What is the Color of Social Capital?
Bringing Race in Political Science

Masako Okura, Ph.D.
University of Connecticut, 2006

This dissertation will examine two fundamental questions: 1) why does political science lag behind in accommodating minority studies; and 2) why is it necessary to accommodate race studies in political science? This study will argue that epistemological racism in the discipline of political science rather than institutional racism long prevented race studies from surfacing. Yet, in the greater scheme of power relations in the discipline, there is no single culprit who bears the entire responsibility for the exclusion. Once born, the discipline began a life of its own and grew into a leviathan willing to exercise its power to control both the discipline itself and its members with punishment and rewards. We are all disciplined by the discipline to become more disciplined scholars. This study will also claim that bringing in de-centered perspective from African Americans has utilities, one of which is the possibility of finding answers to broader unresolved questions in political science. Social capital/civil society studies will be used as a test case to press forward on the "multicultural utility" thesis so as to call for a further inclusion of "others" perspectives that are still underrepresented in mainstream political science today.

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Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

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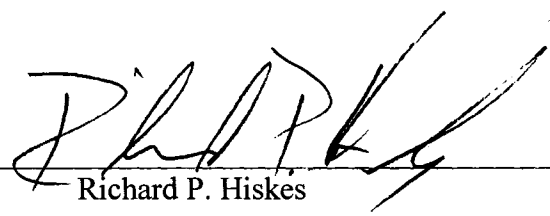
Major Advisor 
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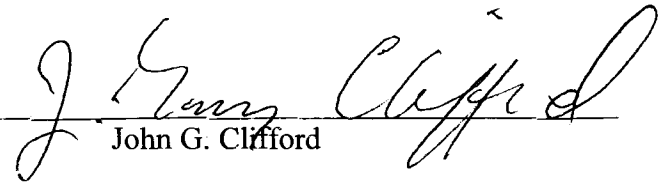
Associate Advisor 
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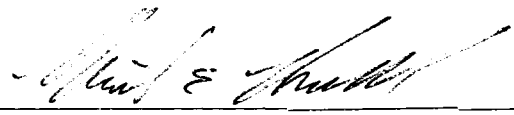
Associate Advisor 
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Chapter I
Introduction

1. A Tradition?

In contrast to its sister fields of sociology and history, political science has been criticized for being uncertain about accommodating minorities and race as the subjects of its studies.[1] In fact, political science has the fewest entries of black studies among the three and the lowest ratio of black-to-white literature in the disciplines' leading journals between 1977 and 1985 (Wilson 1985).[2] In 1899, W. E. B. DuBois, a sociologist by training, became one of the first black academics to publish sociological works on black experiences in the United States,[3] four years before political science as a discipline firmly solidified its foundation through the establishment of its scholarly organization, the American Political Science Association (APSA). The deep gulf between the young black scholar's intellectual pursuit to uplift his race, and the societal prejudice imposed on blacks revealed itself in the person of Du Bois's contemporary, John W. Burgess. This founder of the graduate program in political science at Columbia University and first editor of the *Political Science Quarterly*, the longest continuously published social science journal in the United States, pronounced the following obiter dicta:

> Indian America has left no legacies to modern civilization; African has as yet made no contributions; and Asia, while producing all of our great religions, has done nothing, except in imitation of Europe, for political civilization. We must conclude from these facts that American Indians, Asiatics and Africans cannot

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[1] See e.g. Ernest J. Wilson III (1985) and Michael C. Dawson and Ernest J. Wilson III (1991).
[2] Wilson's context analysis is based on the following journals in political science, sociology and history; the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review* and *Social Forces*, as well as *the American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, and *Journal of Social History*.
[3] W. E. B. DuBoois (1899)

> properly form any active, directive part of the political population which shall be able to produce modern political institutions and ideas. They have no element of political civilization to contribute. They can only receive, learn, follow Aryan examples... We must preserve our Aryan nationality in the state, and admit to its membership only such non-Aryan race-elements as shall have become Aryanized in spirit and in genius by contact with it, if we would build the superstructure of the ideal American commonwealth (Burgess 1895, 406, 407).

Kenneth Jandas's study in 1969 found that out of 2,614 articles in the *American Political Science Review* from 1906 to 1963, only six articles had the keyword "Negro" in their titles, three articles had "race" or "racial," and two had "black" (Jandas 1964). His revised study that covered from 1969 to 1995 also revealed the same gross underrepresentation of African Americans: there were only three entries with African Americans and twelve with "black" (Jandas 1996).[4] Hanes Walton Jr., Cheryl Miller and Joseph P. McCormick found only 54 of the 6,157 articles published in the two professional journals, the *American Political Science Review* (1906-1990) and the *Political Science Quarterly* (1885-1990), examined blacks and politics in the United States (Walton, Miller and McCormick 1995).[5] Rupert Taylor also encountered a similar underrepresentation of race materials when he conducted research on five mainstream journals (the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, and the *British Journal of Political Science*) from 1984 to 1993 and found only 1.5 % of the total 1,800 articles contained a keyword, "race," or "ethnicity" (Taylor 1996, 892).[6] The first edition of *The State of the Discipline*, an official record of the discipline's history published in 1983 by the

