what’s a white guy like you doing in multiculturalism’ that’s the question that I’ve been most asked in my life (King Interview).”

Table 6.2: Response from Scholars of Color and Caucasian Scholars in Traditional

Disciplines			
	Negative Response from Scholars of Color	Non-Negative Response from Scholars of Color	Negative Response from Whites
Group 1			
Goldstein	YES		
Blauner	YES	YES	
Wagner			
Group 2			
Winant		YES	YES
Kensington			
Spickard	YES		YES
Wellington	YES		YES
Group 3			
Fisher	YES		
King	YES	YES	YES
Burin	YES		

Not all of the scholars encountered negative interactions or responses from scholars of color (table 6.2). There were a few individuals who had mostly pleasant or neutral exchanges with scholars of color but could not attribute the reason why this was the case: "I don't think I've had any major incidents or problems you know from black folk or Chicanos or Asian scholars. I may have missed something, I may have missed some examples but there's been nothing that major (Winant Interview)." All of these scholars affirmed that they would have also anticipated some negative responses but they could not provide a rationale for their avoidance of this issue; they even had very pleasant interactions with scholars of color as their norm: "Some of the best, most appreciative reviews of my first book were from black sociologists, no doubt about that. There were people, I can think of two or three people, that when they saw or when they read, one black woman read the black culture article, another woman, you wouldn't know her name so I won't mention it, another person who was more famous, notorious, Nathan Hare – when he read my stuff, he said it was people like me who kept him from being anti-white (Blauner Interview)."

Along these lines is the issue of mentoring by scholars of color for these scholars; there was one scholar who cited the large amount of support he received from scholars of color in his career: "Certainly it's been something I've thought about a lot, something that has come up a lot. I think that one reason that I've stayed in the multi-cultural area, besides my own interests, is that I just have felt very supported mainly by scholars of color (King Interview)."

Another caveat to this issue is the response these scholars received from white scholars in traditional disciplines, specifically other historians, sociologists and psychologists who focus on traditional facets of those disciplines, as indicated in this quote from Howard Winant: "I think I sometimes got the message earlier on in my career, that working on race is not something that white people should be doing (Winant Interview)." The backlash the scholars in this study received may have come from two populations: scholars of color questioning their presence in this field and white scholars in their discipline who question the legitimacy of the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship.

"Most white folks haven't got the guts to speak their hesitations about the legitimacy of working on racial stuff, at least not in my presence cause they know I'll jump down their throat, but you know I do get some resistance and this is true in my present department which is a very white department although we're workin' real hard, some of us to try to change that. I teach racial and ethnic history you see and so (the white faculty) gotta pretend like they think I'm smart even if they're not interested in the stuff, so I don't know how much has really changed and how much is just that I've risen in their eyes to a certain level as a scholar so they gotta take me seriously (Spickard Interview)."

An interesting point that came up in this area was whether or not other white scholars felt it was appropriate for a white scholar to criticize a scholar of color due to

their lack of knowledge about their experience: "I've had other white professors vehemently tell me I have no right to criticize a Black American as a white person, I have no right to do that because I don't know what experiences they've been through. But I tell you I do know some of the experiences they've been through, but we all benefit from criticism. I've benefited, that's how you grow and if you deny this to people on the basis of race or ethnicity, you're really selling them short (Wellington Interview)."

The majority of these scholars received a negative response from scholars of color for various reasons (table 6.2), but all of them are in some way affected by the fact that these scholars are white. There were a few scholars who did not receive negative responses from scholars of color or white peers in traditional areas, but they were in the minority for this participant sample.

The scholars in this study viewed the audiences for their publications very distinctly and not necessarily in concert with the other members of their group. Only two scholars felt that their writing was for other scholars in their area and in their disciplines, but specifically I was interested in whether or not they felt their audience was other scholars of color. Surprisingly almost half of the scholars reported that they wanted people of color to be reading their work and additionally I found that some scholars actually felt that the general public was an audience they hoped would be reading their work; I had underestimated the strong social justice component that some of the scholars wanted to convey in their published works. I had believed that there was some level of social justice in the scholars' philosophies, but to actually want to reach out to non-academics and be sort of a cultural bridge was something that I was not anticipating.

A couple of the scholars stated that since they were academics by trade, they should be directing all of their scholarship towards other academics (table 6.3). While this may appear to be contrary to the altruistic impetuses that the scholars cited as reasons for getting into racial and ethnic scholarship, it does reflect a pragmatic approach to their scholarship and the priority for the audience of that scholarship: "The reality is that I think I write academic books or academic articles as a full fledged academic intellectual, you're working in a confined field and so the audience becomes those that are required to read your books so in that way I sort of achieved in a backward kind of way, maybe I recently achieved a certain kind of diverse readership but not so much because people are drawn to us because they're assigned to read our stuff; beyond that it's pretty hard to answer (Winant Interview)."

One of the scholars also made a distinction between the core academic audience versus other constituencies you may be writing for, so it is important to do quality academic work first: "Well, there's two different audiences and one is the scientific peers and there you want to get the science right. One thing I've learned is you can never trust yourself and you really have to utilize the peer review process; you think you're so brilliant but then you send it out to other people and they poke the holes in it and that makes my work better in the end. So, I try to always do the best possible scientific research in my writing (Wellington Interview)."

Table 6.3: Audience for Publications

	Other Academics	Widest Possible Audience	People of Color
Group 1			
Goldstein			YES
Blauner		YES	
Wagner		YES	YES
Group 2			
Winant	YES		YES
Kensington			
Spickard			YES
Wellington	YES	YES	
Group 3			
Fisher		YES	
King			
Burin			

However, several of the scholars in this study cited a desire to reach the widest possible audience with their scholarship, due to the reach and influence they wanted to have: “With [my first book], actually, I just want as many people as possible to read that I suppose, particularly younger kids which is a group in which have actually received it fairly, I mean who I get feedback from, like in email that they like it. I’m really big with like the fourteen year old crowd, I can take that as an insult, like it’s an overly simplistic kind of book, or I can take it as a complement, that it’s clearly written accessible, and I decided, well, I’ll take it as a complement (Fisher Interview).” All of these scholars knew they had to answer to an academic superior in the tenure review process but they also felt that they were obligated to get as many people as possible to read their work: “You know it’s very difficult with this subject to reach that broad audience you’re looking for. I’d hope that I might reach a larger audience with my work but maybe its too

long, maybe it's ponderous, I don't know. I think I write with that audience in mind, I don't write for my colleagues, I don't write for historians, not consciously at least. If they like my book, that's fine, if they don't like, it doesn't bother me too much. I'm more concerned with how people who are not historians react to the book and I'm always pleasantly surprised to hear the people, you know, outside of academia, talking about the book, or have written about the book (Wagner Interview)."

The issue of age also came up with these scholars as one of them spoke to how as time has progressed, their agendas have shifted and along with that has been their audience: "I mean, since I've retired, I was hoping I was writing for a general audience and not for an academic audience and not for a professional sociological audience but for the general reader. So the books I'm writing now, you know, I have an agent and I'm hoping to publish with commercial publishers. And I'm hoping to make some money, and my ideal audience is the general intelligent reader; it has nothing to do with social science or the academic (Blauner Interview)."

There was one participant who rather than reach the widest possible audience with their writing in general terms, wanted to actually run scientific studies that were geared at policy change rather than being in the public conscience. This participant believed that sharing his writing and research was not so that he could have the largest amount of people hear his perspectives: "On the other hand, once I've done the science and once I've come to conclusions, once I've made some kind of discoveries or developed some basic knowledge, then I feel that it's also important for me to bring that knowledge to bear in a public arena (Wellington Interview)."

Almost half of the scholars in this study stated that they wanted to write for an audience of people of color (table 6.3); this is interesting because this goes against the notion of academics writing for academics since they are their peers: “I mean certainly you know I would like to think that kind of sort of reading public of color had some interest but it’s probably wishful thinking and I’d like to think that the general reading public interest has some say but that’s probably wishful thinking too (Winant Interview).”

This desire to have people of color read their scholarship may be indicative of the empathetic reasons these individuals cited previously as why they chose racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path initially: “I try to write it in a way so that an intelligent or earnest fourteen year old, if they were interested in the subject, could find comprehensive knowledge within my book. Because you know if you’re writing about the Filipino old ladies that sit outside LMY shopping center and they are talking to each other every afternoon after they get off their shifts working in the hospital nearby, as somebody that I know did, wouldn’t it be great if they could read it and pick up your analysis of their social relationships and their social placements and then they could do something with that? So I would like things at least to be theoretically available to not just academics (Spickard Interview).”

While the previous quotes represent a more general view on which communities of color these scholars would like to read their writing, this may be due to the fact that these two scholars write on multiple areas of racial and ethnic scholarship. There were two scholars that specifically spoke about African-Americans reading their work and seeking their approval.

“I’d hope that my book would appeal to Blacks as well as whites, I’ve had a lot of success with Black audiences. I was very excited when I went to my first reading of the lynching book and saw hundreds of these people down in Southern California come into this book store where I was doing a reading, all of them clutching this book, which was a 60 dollar book and these were not Black academics, as I found out, these were mostly working class Blacks who were taking a very avid interest in the subject (Wagner Interview).”

“I would certainly enjoy it if Black folks enjoyed reading my work; I’ve had many conversations with people in South Carolina who appreciate the way my work has preserved their history, and I think that has been the most gratifying aspect for me, their approval and appreciation (Goldstein Interview).”

One finding in this study was the level of influence that a participant’s institution and department had on that participant and his scholarship. Some colleagues and departments did not think that racial and ethnic scholarship was an area that they should be focusing in and some departments specifically recruited some of the scholars because they were focusing on racial and ethnic scholarship. In addition, the institutions that the scholars in this study were affiliated with had some impact in the direction of their departments and their scholarship but not at the level of significance of their departments.

“Boy, that is a great question. My guess is that maybe you would have to look into maybe the origins of the profession. I can’t think it would have anything to do with the differences in the ways we the way we collect data, so honestly I really don’t know. It’s really unfortunate if you think about it, because, you know, well actually for obvious reasons I don’t need to go into now. Maybe it has something to do with the fact that where as especially in the sciences, and even in the social sciences, sometimes a graduate student’s MA thesis or dissertation project is a subset of the professor’s larger project, that is usually not the case in history. So there’s already, even from at the graduate student level, you’re supposed to be working on something on your own. Where as if you’re say in an another discipline, you’re dissertation project is probably like I said a smaller version or a smaller subset of your professor’s larger project, though that’s just speculation on my part (Burin Interview).”

The use of non-academic publications was quite varied among the scholars and no real threads emerged either within or across groups. It seemed that each participant made individual choices as to what extent they used non-academic publications as a supplement or compliment to their academic scholarship.

Upon conceiving my methodology, I envisioned non-academic publications as a way to verify and/or compare what I would hear from the participant in the interview and what I would read in their academic publications. However, when gathering and reading the non-academic publications of the scholars I found that some had a fair amount of

non-academic publications to examine, some had none at all and some actually wanted to use non-academic publications as a means of reaching a different audience through mainstream media and press in hopes of elevating their status in the public eye from academics to experts of their field similar to Gary Orfield.

An interesting point was how two of the scholars were actually attempting to become members of the population group that I had attempted to avoid with this study. Yet what was more interesting was the sense of civil service most of the scholars felt they were doing by fighting the academic and publishing fight rather than becoming public spokesmen on racial and ethnic issues.

“I think that I would never sort of rationalize my essentially scholarly approach to these topics because I think it’s the most effective way to make these changes. I’ve done a little of the kinds of things that you’re talking about, but not much and if I had if I had opportunities that I thought really were significant to do more of that I think I would but I wouldn’t overrate the real world impact of the kind of scholarship that I’ve done. I think its impact has been primarily within scholarly circles; it’s changed the nature of theoretical debates within particular fields or it’s provided a more political account of the civil rights struggle and you know that has some kinds of affects. It impacts students in classrooms, some of this may seep into public discourse in ways that you know are broadly progressive but I would never overrate the academic work. Todd Getland has this has this great line which is too simplistic but captures some of my

view on this, at one point he said, 'the right was busy taking over the last 20-30 years taking over the White House and the state Houses and the left was taking over the English department.' I would never trivialize that but I do think there's a pretty serious disconnect between those activities and the kind of real world activities that tend to leverage longer lasting political and economic change (Kensington Interview)."

Although these scholars espouse to be more public intellectuals than the other scholars in this study, their perspectives add a feature to the study that is in contrast to the others.

Chapter 7: Relations with Communities of Color

The issue of whether or not the work of a white man can be considered legitimate since he himself is not a member of the very groups he is writing about is an interesting issue. One perspective is that white men, since they are not people of color, cannot speak to the issues that are inherent to racial and ethnic scholarship; another holds that white men can only produce work that is valid only if it is co-authored with a person who has a first person perspective on the types of issues with which people of color experience.

Another perspective is that since these white male scholars are examining race and ethnicity, they would tend to draw graduate students who are people of color and thus be able to co-author with scholars of color not only to legitimate their work but also to mentor these new scholars into the field of academia. This perspective more associates the co-authoring relationship as one of allowing the student of color to benefit from the status of the white male scholar as already being a member of academia and having substantial publication credits and abilities.

Co-authoring with scholars of color is one way that a white male scholar may be able to legitimate his work. Regarding the topic of co-authoring with scholars of color, the scholars had different views on what their role was on this topic and why it was important. Again, this distinction did not necessarily fall along group lines but rather it was more along philosophical lines.

The scholars in this sample did not agree as to whether or not they needed to legitimate their scholarship by co-authoring with people of color, with four stating they needed to do this and four stating they did not need to do this. (table 7.1) A feature of this finding is how co-authoring with graduate students was a driving force in their co-

authoring with people of color; this is very consistent with the relationships of professors and graduate students in almost every discipline and is not unique to this study or sample.

About half of the scholars in this study said that they in fact did choose to co-author with people of color as a way of legitimizing their scholarship (table 7.1). The idea that these individuals are white and that they believed that fact was a perceived barrier to their scholarship being viewed as valid is interesting and raises the issue of the place of whites in racial and ethnic scholarship: "Man, you know I'd like to say it doesn't legitimize anything it's a bunch of you know what, but it's probably not right though. It's probably true that if a white person is working on race and is involved publicly and obviously involved with in a collaboration with a non white person it probably does legitimize their work (Winant Interview)."

Obviously we would like to believe that scholarship is independent of any of the issues that compound and cloud many issues in America, but this response from the scholars in this study may illustrate the belief that this is in fact not the case and that somehow scholars of color have more influence and/or power in this area: "That's very good question; sometimes yeah, I do co-author with scholars of color for that reason, to make sure that what I'm saying is legitimate, rather than to come with an idea in advance and try to jam it on the area. Frequently I've worked with a co-author of color because they were the one who knew the stuff and frequently I've been asked by somebody to be a participant in a project because I've published some books; that makes it easier for presses to think that I might actually sell some copies or something like that (Spickard Interview)."

There were two scholars who believed that co-authoring with people of color not only legitimated their work but it also provided a quality that they could not give as people of color can speak to certain issues that whites cannot and this improves the overall quality of the work: "I think that it's a great way, because I do think that there are experiences, that people have experiences that literally we can't be empathetic and it's not the same thing, so it might be better articulated by someone since I couldn't do it, I hadn't thought about it (Goldstein Interview)."

"So part of it is having diverse co-authors to mentor and to give more accuracy to the study and more legitimacy to our effort and also to give back to the community however we can (King Interview)."

Table 7.1: Co-Authoring with Scholars of Color

	As a Way to Legitimate their Scholarship	No Need to Legitimate their Scholarship this Way	To Gain Access to a Sample	In a Mentoring Capacity
Group 1				
Goldstein	YES			YES
Blauner		YES		
Wagner		YES		
Group 2				
Winant	YES			
Kensington		YES	YES	YES
Spickard	YES			YES
Wellington				YES
Group 3				
Fisher				
King	YES		YES	YES
Burin		YES		

While there were scholars who chose to co-author with scholars of color as a way of legitimizing or improving their scholarship, there were the same number of scholars who did not feel the need to co-author with scholars of color for these reasons (table 7.1): “The only collaborator I’ve had was August Meyer, who’s also white and we collaborated on a book on black leadership in the nineteenth century. It’s not a matter of philosophical choice, I just choose not to collaborate with anybody (Wagner Interview).” These scholars listed personal writing preferences as a reason why they chose not to collaborate with scholars of color: “In the first place, I’m really a lone wolf, so I never, never even considered writing with somebody else, and the last reason I would do that would be to legitimate it. I mean my attitude, to legitimate it, well shit if people don’t think my work is legitimate, well, fuck them. That’s the last thing, I wouldn’t have even thought about it in those terms (Blauner Interview).”

There were also scholars who cited discipline expectations and methodological restrictions that made co-authoring difficult, much less co-authoring with people of color as a way to legitimate their scholarship: “Part of the reason I didn’t with the work I did early on with the civil rights movement, the reason I never felt this was a substantial issue was because of the nature of the methodology I was using and some of the research questions I was trying to answer. If I had been doing more qualitative more, more ethnographic work, more interview based work I absolutely would have felt a need to collaborate with or coauthor with individuals who are going to be in a much better position to establish rapport with interview subjects or situations but that wasn’t the nature of the work that I was doing (Kensington Interview).”

The issue of discipline constraints also came up with one scholar who was making the point that a lack of co-authoring on his part was not because he was averse to co-authoring. He makes the point that because his discipline of history does not value co-authoring as other disciplines would, therefore the use of co-authoring as a means of legitimizing his scholarship is an issue that he has not considered: “Well, unfortunately, co-authoring is very rare in [my discipline]. So the issue here is one, to what extent are you going to co-author at all? And two, to what extent does the race of the co-author make a difference. And the first one is the big one in the sense that co-authoring is fairly rare in my business, so in the short term I haven’t planned. At least none of my current projects would involve that and so it’s really kind of hard for me to answer the second part of the question (Burin Interview).”

A very interesting finding in this area was that a couple scholars cited as a reason for co-authoring with scholars of color a means of gaining better access to populations of color (table 7.1). In essence, these scholars believed that if they were working with a scholar of color that was of the same racial or ethnic background as the participant sample they were studying, this might allow them to gain richer data from the sample pool:

“The only piece that I can think of where part of the sort of the logic of the co authorship was to involve coauthors who had more expertise on the topic that I did, I’m doing a project right now which is essentially a study of Teach for America and the first phase of the study was a follow up survey with former Teach for America teachers and I’ve had a number of

collaborators in the research but they weren't selected for any reasons that we're talking about. But we are now imaging a second phase where we're going to do a comparative ethnographies of Teach for American schools and we haven't selected the schools yet but the dimensions that are the factors that we would use to select the sights would include the racial composition of the school and for that ethnographic work we absolutely will need to have colleagues on the project who are going to be in much better positions to establish a rapport in those settings than I would be able to. In particular we'll probably have a school that's overwhelmingly African American and we'll have a school that's probably overwhelming Hispanic and we will absolutely have a different set of colleagues or collaborators on this project because of the ethnographic demands in those settings (Kensington Interview)."

It appears that this rationale could be interpreted as using scholars of color as interpreters or as ambassadors to non-white communities. However, there were instances that scholars in this study cited the knowledge about the topic that scholars of color bring to a project that they cannot bring that makes it advantageous to collaborate with them on a piece of scholarship: "I think having multi-cultural allies and co-authors who would speak on behalf of the study and give credence to it always helped and I always learned so much also about the group by having co-authors representing that group and there were times when I felt like I'm not sure if I'm wanted in this fraternity house right now or this community center or whatever and people might be upset that I'm not fluent in

Spanish if I'm talking to a Spanish group but I think being there and listening and attempting that people accepted me and felt that I was genuine in term of what I was there to do and that sort of came through because if I visited a fraternity or community I might be there for hours talking about the project (King Interview)."

In addition to all of the previously described reasons for either co-authoring or not co-authoring with scholars of color, a good portion of the scholars in this study cited co-authoring with their graduate students as the only avenue they pursued in terms of co-authoring. I was interested in this area specifically due to the high number of co-authored works in the scholars' vitas that listed ethnic surnames as collaborators and sought to inquire as to what the reasons were for the high number of co-authored pieces with people of color. The scholars stated that on the surface, their vitas can look as if they are co-authoring with many scholars of color but what in fact was occurring was they were co-authoring with their graduate students, who happened to be people of color.

This feature as well was explained that by virtue of their interest in racial and ethnic scholarship they ended up working with a disproportionate number of students of color compared to their peers in traditional areas. This was a fascinating finding and illustrates how some findings in fact have more than one meaning; an initial or surface meaning and a sub-surface or more rooted meaning: "I think yeah the majority of my work is co-authored and I think I've made and active attempt to attempt to have students representing the group teach us more about the group and also they learn more about the group too you know (King Interview)."

There were scholars who were explicit about their needs to establish themselves as scholars with tenure early in their careers before they could step up their efforts to

mentor their graduate students through the co-authoring process: “Well most of the work I did early in my career is not coauthored; there’s almost nothing I realize. Most of the co-authorship has come from more recently and most of that a reflection of being more senior and having responsibilities towards graduate students and wanting to create more publication possibilities or opportunities for them (Kensington Interview).”

There were scholars who cited their success with co-authoring with their students who happen to be of color but not necessarily: “I don’t even think about scholars of color, I just co-author with my students and post-docs and over the years have attracted a number of African Americans and Latinos and Asians just by virtue of what I do. I treat them just like all my other students and I try to encourage them and I’m generous with my co-authorships as it’s important to get their name out there and get them established, get them on the track to publishing. So, if you look at my vita you’ll see, I don’t know what percentage, probably eighty percent of the things are co-authored with others and almost, most of the others are students and post-docs. Some of them are people of color and some of them aren’t, but they’re all my students, I try to take care of my students and post docs (Wellington Interview).”