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[4] Although there is one more article that contained the keyword "black," the article was a study on Black (sub-Sahara) Africa. Therefore, it was subtracted from the total number of articles with the keyword.
[5] However, there seems to be a fundamental error in their data analysis. See Chapter II of this dissertation.
[6] It should be noted his content analysis of "race" and "ethnicity" includes articles on non-US societies. Therefore, Taylor's study does not necessarily indicate to what extent researchers are interested in race

American Political Science Association, did not include any chapter that examined either the state of race studies in political science or the significance of such studies.[7] Therefore, the invisibility of minority studies has been an integral part of a sad tradition of political science in the United States. Ralph J. Bunche, the first African American to earn a doctorate in political science in the United States in 1934, once commented with resignation the state of the discipline regarding its treatment of African Americans:

> In some field [s] this [publishing] is relatively easy. Anthropologists deal with the Negro as a respectable topic, and the journals of anthropology take such articles without hesitation. In respect to my own field [Political Science], which concerns the status of the Negro, except insofar as papers having to do with colonial problems and the like are involved, there isn't a very cordial reception for papers dealing with the Negro (Holden 1983).

Contemporary scholars such as Michael C. Dawson at Harvard University and Maurice Woodard at Howard University echo Bunche's observation from some 70 years ago and believe they have been doubly marginalized in their own discipline (i.e. both numerical and conceptual marginalization), first as black members of the predominantly white field, and second as a marginalized topic in the political science field, including graduate programs, dissertations, and American politics textbooks (Dawson and Wilson 1991, 91). Ernest Wilson also alleges that cutting edge studies of political science always leave out African American experiences from the scope of political inquiry (Wilson 1985, 601).

According to Roger M. Smith, who has examined race issues in political science, there has been a drastic increase in the number and scope of race materials since the 1990s. "Suffice to say that race has become a concern in studies of voting behavior, legislative behavior, public opinion, history of political ideas, executive, administrative,

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studies and race issues in the Untied States. However, this dismal ratio will no doubt go down even farther if non-US society articles are excluded.

[7] Finifter (1983).

public policy and judicial studies, urban studies, and much more in ways that were unknown a generation ago" (Smith 2004, 43). Although his account is still debatable, it is safe to say there has at least been an increase in *awareness* in the discipline that race has become a legitimate subject of political science. The second edition of *The State of the Discipline* published in 1993 carried an informative article by Paula McClain and John Garcia that centered on the development of race studies in American political science and transformation of race studies paradigms and approaches (McClain and Garcia 1993). The latest edition of *The State of the Discipline* published in 2002 included an article by Michael C. Dawson and Cathy Cohen that suggests researchers should pay attention to "within group differences" in addition to the traditional "black-white differences." They also encourage political scholars to connect the intersectionality of race and other ascriptive characteristics, such as gender and class, and to use empirical works as a lens through which to analyze the positions of blacks in normative theories, such as those of justice and equality (Dawson and Cohen 2002).

Some may argue that political science has finally embraced studies of race and minority subjects in the discipline; after all, we live in the 21st century, multicultural America where our discipline is supposed to be a vanguard in analyzing the power dynamics existing in different groups and their manifestation in politics. Some may rationalize that the mission to include black scholars and black politics is already complete on the grounds that the APSA and most major regional political science associations now offer a "Race/Ethnicity" or "Gender and Race/Ethnicity" section at annual conferences. The reality, however, is that the wider audiences of political scientists have yet to capitalize or explore such scholarship; for example, only 20 articles

in the *American Political Science Review* from 1995 to 2005 addressed minority issues.[8] Even today, only 4 % —less than 400—of the 9620 US APSA members identified themselves as African Americans (APSA Elections Review Committee 2004, 25).[9] Furthemore, there are two different types of race studies in political science. One is called "race relations politics" which traditionally treats African Americans as a single bloc and examines how the "Negro/black/minority" problems in the Untied States could be solved to benefit American society in general. The other, "African-American Politics tradition" (or Hispanic, Asian American for that matter) concerns the experiences, perspectives, and empowerment of the minorities. To this day, Smith argues (2004, 42) that studies conducted in the "mainstream" fall solely into the first category.

2. Fundamental Questions and Arguments

The state of the discipline with respect to the underrepresentation of race studies leads us to the following two fundamental questions: 1) why does political science lag behind in accommodating minority studies; and 2) why is it necessary to accommodate race studies in political science? Some may argue that the origin of the invisibility of minorities may stem from institutional racism, or perhaps from an unwritten rule in

[8] For further analysis, see Chapter II.