“Particularly in the early phase of my career in order to establish my career I had to do some things all by myself but in this middle phase of my career I am trying to always or almost always work together with others and tried to identify A) some people I like hanging out with because a lot of our work is about hanging out, but also B) identify bright people of color who are maybe at a little bit lower stage, either graduate students or

young assistant professors or people who don't have appointments in the academy, but who are doing good work or have the capacity to do good work and kind of bring them along (Spickard Interview)."

One area that I would like to go into some detail for this summary is the issue of what obstacles the scholars in this study faced when seeking an academic position. This is an important area to expand on because the crux of this study falls upon whether or not these individuals faced challenges that 1) scholars of color would not have faced in making this area their career choice and 2) they would not have had the same experiences if they were focused on a more traditional and less territorial area of interest.

All of the scholars from the second group, two of the three in the third group and one in the first group had difficulties in the job search and interview process that they perceived to be due to their ethnicity as white males (table 7.2). One of the interesting facets of this issue is the ease in which the scholars from the first group both sought out and acquired academic positions while making racial and ethnic scholarship their career choice with their own ethnicity having no impact on their job pursuits.

Two possible explanations for this may be due to the fact that 1) when scholars from the pre-civil rights generation sought out positions in this area either there was not anyone conducting this kind of scholarship and therefore no one to question their ability to conduct the research or 2) the only researchers conducting this type of scholarship were other white men who had no reason to question another white man's ability to conduct this type of research.

Regarding the increase in the amount of scholars of color who have been and are conducting racial and ethnic scholarship, it is possible that there is a perception that due to their own racial and ethnic backgrounds they are better able to speak to the topic and therefore more qualified to be conducting racial and ethnic scholarship than white men. This explanation was offered or agreed with by all of the scholars from all three groups, with an interesting caveat: all of the scholars agreed that rightly so a scholar of color should be doing their job as a racial and ethnic scholar.

They also said that scholars of color could probably do it better than they could, but that as white men they were needed for two reasons: 1) there weren't enough scholars of color yet to effectively and adequately research and publish on the areas of race and ethnicity and 2) they were needed to help reach out to other white scholars who have yet to see the benefits and legitimacy of racial and ethnic scholarship as a discipline.

Some of the scholars attributed difficulties they encountered in the job market to their race and that being white was a barrier to them acquiring a position in academe that focused on racial and ethnic scholarship. What is interesting about these incidents is that the scholars that experienced them 1) anticipated such incidents would occur and 2) were quite alright with how they were treated once their race was discovered to be an issue. The fact that these individuals understood that they were 'second choices' to scholars of color for these positions speaks to the sense of social justice they all had recognized and embraced at various points in their lives.

"I mean this is just speculation again, but I got the impression that the institution I spoke of earlier thought I was Black; I'm writing on this topic,

my name could sound like an African American name. First of all I know for a fact that a lot of places called around to see to beat around the bush, in a way to ask if I was a minority candidate. So I know already that was sort of an issue for places. Then at the institution I spoke of earlier, I remember the chair of the search committee or somebody happened to be in the New York and he was really eager to meet me. They had already invited me for an interview I think, but he wanted me for that evening, and I could just see the look on his face when he saw me that he thought 'oh, he's not Black.' So I think that the combination of it all set up certain expectations about my own racial identity that were soon exposed (Fisher Interview)."

"I may have been a pinch naïve about that but I had only one experience towards the end of grad school where I was sort of jolted into an awareness that this was an issue. It wasn't that anybody was criticizing me, but I got a strange phone call when I was on the job market from an institution and I couldn't make sense of the questions exactly that the person was asking me over the phone, but it became apparent to me ultimately that the person was trying to determine whether I was black and I don't remember whether I know that explicit question was ever asked but it was clear that I had essentially answered the question and then I didn't get called for an interview which I felt was perfectly reasonable. I mean, I didn't take it as a comment on the quality of my scholarship but that this

department was looking to hire in certain areas but they also were hoping to increase diversity in the department by making a certain kind of hire and I didn't fit the bill (Kensington Interview)."

The above quotes represent some passive difficulties scholars in this study encountered and left them with unanswered questions about their candidacy, such as this quote from Goldstein: "Well, this hit me one time, and that was when Purdue called me and they were bringing me up for an interview and when the guys discovered over the phone that I was not African American they said 'you sound African American to me, your background you were born in rural Georgia, excuse me why aren't you black?' (Goldstein Interview)." However, there were scholars who were able to cite some more explicit examples of difficulties they had in the job market.

"Well there were some tenure track jobs I couldn't get. I remember one time when I was in the Midwest and was applying for a job [out west]. Part of your load would be teaching some African American history and I had taught some African American history and I kinda knew my way around some of that stuff as I had written a little bit in the field and they liked all that and so I showed up for the interview. The woman who was my host was really angry, she was really angry, it was clear she was really tense in the car going from the airport to campus and I said 'you know, is something wrong here?' and she said 'how dare you represent yourself as Black' and then her next sentence was 'this is our affirmative action hire'

and I said 'well I'm all in favor of affirmative action but I have never represented myself as anything but white; I don't know what was said about me in the letters that you received, but I wouldn't think that any of them would have represented me as Black. You asked me here, I didn't know you, I just applied for a job that said U.S. history slash African American history. I think probably you ought to take me back to the airport' and she took me back to the airport and I left. Turned out that somebody else I know who is an African American got the job and I'm really pleased for that person and it worked out well in the end. I'm certainly doing fine and I certainly don't feel like some injustice was done to me, but the whole situation was an experience (Spickard Interview)."

Table 7.2: Job Market Difficulties

	Difficulties Attributed to their Race	No Difficulties due to other Area of Expertise	Advised White Students to Develop Second Area of Expertise	Difficulties Attributed to Job Market Fluctuations	Difficulties Moving from Assoc. to Full Professor	No Difficulties due to Specialization
Group 1						
Goldstein	YES					
Blauner		YES			YES	
Wagner			YES			
Group 2						
Winant	YES					
Kensington	YES					
Spickard	YES					
Wellington	YES					
Group 3						
Fisher	YES					
King						YES
Burin	YES			YES		

In contrast to the above individuals, there was one individual who did not have any difficulty in the job market (table 7.2). However, this individual was able to rely on a side area of expertise, other than racial and ethnic scholarship, to gain a tenure track position. None of the scholars listed in the above section had the benefit of an additional area of expertise in order to gain a position: "Well of course I got back to Berkeley on the basis of other expertise. I mean I got back as an industrial sociologist. Somebody who had written a book that was an instant classic in the area of sociology work. And maybe

it helped me, so I didn't have to justify myself in race much because that wasn't my identity. Curiously enough, speaking of identity at the U of Chicago the year I was there, the chairman was a demographer named Philip Hauser, and I don't think he ever really knew my name but whenever he saw me he called me Mr. Industrial Sociology. So that's why I was hired there (Blauner Interview)."

Going along with the above point, a participant in this study went so far as to advise white students of his to pursue this exact strategy of establishing themselves as an expert in an area other than or related to racial and ethnic scholarship to avoid the pitfalls of being subject to scrutiny related to their race: "The problem my students face, some of my white students, is that they come to me and they say should I come in a class in this area, because it's so difficult for people to get jobs who are not Black. And there's a problem and I don't know how that problem is ever gonna get worked out. But I tell them they should do what they are interested in doing and if you write on nineteenth century, late nineteenth century African American history, you can always try and sell yourself as a century historian, as I sold myself as a learning historian (Wagner Interview)."

One participant in this study also cited the health of the job market as a source of the difficulty he experienced in the job market. This is important as the participant felt that the amount of success he had in his job search was not so much what he was an expert in but what the overall job market of his discipline was at the time of his search: "Unfortunately, it's a buyers market when it comes to the job market in history so as a newly minted Ph. D. I wasn't in much of a position to say well, I'd rather teach in New York City or I'd rather teach in Atlanta or even in Hattiesburg. You take the job that

you're basically offered, and I only got one job offer, and that's the one that I took (Burin Interview)."

While the above sections discussed the difficulties the scholars in this study faced when attempting to acquire a tenure track position, however another interesting finding related to this topic was the difficulty in moving from associate to full professor. There was a participant in this study that experienced difficulty with this very transition and it illustrates the volatility associated with this topic not just for junior faculty but also even for established faculty.

It is also important to note that this individual is the same one who had no difficulty finding a tenure track position as described previously due to his expertise in a traditional area of study, yet he did in fact encounter barriers when he was selling himself as an expert on race and ethnicity once he had attained tenure status:

"But these guys didn't understand that, because they didn't know anything about that field and they thought Racial Oppression was not a very good book. And of course I made things hard on myself because I wrote an article in the last chapter called race and the white professor in which you know I was basically putting down the racism of my white liberal colleagues. So that all contributed to the fact that my attempt to become a full professor was turned down. The department sent forward a lukewarm recommendation, which was guaranteed to have the rest of the university bureaucracy reject me, which it did for year after year. So after a while I held the record as being associate professor without being

promoted to full professor longer than anyone else at Berkeley, after that because he didn't publish at all after his first few books, Harry Edwards broke that record. But I had that record for a while and that was due to the reaction to Racial Oppression (Blauner Interview)."

There was one scholar who believed that he benefited from his interest and training in race and ethnicity when he was job searching; he believed that while there were positions in the area of racial and ethnic scholarship in his discipline, there was a lack of people, especially people of color, who were trained or knowledgeable in the area. However, this scholar had a belief that all things being equal, the scholar of color should get the position over himself.

"I got a lot of interviews and I had other opportunities so I think being a multi-cultural specialist even though I was a new person but having that clearly identified really helped me, I think when I interviewed. I interviewed with passion and commitment and people saw that in terms of 'why are you involved in this area?' is a question I get a lot as a white male and I think there were efforts at that time to recruit scholars of color and white scholars who were also committed to multi-cultural diversity. Even then there weren't that many applicants that were multi-culturally specialised so you know I had opportunities; you know I would imagine if there was a big pool of qualified applicants, applicants of color, I would support them getting the job first over me but I don't think that there were

that many applying in terms of being multi-culturalist at the time (King Interview).”

The scholars in this study cited different experiences with needing to legitimate the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship with the most common thread being the older the participant, the more they needed to legitimate the topic. This would be consistent with the notion of acceptance coming over time except for one particular comment from Louis Goldstein.

He stated that it was getting increasingly difficult nowadays to legitimate racial and ethnic scholarship due to traditional disciplines consistently paying attention to new topics and relegating racial and ethnic scholarship to being not as chic or in vogue as other topics: “I think it’s going the other way, damn, it’s harder to defend it. At least in my department, there’s such a move for cultural distancenesship, where there’s a hand up with a certain kind of distribution that the study of race just doesn’t seem important to some of the people in our department, it’s not the same kind of issues, something like the study of happiness or nostalgia or something like that; the topic is not chic anymore (Goldstein Interview).”

This may be interpreted as meaning that racial and ethnic scholarship has never been accepted as a ‘traditional’ area of study and would be counter to the perception that it has gained a footing alongside traditional areas of study: “I received my degree in 1958, and one of my, one of the professors in the department took me aside and said, well now that you’ve written your dissertation, uh its time for you to get back in the mainstream of history. I understood precisely what he was saying, and I think he

probably elaborated on it too, I recall, but he was saying what was absolutely the case, that uh there's no field called African American history and no courses taught in African American history, except at black colleges (Wagner Interview)."

Table 7.3: Legitimizing the Topic of Racial and Ethnic Scholarship

	Needed to Legitimate the Topic	Did Not Need to Legitimate the Topic
Group 1		
Goldstein	YES	
Blauner	YES	
Wagner	YES	
Group 2		
Winant		
Kensington		
Spickard		
Wellington		
Group 3		
Fisher		YES
King		YES
Burin		YES

Contrary to the above quotes, there were scholars in this study that did not have to legitimate racial and ethnic scholarship in their disciplines: "No, not at all. In fact, I've always wished I'd been there when my department had I think four people retire and one person leave in one year. But I think what my guess is that some of the younger generation said 'look this is an opportunity for us to get our curriculum into the 20th century if not the 21st century.' So, no there's really never been a question of that (Burin Interview)."

What is interesting about the scholars who made these statements is that they both are members of the post-civil rights generation (table 7.3); it is quite possible that their age allows them to make these statements whereas their older counterparts in groups one and two did not make these types of statements: "Oh I think it's widely accepted. I mean race and class are sort of two of the core issues in sociological research. And given that the vast majority of sociologists, like most professions, are white, there are inevitably a lot of white people studying race. So I don't think in anyway I was a trailblazer in that a lot more of my worries revolved around how would a memoir be received, like the fact that I was doing this on the side for my serious research, that was a much bigger issue than the fact that I was white studying these issues (Fisher Interview)."

Chapter 8: Analyses

Analysis of Non-Academic Publications

During the process of investigating the non-academic publications of the scholars in this study, I found that there was a great shortage of these types of documents from the scholars. I contacted each participant, their department, the public relations office of their institution, the local newspaper of the town in which their institution is located and finally the alumni association of the institution that granted them their doctoral degree. This process yielded non-academic publications for only three scholars, with eight non-academic publications found for one of the scholars and two for the other two scholars.

When I asked the scholars about the quantity of non-academic publications that they knew of the resounding response from all but one of them was that type of publication was not a priority for them and that they did not necessarily not respond to requests from media and other organizations, they simply did not have nor did they seek out these opportunities for publication.

This was very surprising to me, as I had anticipated this type of publication would not necessarily be a priority for the scholars but it would at least be an existing source of data from which I could analyze and triangulate with other sources of data.

Academic Document Analysis

During the member check phase of this study, there were two scholars that chose to withdraw from the study for reasons explained earlier, however there were six scholars that did not give their consent to be named in the study but did not want to withdraw their

participation. In an effort to protect the confidentiality of these scholars in this study, pseudonyms were used for all ten scholars up until this point in this study.

While the confidentiality of these scholars are of the highest priority, there were four scholars that did consent to their names being used in the study; this being the case, I will now present an academic document analysis of these four scholars by dissecting their major academic publications.

Dr. Howard Winant is currently a professor of sociology at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Winant has an extensive publishing record in racial and ethnic scholarship. His main area of focus centers on race and racism, political sociology, social theory and human rights. He received his Ph.D. in 1980 from the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Winant self-identifies four different publications on his website as being 'key': *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (Winant, 2001), *Durban, Globalization, and the World After 9/11: Toward a New Politics* (Winant, 2002), *Race in the New Millennium* (Winant, 2000), and *Behind Blue Eyes: Contemporary White Racial Politics* (Winant, 1997). All of these pieces have the common threads of not just race but also world systems theory as well as how the hegemonic relationship between white Americans and American people of color.

The above publications are also best analyzed by including other contributions Winant has made to racial and ethnic scholarship. For example, Winant published a book with Michael Omi titled '*Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*' (Winant & Omi, 1994). The book's first edition in 1986 has become standard

reading in the area of race and ethnicity from the sociological perspective and the second edition includes additional topics such as the Los Angeles riots to the Clinton presidency. The book focuses on racial formation theory as the foundation for understanding racial and ethnic events, history and community relations.

Winant teaches Race, Ethnicity and Nation as well as Theories of Race at UC-Santa Barbara. At his previous institution of Temple University, he taught Sociology of Race and Racism, Comparative Societal Development, Departmental Seminar in Political Sociology, Classics in Sociology: Theory and Development of Sociological Thought. His website links are a collection of both traditional sociological resources as well as racial and ethnic advocacy sites and information portals that reflect his own research, teaching and personal interests.

Dr. Paul Spickard is currently serves as professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Paul Spickard earned his bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees in history (Harvard University, 1973; University of California at Berkeley, 1976; University of California at Berkeley, 1983).

Spickard's research interests lie in race and ethnicity, immigration, multi-ethnic and multi-racial identities, Asian Americans and African-Americans. On his website, he identifies as his major publications *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in 20th-Century America* (Spickard, 1989), *Pacific Island Peoples in Hawaii* (Spickard, 1994), *Japanese Americans: The Formation and Transformations of an Ethnic Group* (Spickard, 1996), *World History by the World's Historians* (Spickard, Cragg, & Spickard, 1997), *We are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic*

Identity (Spickard & Burroughs, 2000) and *A Global History of Christians: How Everyday Believers Experienced Their World* (Spickard & Cragg, 2001). In addition, Spickard has published dozens of book sections and articles in various publications that all speak to his research interests.

Spickard currently teaches at various parts of the academic year Race and Ethnicity in US History and Comparative Perspective, Research on Race, Ethnicity and Migration in Comparative Perspective, History of Asian Americans to 1965, History of Asian Americans since 1965, Race Relations and Asian Americans, World History to 1000, World History since 1700, US Immigration to 1924 and US immigration since 1924.

Dr. Robert Blauner is currently a professor emeritus of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley. Robert Blauner earned both his bachelor's degree and master's degree in sociology (University of Chicago, 1948; University of Chicago, 1950) and his Ph.D. in sociology (University of California at Berkeley, 1962).

Blauner has a rich academic, political and social history that dates back to his days at the University of Chicago and spans both the United States and France. His research interests lie in race relations, African-American history and social and political movements. He does not have a website but does have a brief biographical sketch on the Berkeley sociological website; Blauner has made several contributions to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship with such texts as *Alienation and Freedom* (Blauner, 1964), *Racial Oppression in America* (Blauner, 1972), *Black Lives, White Lives: Three Decades of Race Relations in America* (Blauner, 1989), *Our Mother's Spirits: On the Death of*

Mothers and the Grief of Men (Blauner, 1997) and Still the Big News: Racial Oppression in America (Blauner, 2001). While Blauner does not teach at Berkeley these days, he is currently working on his memoirs, a book of poetry and a book about baseball and Chicago in the 1930s.

Dr. Eric Burin currently serves as an assistant professor of history at The University of North Dakota, specializing in African-American history, the south and race relations since 1999. Burin earned his Ph.D. (1999, History) and M.A. (1993, History) from The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and his B.S. (1991; Political Science, History and Social Sciences) from Illinois State University.

Burin specializes in African-American history, Antebellum America, comparative race relations and civil war/reconstruction. He does not have a website nor does he make a distinction on his vita between all of his publications and selected publications. He is the most recent graduate of his Ph.D. program in this study and he has made great strides on his way towards the tenure review process.

Burin's publications are the smallest in the study due to his youth in comparison to the other groups as well as the other members of the post-civil rights generation. His publications include *If the rest stay, I will stay – If the rest go, I will go: How Slaves' Familial Bonds Affected American Colonization Society Manumissions* (Burin, forthcoming, 2004), *Reckoning with slavery: Guilt in the old south* (Burin, 2003) and *The strange career of John Cocke: Contextualizing American colonization society manumissions* (Burin, 2000); Burin's publications focus around manumissions but his

presentations and courses taught focus on race relations between African-Americans and whites.

Burin currently teaches African-American History to 1877, African-American History since 1877, Civil War/Reconstruction: The Old South, Comparative Slavery, US to 1877 and US since 1877.

When examining the academic publications of Burin, the thread of group behavior is present and shapes many of his arguments. Burin believes that African-Americans, both current day and those enslaved in colonial times, had group ties both with family and community that helped shape their actions and beliefs.

Generational Differences

There were some interesting between and across cohort findings in this study that are both affirming and surprising. Some of these are as obvious as the importance of the civil rights movement in their ideological formation and how it influenced them either directly and/or indirectly, while some require more in-depth processing before they can be seen.

The pre-civil rights generation scholars began their careers prior to the civil rights movement and have the distinction of being pioneers in racial and ethnic scholarship. Having begun their post-secondary education and academic careers prior to the civil rights movement, they possess an interesting perspective of what life was like in America before Rosa Parks, before the march on Selma and before the 'I Have a Dream' speech. The scholars in this group may believe that while there have been improvements in the opportunities for both people of color and scholars of color over the past fifty years, there

have been trade-offs. For example, Louis Goldstein's comment that racial and ethnic scholarship is not as in vogue as other topical areas of scholarship suggest that it never gained footing as an established area of traditional scholarship.

In addition, both Evan Wagner and Robert Blauner stated that the field of racial and ethnic scholarship had been abandoned by whites because of the increase in the number of scholars of color. What is unclear is whether or not they left because there was now a first-person voice that was previously unrepresented or that whites felt it was disadvantageous to be in the field. Both Wagner and Blauner cite both of these reasons as explanations for the decline, but is this the same view with the other two groups in this study.

Another area that is important to note in these findings are the ease and difficulty with which the scholars in the pre-civil rights generation were able to acquire academic positions based upon their interest in racial and ethnic scholarship. Wagner and Goldstein both had to justify the topic as worthy of study at various points in their early careers and Blauner had found ease in securing academic positions based upon his additional area of expertise in industrial sociology. These individuals did not think they were not received poorly by scholars of color due to their being white and in this area, part of which was of course because there were very few scholars of color when they began their careers. However, the level of support and admiration that scholars of color have bestowed on these three individuals is interesting nonetheless. Wagner made the point that because he studies race and ethnicity from an advocacy perspective he thought that was why he was so well received. This is true for all of the participants in this study

but the other groups did not have the level of respect that this group did with scholars of color.

The scholars in the civil rights generation all had various experiences with the civil rights movement; some participated in marches, some attended rallies in high school and in college and some kept up with the events of the time through newspapers and television. The findings from this study indicate that they all faced some degree of difficulty in the job market that they attributed to their being white scholars conducting racial and ethnic scholarship.

As well, the scholars in this group had social and life experiences that were heavily influenced by people of color. The level with which these influences shaped and guided their future ideologies was significant and may have set a tone for future immersion experiences and beliefs concerning the plight of people of color. While Spickard and Kensington had close relationships with people of color in their youth, Winant forged strong bonds with people of color in his late adolescence and early adulthood.

The scholars in this group also had to legitimate themselves as being able to conduct racial and ethnic scholarship, whereas the scholars in the pre-civil rights generation had to legitimate the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship. The scholars in the civil rights generation all had to make some efforts to establish themselves not as competent scholars, but as individuals who could speak to the Black or brown experience in academic literature. They almost all had life experiences with people of color and all were heavily influenced by the civil rights movement, but there were many scholars and students of color who were suspect of them and their credentials to speak on this issue.