[9] The report was compiled by the following committee members: Jane S. Anderson (University of Cincinnati), Richard L. Engstrom (University of New Orleans), Robert A. Holms (Atlanta-Clark University), Gregory Kasza (Indiana University-Bloomingdale), Richard S. Katz (Johns Hopkins University), Kirstie M. McClure, Chair (University of California-Los Angeles), Kristen Renwick Monroe (University of California-Irvine), and Michael C. Munger (Duke University). Among the 9620 members, 8% preferred to list their race/ethnicity as "other." "All US Graduate Student Members" (N=3003) is slightly more diverse (27%) than the "All US APSA Members" (20.28%);" African Americans 5% vs. 4%; Asian Americans 5% vs. 4%; Hispanic Americans 4% vs. 5%; Native Americans 1% vs. 0.28%, Other 8% vs. 11%.

political science that has made race studies a virtual taboo. Unfortunately such assumptions are both too general and simplistic to explain or excuse; they also do not explain much about the internal mechanism of institutional racism, or the "constructing" such a tradition. After all, what is institutional racism?

Some may contend every scholar has his or her own research interest; therefore the marginalization of minority issues in political science may simply be a result of a lack of interest among scholars. It is true those who engage in race studies are predominantly minorities who tend to consider this line of study their calling (Dawson and Cohen 1992, 488-89, Dawson and Wilson 1991, 227). Such quick inferences overlook a couple of critical issues—what is or is not considered as a legitimate subject in political science, and who has power to determine it. Researchers need to go beyond the conventional claim of institutional racism and explore these issues from an epistemological perspective. Such an ambitious study ought to cover the power dynamics within the discipline of political science over the guardianship of knowledge: i.e., who decides what counts as knowledge concerning political science. There are many unanswered questions as to who or what shapes the interests of scholars beyond their pure academic curiosity; who gets to define what is or is not legitimate or appropriate to study in political science and how they define it; and how this process is constructed and maintained in the field. Through such a study, something much larger and more complex than institutional racism may potentially emerge to explain the absence of minority experiences in political science.

One may also question the fundamental premise of these inquiries as to why the inclusion of minorities or lack thereof in political science literature is considered a

significant issue worthy of study in the first place. It may be true that there are many under-explored questions and subjects in the discipline that deserve critical attention from scholars. If such is the case, what is the decisive difference between the inclusion of the minority issues and the inclusion of other under-researched subjects, such as, for example, an obscure political theorist in the late 17th century? What benefits will such an inclusion of minorities have, or what can such studies contribute to the further development of the discipline itself? Is the inclusion of minority literature simply for the sake of political correctness—redressing the past injustice toward minorities—or for the sake of celebrating diversity in general? If the latter is the case, then, there will be little legitimacy in attempting to further include minority studies in political science. Unless we can answer these questions persuasively and definitively, race studies in American political science will remain perpetually vulnerable to discrediting, disregarding, and discouraging.

This dissertation will address those two aforementioned questions: 1) why does political science lag behind in accommodating minority studies; and 2) why it is necessary to accommodate race studies in political science. This study argues that epistemological racism in the discipline rather than institutional racism long prevented race studies from surfacing. One could argue the APSA, in its formative period, successfully used symbolic capital, defined the boundaries of the discipline, and legitimized the scope of study, thereby making African American experiences invisible. Yet, in the greater scheme of power relations in the discipline, there is no single culprit who bears the entire responsibility for the exclusion, not John Burgess, not Frank J.

Goodnow,[10] nor C. E. Merriam,[11] nor Frederic A. Ogg[12] nor any other founding fathers of the APSA.

But why is there no single identifiable culprit? It is because we are all *disciplined* by the discipline. Those political scientists may have created the discipline, yet once born, the discipline began a life of its own and grew into a leviathan willing to exercise its power to control both the discipline itself and its members with punishments and rewards. The discipline creates a discourse and disciplines those who stray from the discourse, just as border collies bark at stray sheep to get them back to their flock. As Foucault so aptly puts it,

> In reality, the disciplines have their own discourse...They are extraordinarily inventive participants in the order of these knowledge-producing apparatuses. Disciplines are the bearers of a discourse, but this cannot be the discourse of right. The discourse of discipline has nothing in common with that of law, rule or sovereign will. The disciplines may well be the carriers of a discourse that speaks of a rule, but this is not the judicial rule deriving from sovereignty, but a natural rule, a norm (Foucault 1976: 1980, 106-7).