As well, the scholars in this group were all heavily influenced by the civil rights movement and were drawing parallels on a consistent basis growing up with what they were seeing on the news and reading in the papers with what they themselves were experiencing. This appears to differ from the experiences of the pre-civil rights generation members, who did not have the civil rights movement to contrast their personal experiences. The civil rights generation, however, were not only influenced by their experiences but routinely cited the civil rights movement as being a strong influence in their youth.

For a participant like Mark Wellington, the influence of the civil rights movement may have compensated for his lack of experience with people of color and helped steer him into racial and ethnic scholarship. With the scholars in the pre-civil rights generation, all of them had a number of experiences with people of color without the benefit of the civil rights movement as a template for what were social and political issues; it may be true that the civil rights movement opened up an area of scholarship for individuals like Wellington that may have not been directly influenced by people of color.

The post-civil rights generation scholars were unique from the other cohorts due to not only their age difference but mainly because they were so far removed from the direct experience of the civil rights movement. These scholars acquired their education and exposure about the civil rights movement from history books, documentaries and recollections from individuals who were there themselves; this is important because these individuals lack the first person experience with the movement that the civil rights generation had but they still were greatly affected by the time period.

This group of scholars also resigned themselves to the status of minorities in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship due to 1) the largest number of scholars of color in the field in the past fifty years, 2) the belief that they were not as qualified to represent the experiences of people of color compared to people of color and 3) the belief that they would not have the success a scholar of color would in the field so they thought many white scholars opted to pursue other areas of scholarship.

In addition, the scholars in the post-civil rights generation all thought that racial and ethnic scholarship was definitely a traditional area of scholarship rather than a niche area of study. This is very different from the experiences of groups one and two members, who believed that the area still needed to be legitimized to their colleagues in other areas of study.

Another finding of this group was that their parents were heavily influenced by and/or experienced the civil rights movement. This may have had an affect on the rearing practices and beliefs that were taught to these scholars that lead them to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship. Due to their age, this is the only group that would be in a position to have a parent who experienced the civil rights movement but it may have had an affect on the scholars in this group.

Analysis Using Rational Choice Theory

These findings are unique when examined by themselves; however, analysis using rational choice theory provides a distinctly different view.

Given that rational choice theory assumes individuals make choices based upon how much they will individually benefit, the findings of this study are quite contrary to this assumption. It is clear that of all of the scholars in the study, none of them made the choice to enter into this field because they felt their primary motive was that this topic would be advantageous to their professional careers. In fact, only one of the scholars mentioned that a secondary or tertiary reason they attributed to their acquiring a position as a racial and ethnic scholar was because of the lack of scholars equipped to speak to the area in his discipline, therefore his ability to acquire a position in the area would be better than it would be in another area where there was an adequate number of qualified scholars.

The scholars in this study appeared to make the decision to enter the field of racial and ethnic scholarship because of their life experiences and commitment to social justice. Almost all of the scholars had relationships with people of color in their early childhood and youth that educated and sensitized them to that life experience. As well, all of the scholars in this study had family members that were allies of people of color, embraced racial and ethnic differences, or had life experiences of their own that made it easier to relate to the life experience of people of color; this philosophy of tolerance and embracing difference was instrumental in shaping the ideologies of the scholars in this study.

This is an important distinction because when thinking of the rationale these scholars used in making the decision to enter the field of racial and ethnic scholarship, the predating events and influences are essential in understanding the decision making process of these scholars. Without acknowledging the influences and life experiences of the scholars in this study, a strong argument could be made that these individuals were not acting in their own best interests and therefore contradictory to rational choice theory.

These individuals were given advice in graduate school against pursuing a career in racial and ethnic scholarship and had negative experiences with scholars of color that all told them they would not have success or at the very least ease in making this topic their career path. This being said, if you examine their lives beginning with their undergraduate or graduate careers then they could in fact have been making choices that were counter to rational choice theory.

The many instances of rejection, negative interaction, job difficulty and needing to legitimate themselves as being able to conduct racial and ethnic scholarship as white men all point to an irrational choice to make this area their career path. Of all of the scholars in this study, only Joshua King would have the best argument that his decision to pursue this area of scholarship was a rational choice and that would be due to 1) his strong connection to his Italian heritage, 2) his status as a bilingual, 3) his string of positive experiences with scholars of color with very minimal negative interactions, and 4) the lack of scholars trained to speak to racial and ethnic scholarship in his discipline. If only examining the lives of these scholars from their undergraduate or graduate careers on, a case could be made that all of the other nine scholars in this study were not making rational choices in their conducting racial and ethnic scholarship.

However, it would be incomplete and careless to examine the choices of these scholars without examining their early life experiences and influences. When factoring these two components into the decision-making processes of the scholars in this study, it appears they were in fact acting rational and in a manner that, in their belief system, is most beneficial. Part of this rational is rooted in the fact that many of these scholars believe they are serving a greater good by committing to this type of scholarship; despite the severe personal costs they may pay or how difficult the process may be.

One aspect of this analysis using rational choice theory is how pre-existing factors play a role in the choice of the scholars in this study to select racial and ethnic scholarship as their career path. An argument could be made that because of some of the scholars' childhood as growing up poor or Jewish, they were more likely to empathize with people of color and therefore could be acting rationally by choosing to assist who they believe to be a peer group through their scholarship.

The individuals who were raised in poor families have a working knowledge of growing up disadvantaged and those individuals who were raised Jewish may have had a childhood that mirrored that of people of color in that they may have been subject to some of the same treatment from Protestants that people of color receive from whites.

Analysis Using Reference Group Theory

In comparison, when these findings are viewed using reference group theory they present a different perspective as opposed to rational choice theory. Where rational choice theory seeks to explain the reasons for a person's actions and choices and qualify them as rational or not, reference group theory seeks to explain a persons' actions and choices by examining them based upon the reference groups which a particular individual.

The scholars in this study straddle two lives, essentially, that of a white scholar with white peers who may not share their ideologies and passion for the plight of people of color and that of a white scholar with peers of color who are ideologically similar but culturally different. This distinction is parallel to that of the one described by Merton and Ross (1968); they describe hoe American soldiers face a plethora of reference group issues, one of which is that of conflicting reference groups. The scholars in this study are born into the reference group of white men but they selected the reference group of racial and ethnic scholars, most of who are not white men. Are these two reference groups normative or comparison reference groups for the scholars in this study; are they somehow both?

Marginality also played a strong role in the lives of the scholars in this study. They could not find a consistent membership in a reference group at many points in their lives and this is a strong component in the concept of marginality (Stonequist, 1937).

The scholars in this study utilized the two main tenants of reference group theory in that of 1) using the group they belong to as a means of normalizing their behavior and 2) using a group they do not belong to as a reference point for their behavior. The

obvious groups these scholars use are 1) other white men and 2) people of color. I will examine these two groups independent of each other and then contrast the two groups.

First, the reference group of white men is one that these scholars are born into and whose membership may in fact fluctuate throughout their lives, but they have to a certain degree maintained some tie to that group and will continue to do so for the rest of their lives. For the scholars in this study, this group makes up their parents, siblings and partly their children; if any of the scholars were adopted and raised by parents from a different racial or ethnic background this would of course have to be adjusted and would not necessarily be applicable. While it is true that most of the scholars in this study encountered instances where they had conflicting norms from different reference groups, they did not use these instances to define which normative reference groups are positive or negative (Sherif, 1968). The malleability they were able to withstand may have helped reassure them that not all white people are racist and not all scholars of color are against them being in this field.

Sherif points out that "the most common example of marginality is that of individuals belonging to an ethnic group, religious group or color group in a minority position who because of their inability to be accepted in larger society and their tendency to reject standards or position of their own group, feel insecure in their reference group affiliations in a major way (Sherif, 1968: 90-1)." The scholars in this study may also fall in this category as they spend most of their time as minorities in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship as whites and by studying race and ethnicity they somewhat reject the standards of other whites by attempting to break down the hegemony that whites benefit from.

For the scholars in this study, this group serves as a barometer for what is normative behavior and what are appropriate reactions, beliefs and values for a variety of topics (Kelley, 1968). An important distinction to make here is the fact that not all white men think the same; much as there are various perspectives between white men and Black men, there are also within group differences that make for different perspectives. The most obvious example comes from the realm of political ideologies and the difference between Bill Clinton and George Bush.

The scholars in this study used this reference group at various junctures in their life, all in their childhood and to some extent later on in their lives. An interesting facet of this use for some scholars was the role that their families played in using this reference group; all of their family members were members of this group but it is a reasonable assumption and one that was found to be true that their rules and norms were more solicited and adhered to than non-familial members of the reference group. When their families supported them making friendships with non-whites, this was integral in the shaping of their ideologies and thoughts concerning people of color; a successful argument can be made that despite pressure from non-familial members of their reference group of white people, they were in fact adhering to the norms of their reference group because their families were the ones modeling that very behavior and value system.

Second, the reference group of people of color, specifically dependent on the population the scholars in this study focus on (e.g. Howard Winant: Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, Robert Blauner: African-Americans) is used as a comparison reference group for the scholars in this study. By learning as much as they could regarding the experience of people of color, the scholars in this study were seeking to not

only identify with them but also seek a group to which to compare their behavior later in life as they were employing many of their ideals in their academic and social lives.

While it is possible that the scholars in this study were using people of color as a primary reference group to establish what they view as normative behavior, I believe they were using these groups as secondary reference groups to provide them with a frame of reference for contextualizing their behavior.

This is indicative to the distinction Kelley makes between different norms for different members of a group; the example he uses is that different rule set for pledges and full members of a fraternity (Kelley, 1968:81). For pledging members, it is not acceptable for them to mimic the behavior of their counterparts who are full members; for white scholars in the area of race and ethnicity, it is not acceptable for them to act, speak and write as a scholar of color.

The scholars in this study also utilized these comparison groups as a way to gain insight to the experience of people of color to compare it to their own experience. Hyman describes the difference between objective and subjective criterion in comparative reference groups (Hyman, 1968). For example, he states "most determinations of status have in the past been made on the basis of some objective criterion such as income, or some institutional feature such as membership in a given occupational group or caste... 'subjective status' may be defined as a person's conception of his own position relative to other individuals (Hyman, 1968:147)." The scholars in this study were not seeking any objective benefits from making racial and ethnic scholarship their career path, but rather they were seeking subjective status from people

of color as illustrated in their seeking an audience of people of color for their publications.

There are other facets of comparative reference group logic in play with the scholars in this study. Several scholars in this study used the concept of reference individuals that served as sources of comparison. These reference individuals are selected for a number of reasons such as their being sources for aspiration levels, are chosen for their similarity or difference with the origin individual (Hyman, 1968). Scholars such as Joshua King and Paul Spickard used reference individuals both in their youth and in their professional careers in this manner

In particular, for the Jewish scholars in this study this helped by providing them a parallel comparison group that the non-Jewish scholars did not have. As discussed previously, the Jewish scholars in this study are different from their Protestant counterparts in that their experience as Jews is more similar to that of people of color due to their experience as being a group that has been and still is discriminated against. I believe that this allowed these scholars to use the experience of people of color as a parallel comparison group; that is, a group whose experience is more similar to the Jewish scholars in this study than different.

Another comparison group for the scholars in this study is that of other white scholars who do not examine racial and ethnic scholarship as their field of study. While this comparison group is made up of individuals who could also qualify as members of their primary reference group, because of their area of expertise and possibly their social ideologies, they would qualify as members of a comparison group. This group is an interesting comparison group due to the parallels it shares with these scholars in terms of

academic pursuits rather than race or ethnicity; this group is used by the scholars in this study as a comparison for how they should be acting professionally in terms of publications, collegiality and career advancement. In these terms, colleagues in sociology, history and psychology who study traditional areas of study are parallel comparison groups that provide an example of what their peers in other areas of study are doing; this comparison group is important as it provides another reference point for these individuals to help define their group's behavioral and ideological norms.

The traditional structures of academe, which are also present in racial and ethnic scholarship, also tended to share a stage with social justice issues for the scholars in this study. The nature of the topic mixed with the philosophical and world-view influences that the scholars in this study made for a unique prioritization of professional experiences and tasks that they chose to explore. There were scholars, such as Robert Blauner, that took longer than the traditional time frame to achieve tenure and full professorships due to their desire to explore volunteer and activist endeavors in addition to their normal responsibilities of teaching, research and service. These co-curricular activities were not present for other white scholars in traditional disciplines and therefore make them a significant comparison reference group.

In this study, a comparison group that was not utilized by any of the scholars in line with reference group theory was that of a generational reference group. Given the grouping strategy of this study and the tenants for examining differences and similarities, it would have been interesting if the scholars had used different generations as comparison reference groups in formulating behavioral norms. However, they clearly did

not see this as being important, as they were more concerned with the comparison groups of scholars of color and white scholars in traditional areas of study.

Implications for the Field of Higher Education

While this study examined scholars who make their careers outside of education departments, their status as academics and what their experience has been is extremely relevant to the field of higher education.

The career paths of the scholars in this study illustrate how difficult academe can be, specifically maneuvering through the tenure review process. The major findings of job market and tenure acquisition difficulties best illustrate this point and help show just how higher education is not simply about making contributions to scholarship and acting collegial. For the scholars in this study, there were many more facets of higher education at play for them in their careers

The fact that the scholars in this study extend across multiple disciplines and generations support the notion that there are other factors professors need to be aware of when pursuing an academic career. There were several strategies and pitfalls that scholars in this study utilized and fell victim to when growing into their role as academics.

Some of the pitfalls that the participants in this study encountered are indicative of the unique set of obstacles that differ from traditional obstacles professors encounter in higher education. The scholars in this study all experienced one or more of these pitfalls: negative reaction from scholars of color, negative reactions from white peers in traditional areas of study, resistance to their application for tenure or full professor due to the 'fringe' status of the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, and difficulty in securing a tenure track position due to their status as white scholars who were studying race and ethnicity.

These pitfalls illustrate the volatility of the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, especially when white men are conducting this type of research. The fact that all of the scholars in this study encountered these obstacles points to the unique nature of racial and ethnic scholarship and the additional barriers that people need to be aware of when entering that particular field.

The coping strategies that proved beneficial to the scholars in this study were varied but speak to the additional factors that precluded them from focusing on specifically their colleagues and scholarship during their tenure. Many of the scholars in this study cited their conscious decisions to co-author with scholars of color, become experts in other traditional areas of study and reach out to students of color as ways of stabilizing their experience as academics and easing the burden of being white and focusing on racial and ethnic scholarship as their chosen area of expertise.

This process of selecting various strategies that allow for these scholars to have more success in traditional areas of academe may indicate the non-traditional areas of skill that are necessary in succeeding in higher education. If we assume that even if these strategies are employed it does not necessarily translate into success in muting the issues associated with this field and this type of individual, it speaks to the importance of having some additional set of skills or strategies in order to prosper in the field of higher education.

It is valid to raise the question of how these pitfalls and strategies differ from other pitfalls and strategies used in other topics of study besides racial and ethnic scholarship. The argument could be made that other volatile areas of scholarship also present unique challenges to academics and their ability to function and succeed in higher

education. However, the point being made here is not that white men conducting racial and ethnic scholarship are alone in their additional pitfalls and necessary coping strategies; the point of this study is that academics similar to the scholars in this study face additional hardships than traditional scholars in traditional fields of study and that these two facets, additional pitfalls and career enhancement strategies, should be known to both individuals who might be choosing this topic of study and the field of higher education in general as this difference is worthy of examination.

This study adds to the existing literature in higher education by illustrating that there is more to succeeding in a department than producing quality publications and making strong connections with colleagues when being a white man conducting racial and ethnic scholarship. I believe most scholars would agree that almost all areas of study have additional pitfalls and strategies that are necessary to succeeding in that field. However, this study is not meant to establish the exclusivity of the difficulties associated with white men who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship.

As alluded to earlier, the original groupings proved to be a poor method of construction that limited the interpretation of the findings of this study. Using affirmative action as a standard for the second group was a mistake that was corrected by reassigning the groupings to focus on those scholars who began their careers before, during and after the civil rights movement. I think that this says much about the importance of the civil rights movement as a social watermark in the United States; while the importance of affirmative action should not be minimized, the thoughts of the scholars in this study illustrate that it does have a different meaning than I had originally thought.

The scholars were fairly indifferent to the question of how they were different or similar to those scholars in other generations, everyone in fact stating that the scholars who were younger could not even compare the significance of the affirmative action age to that of the civil rights movement: "I think that the researchers who came of age in the civil rights movement really had this sort of optimistic vision, they were part of something larger than themselves in this crusade that was morally right and I think that actually resulted in a very righteous attitude toward research (Fisher Interview)."

As well, even the younger scholars did not believe that affirmative action was an impetus for them despite the fact that it was the closest anyone in their generation could claim as a social/political event. These individuals were willing to concede the 'classic period' of racial and ethnic struggle to that of the civil rights movement; this led me to restructure my groupings to focus around the civil rights movement exclusively and the following quotes illustrate this point.

"I was exposed to the civil rights movement because of what was happening at the time politically and I was very conscious and aware. I had read the Autobiography of Malcolm X and started reading other Black literature as a senior or junior in high school and through my Spanish classes I was starting to read Mexican literature and becoming familiar with the basics of you know, Mexican culture and history and a very little bit of Mexican writing. So by the time I graduated from high school in spite of the sheltered background that I came from, I came to learn and become quite interested in other people. I have always been interested in

Mexico and Latin America and then came to be interested in the status and welfare of African Americans, particularly after King was assassinated in 1968, Bobby Kennedy was assassinated the same year it was a time of great upheaval (Wellington Interview).”

Another interesting feature of the interviews yielded a couple of views on the differences between the topics of African-American scholarship versus Latino scholarship. Eric Burin talked about his view that African-American scholarship, by virtue of having been around longer than Latino scholarship presents more options in terms of methodology and background. This is interesting because this same argument can be used for general racial and ethnic scholarship in comparison to traditional areas of study in history, sociology and psychology: “If I could hazard one sort of guess, it would be something along the lines of those who do Native American, or Mexican American, or Hispanic, or even Asian American scholarship, I think, tend to be more at the avant garde of the profession not only in terms of the topic of the topics they study, but also the methodology. For those of us who study, say African American history, where the literature goes back quite a ways, we’re still dealing with some of the you know old classics. Where as, those fields that are more recent developments, probably like I said, are a little more open to some of the newer methodologies, including interdisciplinary methods (Burin Interview).”

Some of the scholars in this study made distinctions between the scholars who began their careers during the civil rights movement and those who began their careers after the civil rights movement. The distinction the scholars made was that the younger

generation of scholars did not have the benefit of directly experiencing the movement and had to gain their information and appreciation through books, movies and second-hand accounts: "In the sixties we thought we could fix everything and we thought we could fix everything quickly, and there seemed to be unlimited future potential and the tide seemed to be rolling in the favor of more civil liberties. Starting in the 80s, a lot of that was rolled back and what we've seen since the 70s is increasing inattention to racial cleavages in American society and indeed I think there's a deliberate manipulation to racial cleavages for short term political gain on the part of conservatives and republicans to the long term detriment of the country. I think that people coming of age more recently are just less optimistic and I can't say that they're wrong, as you know, it's an appraisal. But there's a lot of kind of optimistic enthusiasm and there's more anger now; a lot more anger, more anger among whites and minorities, on both sides (Wellington Interview)."

While this generation has more resources available quicker than the older generation, the trade-off of having not experienced the time first hand was noticeable to these scholars and not necessarily worth the advantages of today.

"I was in my twenties when Dr. King was killed and so I've got vivid memories of that and the riots and movements I was a participant in; as for people of your generation it's somewhat of an unfortunate thing that you get what from you know from TV documentaries. I mean you have some advantages and some disadvantages that come to you from us; you have the advantage of a whole bunch of work that has orientated you that we didn't have and we had to invent. Not entirely invent, I mean we had

DuBois and James but we had people like that and a lot of other main stream scholars such as Robert Burton or Janowitz, Tanka Parsons they all had to write on race. So you have a lot more sort of secondary material to sort of work with, but on the other hand you don't have the immediate experience of living in your own body and feeling it, so to speak of movements which is not to say that there are no movements in the present either. But on the one hand you've got more resources on the other hand you have a certain kind of taken for grantedness that can be dangerous (Winant Interview)."

The implications for the field of higher education from this study are many as listed above and can serve in the improved comprehension of how scholars themselves and their scholarship are received as well as what pitfalls and obstacles may be present in the field.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Social Relevance

This study was extremely rewarding and the results were quite fascinating; while many ideas I had prior to interviewing the scholars were validated, some were also disproved and new discoveries were made.

What was very clear in this study was that affirmative action had virtually no impact on the younger scholars in this study as a source of inspiration for them to enter the field of racial and ethnic scholarship. The civil rights movement was immensely influential not just for those scholars who were coming of age during the time but also for those scholars who began their careers before and those scholars who began their careers after the civil rights movement.

This finding contradicted the assumption that different generations had different influences unique to their age group concerning the civil rights movement. The fact that the civil rights movement influenced each and every participant speaks to the gravity of the time period and what it meant to America and Americans. It is important to note that there were many other influences that the scholars cited in their interest in racial and ethnic scholarship. However, the only generational influence, the civil rights movement, turned out to not be generational so much as a hallmark for the scholars in this study.

All of the scholars in this study had various experiences and influences that sensitized them and helped develop empathy for the lives of people of color. These experiences involved relationships with people of similar age from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, friends in their diverse neighborhoods and exposure to social events during their lives and history that provided them with a new perspective on people of color and their experience. In addition, there were many influences in their lives from

both family and peers that helped shape their philosophy on equality and perpetuated their desire to use their scholarship to address racial and ethnic inequalities.

The data from this study indicates that the experiences the scholars had growing up were instrumental in shaping their belief systems and were largely responsible for their choosing the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship as a career choice in academia. The choice to become an academic was not necessarily tethered to the experiences they had in their childhood but, rather, once that choice was made, then the influence of their early experiences guided their choice of research topics.

It would be incorrect to state that all individuals who have experiences with people of color at an early age become advocates for social issues surrounding people of color. What is clear in this study is that the scholars felt that those experiences were instrumental in their own philosophical development.

Often the scholars in this study reported both themselves and their families having to state and defend their beliefs to their peers while growing up. This may have been a precursor to the academic questioning they faced when entering higher education both from other scholars of color and white peers in their disciplines.

All of the scholars in their respective groups came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. All of the members in groups one and three came from low SES homes and all of the scholars in the civil rights generation came from middle class backgrounds. While groups one and three had a life experience that was similar to the SES of many people of color, thus allowing them to empathize with their position, the members of the civil rights generation all came from true homes of privilege. The difference may be that

the civil rights movement was so inspiring to them that they were able to look past their own lives of privilege and become enthralled with the plight of people of color.

The majority of scholars in this study experienced difficulty in their search for tenure track jobs that they attributed to the fact that they were white men studying racial and ethnic scholarship. While there were a few individuals that did not experience difficulty they were far outnumbered by those that did and there were also instances where scholars in this study were unsuccessful or feared being unsuccessful in acquiring status as a full professor even after securing tenure as an associate professor. There were several instances where scholars in this study experienced 'mistaken identity' by other scholars and people of color; these instances were times when people thought they were people of color and then when they found out they were in fact white there were reprocutions.

In addition, there were also a couple of scholars who actually recommended to their white graduate students that they become experts in areas other than racial and ethnic scholarship because it would make their experience in the job market easier than if they were selling themselves as white racial and ethnic scholars. These issues illustrate the volatility and politics that surround the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship as well as the difficulty white male scholars have in acquiring tenure in the area of racial and ethnic scholarship.

The majority of scholars in this study had negative experiences with scholars of color they attributed to their being a white scholar conducting racial and ethnic scholarship. All of the post-civil rights generation scholars experienced this as well as two scholars each from groups one and two; in addition, almost half of the scholars in

this study also experienced a negative response from their white peers in traditional disciplines, with three of the four scholars in the civil rights generation receiving this response.

This finding suggests that the scholars in this study did in fact suffer a backlash from more than one population because of who they are and what they were studying. While this is not a certainty and it was not shared by all of the scholars, it speaks to the likelihood that the scholars in this study had to persevere through some resentment towards themselves from multiple sources.

The scholars in this study cited three different contributions they believe they have made to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship; 1) a major book they wrote that has become a valuable piece of literature in the field, 2) a major theoretical contribution they wrote on that also is referred to in the field, or 3) a desire to give voice to the voiceless by telling the story of people of color from a perspective that may have been neglected in the past. The fact that the scholars were fairly equal in their beliefs about what their contributions were is interesting and speaks to the variance of scholars' priorities and the place they are at in their careers. The split of the three different contributions did not occur in line with the three generational groupings or even across discipline lines, further speaking to the variance within this finding.

The scholars in this study cited three different audiences for their publications. I had anticipated that perhaps some of them would seek the approval of people of color for their writing and in fact four of the scholars cited this population as being the primary audience for their publications. What I found most interesting was that four other scholars cited the widest possible audience as being their target audience; this was the

type of priority that I had anticipated not being present in this study because these scholars were not public intellectuals. However, it appears that some of them were hoping to steer their careers in that direction in the future possibly.

In addition, only two of the scholars cited other academics as being their primary audience for their publications. This seems to run counter to the likelihood that these scholars treated this topic similarly to traditional areas of study because so few of them sought the approval of their peers.

The scholars in this study from the pre-civil rights generation experienced instances where they needed to legitimate the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship as being a legitimate area of study, whereas the scholars in the post-civil rights generation did not have to legitimate the topic. In terms of needing to legitimate the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, the scholars in this study reported that as time went on this need decreased with the scholars in the post-civil rights generation reporting no need to legitimate racial and ethnic scholarship as an accepted and credible research topic.

There was one exception to this as Louis Goldstein stated that it had gotten harder over the past ten years to legitimate racial and ethnic scholarship due to his perception that other 'fad' areas of study in his discipline had replaced the topic. His dissenting view speaks to the plausibility that racial and ethnic scholarship perhaps is not as accepted in all disciplines as it is perceived to be.

The scholars in this study had different opinions as to whether or not they needed to co-author with scholars of color as a means of legitimizing their scholarship. Four scholars cited this as a reason for co-authoring with scholars of color while four said this was not a reason for them to co-author with scholars of color. With an equal number of

scholars agreeing and disagreeing with co-authoring as a way to legitimate their scholarship, another finding in this area was that five of the scholars co-authored with scholars of color – their graduate students of color – not to legitimate their scholarship but in a mentoring capacity that you would see in traditional disciplines and with most faculty-student relationships.

Five of the scholars in this study cited personal realizations that they had a connection with the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship that was greater than the affinity an average academic would have with his/her area of specialization. In addition, while these scholars experienced this connection, there were just as many scholars that did not. This supports the idea that this topic was not necessarily unique from other traditional areas of study

The majority of scholars in this study did not immerse themselves in communities of color as a way of learning more about the experience of the population they were studying. I had anticipated that this would have occurred but only two scholars sought out communities of color to live in and a third participant embraced his ethnic roots and moved to his ancestors' homeland with his family when he was young. While this finding does not negate the contributions the scholars have made in this field or make their scholarship less valuable, it does contextualize this topic as being not necessarily more valuable to these scholars than other traditional topics with other academics.

The findings suggest that there was a great deal of consistency between the philosophical content of the interactions between the scholars and both scholars of color and graduate students of color. The power dynamic that could have very well altered

what the scholars were teaching to their graduate students of color did not seem to corrupt the learning process.

Two reasons for this consistency may have been 1) the fact that the publications of the scholars are fairly public record and anyone who read them could have easily seen a disconnect between what was being communicated to them and what was in print, and 2) the scholars simply were not using their graduate students of color to foster their own philosophical ideas that were not common knowledge or expressed to other scholars of color.

Religion and religious ideologies played a significant role in the lives of many scholars and had an influence on their choices, both personal and professional. The level at which it was influential speaks to how much I underestimated the role of religion in this study and could make for a very interesting supplemental study.

Other studies have addressed the issue of religion and academics however what is missing is how religion, specifically Judeo-Christian teachings, impact white researchers in terms of their professional interests in race and ethnicity. The findings of this study were interesting because there appears to be a direct link between the actions and ideologies of these scholars and the specific religious teachings they grew up with.

One of the findings from this study that should have been fairly obvious to myself was the restrictions and freedoms that individual institutions and departments gave the scholars in the study. I had made the incorrect assumption that these scholars could operate in a vacuum dictated by their interests and the influences of other scholars; however I neglected to realize that institutional and more importantly departmental differences had a profound impact on how much and how well they could conduct their

scholarship. This assumption may be due to my naiveté surrounding institutional and departmental politics but nonetheless it was a fascinating discovery to come across in the data analysis.

The difference in the levels of acculturation and assimilation between the scholars in this study may be the result of several factors. First, discipline (psychology, sociology or history) may account for the variance as the three disciplines use and view racial and ethnic scholarship for very different purposes.

Second, the institution the participant was affiliated with was a variable due to the physical opportunities that vary geographically from institution to institution. James Fisher's opportunities were very different serving at an urban institution than those available to Eric Burin who was serving at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks. These differences are important to recognize when assessing just how much of an effort the scholars were making at integrating themselves into a particular culture.

Third, the scholars in this study may not have felt the need or desire to immerse themselves in a community of color. It is possible that this topic was just as important or personal to the scholars in this study as compared to any other academic with their area of expertise.

Finally, the choice of the participant to integrate themselves into a community is the largest and most obvious variable. Issues such as personal comfort level, personality type, social skills, availability of communities of color and existing relationships all are factors in the decision to assimilate into the cultures the scholars' were studying. This is not to say that there is a 'correct' level of acculturation and assimilation that the scholars

should be striving for; rather the fact that they were all assimilating to some degree is what is most important.

The difference that the scholars drew between their research and traditional cross-cultural anthropological and sociological research is worth noting that they all viewed their work as being representative of America. This distinction is important because the lack of 'othering' that the scholars were conscious to avoid is in direct contradiction to the notion of white America being what is meant by the term 'American.'

I believe that this distinction is illustrative of the scholars in this study not appropriating the cultures of African-Americans, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans for their own purposes. This is an important point to articulate as it is one of the foundations for this study and it directly speaks to the issue of striking a balance between advocacy and appropriation.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation to this study may lie in the use of snowball sampling as a method of obtaining the sample. It is possible that I did not contact all of the individuals who should have been contacted to supply referrals, and therefore there might be individuals who could have been scholars in this study that are not included. However, I believe that the duplication of nominations that occurred in the last few referrals I received was an indication that I had obtained as many nominations as I could have using this method.

An additional limitation may be generalizing across disciplines (such as sociology, anthropology, etc.) despite the fact that all scholars are researching racial and ethnic scholarship. This is an interesting dilemma, and the obvious solution would be to only select Caucasian scholars who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship from one discipline. However, I feel that this would not be optimal because 1) it would severely decrease the sample size available, and 2) while the disciplines that they are situated in are different, the topic they are all examining is the same and that is what is of importance for this study, and 3) doing so would not allow for comparisons across disciplines to identify possible similarities and differences of the scholars.

The use of rational choice theory in this study may also be a limitation. Many critics point to the fact that rational choice theory assumes that individuals act upon making an informed decision, and often individuals do not meet this criteria (Friedman & Hechter, 1988). However, I believe that this is not a limitation for the population I am examining because they at least believed they were acting with proper information in mind. It may prove that they were mistaken, but their perception was that they had all of the facts needed to choose racial and ethnic scholarship as a career path.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of political ideologies and affiliations of the scholars as possible factors in their empathetic leanings toward people of color. While some offered that they were communists, socialists and democrats, the topic was not a major part of this study. The assumption made was that these individuals were going to be on the left of the political spectrum given the topic of racial and ethnic scholarship, the fact they were writing from an advocacy perspective and finally that they were doing this as white men. In retrospect, this topic would be very interesting to examine and should be a priority in future studies.

A final limitation may be that of myself being the sole researcher in the study. The opportunity for bias is high given that I have a monopoly on data analysis. This limitation is compounded by a fourth limitation, in that I have a personal interest (and therefore am a stakeholder) in this topic as a Mexican-American. I addressed this by actively utilizing the members of my dissertation committee in the course of the study as well as by utilizing the step of having the scholars review the transcripts and the initial analyses I drew from them.

Suggestions for Future Research

I believe that this study has yielded some fascinating findings and opens the door for other research examinations involving groups being studied by non-members as well as the role certain characteristics might play in a scholar examining race and ethnicity. Previous research has identified some characteristics that are akin with advocating for social change. However a critical examination has yet to be conducted. Regarding the study of groups by non-members of that particular group, it would appear that many

corollaries exist, albeit in various levels of similarity. Some of them might include white males who conduct racial and ethnic scholarship from a non-advocate perspective, males who conduct women's scholarship, abled scholars who conduct disability scholarship and white Canadians who conduct First People's scholarship. In addition, I believe further exploration regarding the impact of religion on these scholars' ideologies would be interesting, as well as a comparison between the influences of family and peers on the ideologies of these scholars.

Conclusion

This study examined the academic lives of ten white men who made a career out of conducting racial and ethnic scholarship. I looked at how they became interested in the topic, how much success they had in the area, what response they received from other scholars and what contribution they believe they have made to the field.

The findings from this study suggest that these individuals all had varying expectations about how difficult their experience would be but they all anticipated some level of resistance from various sources in their pursuit of this type of scholarship.

In selecting this topic as well as completing this study, I did not find any existing study that addressed the of this study. The closest study was “A History of Race Relations Research” (Stansfield, 1993) and *Anti-Racist Scholarship: An Advocacy* (Scheurich, 2002) that looked at mainly the scholarship itself rather than the people who write it and what lead them to write on the topic. In interviewing Robert Blauner, he made a comment I found highly indicative of the process I went through in researching the history of this topic:

“Has anyone done this before? It seems like such an obvious topic that somebody has, I mean I myself had the idea to do an interview book, I was going to call it ‘Nigger Lovers,’ you know, whites who identify with blacks. And that hasn’t been done though?” –Robert Blauner

What is clear is that the individuals in this study are attempting to assist an academic extension of social justice that was born prior to but thrived as a result of the

civil rights movement and they all were perhaps naïve to the challenges of conducting this line of research initially but throughout their careers acquired a sense of the challenges that their own ethnicity presented in their research. The scholars in this study all had varying but similar experiences and had very closely related perspectives on their experiences. The fondness they feel for the experience of people of color and the high regard with which they hold them is indicative of this comment made by one of the scholars:

“I’ll always have someone that always says they thought I was Black, even at a conference or something someone will say it. I think it’s a great compliment to be honest with you.” –Louis Goldstein

Their experiences in academe were marked with both enablers and barriers to their conducting racial and ethnic scholarship. Yet they all persevered and led or are leading rich academic and research careers in the area of racial and ethnic scholarship; perhaps this quote by Paul Spickard best summarizes their intentions:

“I carry white privilege with me wherever I go; that’s not something that I can not have. I want to dethrone whiteness but I can’t disown it because I can’t not have it. White privilege comes with just the way that people see me when I walk down the street and to dethrone it through my research and publications, that is sort of the project of my life.” – Paul Spickard

APPENDIX A: General Interview Instrument

Interview Questions

For the Dissertation Research of Celestino J. Limas

The University of Oregon

Each interview will have the following questions, however additional questions will be added to each interview for each participant based upon their specific research and publications.

1. Describe your community you were reared in when you were a child; what did it look like in terms of socio-economic status, religious influences, racial and ethnic make-up, etc.
2. What were the influences that steered you towards racial and ethnic scholarship?
3. In terms of academic pursuits, why did you choose racial and ethnic scholarship as your career focus as opposed to a different content area?
4. Explain how your research differs from traditional cross-cultural research that Americans conduct outside the United States.
5. As a white male, what were some of the challenges you perceived there to be in you conducting this kind of research before you began in the field?
6. What was the response you encountered from peers of color who were conducting the same research as yourself?

7. What was the response you received from your white peers in other disciplines regarding your studying racial and ethnic scholarship?
8. Describe your most enjoyable and most disheartening experience that involved a student of color.
9. Describe some of the challenges you encountered once you began conducting your research?
10. Describe the community that you and your family live in; does your research interest in racial and ethnic scholarship have an affect on your personal life? In other words, do you live your life in any way as a part of the community that you study?
11. What contributions have you made to the field of racial and ethnic scholarship?
12. Talk about what you feel is your most important publication in the field of racial and ethnic scholarship.
13. In your opinion, what are the differences and similarities between researchers who began their careers during the civil rights movement (1955-1968) and researchers who began their careers during the conception of affirmative action (1978-1989)?
14. What do you perceive to be the similarities and differences in research on exclusively African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans and Native Americans?
15. What courses that you have taught in the past have benefited the most from your research?
16. Critique your career choice of racial and ethnic scholarship from a rational choice theory perspective.

17. How is rational choice theory applicable or not applicable in your career decisions?
18. What do you feel is the reason for the reduction in white scholars who conduct research in the area of race and ethnicity?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, W. B. (1993). Response to "white discourse on white racism". *Educational Researcher*, 22(8), 11-13.
- Anderson, E. (2002). The ideologically driven critique. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(6), 1533-1550.
- Banks, J. (2002). Race, knowledge construction, and education in the USA: Lessons from history. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 5(1), 7-27.
- Becker, G. (1991). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Berg, B. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Blauner, R. (1964). *Alienation and freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Blauner, R. (1972). *Racial oppression in America*. New York City, NY: Harper and Row.
- Blauner, R. (1989). *Black lives, white lives: Three decades of race relations in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Blauner, R. (1997). *Our mother's spirits: On the death of mothers and the grief of men*. New York City, NY: Harper Collins.
- Blauner, R. (2001). *Still the big news: Racial oppression in America*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Burin, E. (2000). The strange career of John Cocke: Contextualizing American colonization society manumissions. *Liberian Studies Journal*, 36(2), 63-82.
- Burin, E. (2003). *Reckoning with slavery: Guilt in the old south*. Bismark, ND: North Dakota Humanities Council.
- Burin, E. (forthcoming, 2004). If the rest stay, I will stay - If they go, I will go: How slaves' familial bonds affected American colonization society manumissions. In J. Greene, R. Sparks & R. Brana-Shute (Eds.), *Manumission in the Atlantic World*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Campbell, D. T. (1956). *Leadership and Its Effects Upon the Group*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Campbell, R., & Sowden, L. (Eds.). (1985). *Paradoxes of rationality and cooperation: prisoner's dilemma and Newcomb's problem*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Campbell, T. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multi-variate-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56, 81-105.
- Carney, T. F. (1990). *Collaborative inquiry methodology*. Windsor, ON: University of Windsor, Division for Instructional Development.
- Denzin, N. (1978). *The research act*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*. London: Routledge.
- Duneier, M. (1992). *Slim's table; race respectability, and masculinity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Duneier, M. (2002). What kind of combat sport is sociology? *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(6), 1551-1576.
- Eells, E. (1982). *Rational decision and causality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Farough, S. (2002). Contemporary white masculinities. *Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences*, 62(7).
- Fielding, N. G., & Lee, R. M. (1998). *Computer analysis and qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Friedman, D., & Hechter, M. (1988). The contribution of rational choice theory to macrosociological research. *Sociological Theory*, 6, 201-218.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hill, M. (2002). Race of the interviewer and perception of skin color: Evidence from the multi-city study of urban inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 67(1), 99-108.
- Hobbes, T. (1651). *Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1991).
- Hodkinson, P., & Sparkes, A. (1997). Careership: A sociological theory of career decision making. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18(1), 29-44.
- Hume, D. (1740). *A treatise of human nature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1978).
- Hyman, H. H. (1942). The psychology of status. *Archives of Psychology*(269), 5-91.
- Hyman, H. H. (1968). The psychology of status. In H. H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Kavka, G. (1983). The toxin puzzle. *Analysis*, 43, 1.
- Keller, P. (Ed.). (1994). *Academic Paths: Career Decisions and Experiences of Psychologists*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kelley, H. (1968). Two functions of reference groups. In H. H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory and research*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Kwilecki, S., & Wilson, L. (1998). Was Mother Teresa maximizing her utility? An idiographic application of rational choice theory. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37(2), 205-221.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. New York, NY: SAGE Publications.
- McClennen, E. (1989). *Rationality and dynamic choice: foundational explorations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGee, D. P. (1973). White conditioning of Black dependency. *Journal of Social Issues*, 29(1), 53-56.
- Merton, R. K., & Rossi, A. K. (1968). Contributions to the theory of reference group behavior. In H. H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory and research*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Mio, J. S., & Iwamasa, G. (1993). To Do, or Not to Do: That Is the Question for White Cross-Cultural Researchers. *Counseling Psychologist*, 21(2), 197-212.
- Newman, K. (2002). No shame: The view from the left bank. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(6), 1577-1599.
- Newsom, M. C., Wimer, J., Ridenour, C., & Kinnucan-Welsh, K. (2001). *Different races, different stories: the juxtaposition of researcher reflexivity and race*. Ohio.
- Patton, M. Q. (1987). *How to use qualitative methods in evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Rohrer, J. (1997). Haole girl: Identity and white privilege in Hawai'i. *Social Process in Hawaii*, 38, 138-161.
- Rossmann, G., & Rallis, S. (1998). *Learning in the field: an introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Russell, D. (1996). Between a rock and a hard place: The politics of white feminists conducting research on black women in South Africa. *Feminism Psychology*, 6(2), 176-180.
- Scheurich, J. J. (1993). Toward a white discourse on white racism. *Educational Researcher*, 22(8), 5-10.
- Scheurich, J. J. (Ed.). (2002). *Anti-racist scholarship: an advocacy*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Sherif, M. (1968). The concept of reference groups in human relations. In H. H. Hyman & E. Singer (Eds.), *Readings in reference group theory and research*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Spickard, D. (1993). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Sleeter, C. E. (1993). Advancing a white discourse: a response to Scheurich. *Educational Researcher*, 22(8), 13-15.
- Spickard, P. (1989). *Mixed blood: Intermarriage and ethnic identity in twentieth-century America*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Spickard, P. (1996). *Japanese Americans: The formation and transformations of an ethnic group*. New York City, NY: Twayne Publishers.
- Spickard, P. (Ed.). (1994). *Pacific island peoples in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Spickard, P., & Burroughs, W. J. (Eds.). (2000). *We are a people: Narrative and multiplicity in constructing ethnic identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Spickard, P., & Cragg, K. M. (2001). *A global history of Christians: How everyday believers experienced their world*. New York City, NY: Baker Book House.
- Spickard, P., Cragg, K. M., & Spickard, J. (Eds.). (1997). *World history by the world's historians*. New York City, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Stansfield, J. H. (Ed.). (1993). *A history of race relations research: First-generation recollections*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Stonequist, E. V. (1937). *The marginal man*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Sue, D. W. (1993). Confronting Ourselves: The White and Racial/Ethnic-Minority Researcher. *Counseling Psychologist*, 21(2), 244-249.
- Traustadottir, R. (2001). Research with others: Reflections on representation, difference and othering. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, 3(2), 9-28.
- von Neumann, J. (1947). *Theory of games and economic behavior*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2002). Scrutinizing the street: Poverty, morality and the pitfalls of urban ethnography. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(6), 1468-1532.
- Winant, H. (1997). Behind blue eyes: Contemporary white racial politics. In *New left review*.

- Winant, H. (2000). Race in the new millennium. In *Colorlines: Race, culture, action*.
- Winant, H. (2001). The world is a ghetto: Race and democracy since world war 2001.
- Winant, H. (2002). Durban, globalization, and the world after 9/11: Toward a new politics. In *Poverty and race*.
- Winant, H., & Omi, M. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wolkowitz, C. (2000). Decision-making process over time: The careers of home-located cultural workers. In M. S. Archer & J. Q. Titter (Eds.), *Rational choice theory: Resisting colonization*. London: Routledge.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.