We, the political scientists, all participate in this disciplining together unknowingly or knowingly, either acquiescing to or resisting the invisible hegemon. To what extent some are successful in resisting the disciplining and the discipline may likely depend on the respective quality of symbolic capital political scientists possess. [13]

In addition, one needs to pay close attention to the relatively late entrance of the black scholars into political science to explain the "numerical" rather than "conceptual" part of the dual underrepresentation of African Americans in the field. When the first African American —Ralph J. Bunche—earned a doctorate in political science, it was

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[10] The chair of the preparatory committee to establish the American Political Science Association
[11] The founder of the Social Science Research Council
[12] A chief/managing editor of the *American Political Science Review* for more than 25 years in the early 20th century.

already some thirty years after the establishment of the APSA. Until the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* decision made it illegal to deny equal educational opportunity based on race, the number of African American political scientists had remained quite small at only 21 (APSA 2005).[14] This number rose to 55 by the beginning of the 1960s; yet considering the total enrollment in the organization, they were still absolute minorities, even much more so than in their everyday world. The majority of those African American political scientists worked at HBCU (historically black colleges and universities) and therefore they were symbolic capitalists mainly in the HBCU circle. Nonetheless, black political scientists were marginalized in the national organization and in the discipline as a whole, first because there were already established symbolic capitalists who had more power and authority than the newcomers could have questioned or challenged. Second, without comparable symbolic capital of their own, African American political scientists entered the established discipline where the establishment

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[13] For a discussion of symbolic capital, see Chapter IV Disciplined by the Discipline.

[14] Holders of African American doctorates in political science as of 1954 were as follow: Robert Brisbane, Vincent Browne, and Ralph Bunche from Howard University; Rodney Higggins, Jewel Prestage, and Alexander Walker from the University of Iowa; William Boyd, Robert Gill and Thomas R. Solomon from the University of Michigan; Earl M. Lewis and Robert Martin from the University of Chicago; William Nowlin and Samuel D. Cook from Ohio State University; G. James Fleming and J. Erroll Miller from the University of Pennsylvania; John Davis from Columbia University; Emmett Dorsey from American University; Lucius J. Barker from the University of Illinois; William McIntosh from the University of Minnesota; William Robinson from New York University; and Merze Tate from Radcliffe College. The original presentation, titled "The Professional Careers of Some Eminent African American Political Scientists that Graduated Between 1934-1955," was sponsored by the APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession at the APSA annual conference in Boston on August 30, 2002. The participants were: Maurice C. Woodard from Howard University; Charles P. Henry from the University of California-Berkeley; Michael B. Preston from the University of Southern California; Alice M. Jackson from Morgan State University; Russell Adams from Howard University; Sheilla Harmon-Martin from the University of the District of Columbia; Joseph P. Harris from Howard University; and Tobe Johnson from Morehouse College. This panel discussion was later published as a five-part symposium in 2005. *PS: Political Science* 38 (January). At the following APSA annual conference in Philadelphia in 2003, another panel honoring the achievements of African American political scientists passed on the oral tradition in black political science to the next generation. "Black Political Scientists and Their Contributions Past, Present and Future." Kenny J. Whitby (chair) from the University of South Carolina; Franklin D. Gilliam Jr. from the University of California-Los Angeles; Wendy G. Smooth from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Mamie E. Locke from Hampton University; Michael B. Preston from the University of Southern

had historically used their symbolic capital to control/monitor the production of knowledge and its maintenance. This first generation of black political scientists was discouraged by their white mentors from touching controversial race issues in their studies. For example, after a consultation with his advisor, Ralph J. Bunche self-censored and changed his dissertation topic from racial segregation in the South to a comparative analysis of colonial protectorates in Africa. In addition, some public data, especially data on race issues which were supposedly available to the public, were not made available to African American political scientists (Solomon 1988). That they entered an already established discipline with no comparable symbolic capital is one of the reasons why African American experiences have been marginalized in the discipline.

This study also argues that bringing in de-centered perspectives from African Americans has utilities, one of which is the possibility of finding answers to broader unresolved questions in political science. Such an attempt to contribute to the development of the field will have far-reaching effects and greater appeal to political scientists than defining this issue from a political correctness or multicultural idealism perspective alone. Historically, political scientists in the United States have conceptualized white middle class man as the standard of political citizenship and manhood by which others are measured, and scholars unknowingly or knowingly used the liberal conceptual tradition as a framework through which to analyze political affairs at home and abroad. As a result, American political science has received a fair share of blame for its ideological biases and inability to discard its tacit white middle class

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California; Wilbur C. Rich from Wellesley College; and Dianne M. Pinderhughes from the University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign contributed to the panel.

perspectives.[15] If such is the case, political scientists need to go beyond liberalism and middle-class perspectives to seek a more complex ideological framework that so far they have been reluctant to address. Raymond Seidelman argues that American political scientists "have always excluded and feared a future beyond liberalism" (1985, 241). Yet transcending liberalism does not necessarily mean discarding it altogether and turning to Marxism or anarchism; nor is the solution necessarily that of going right or left of liberalism as Seidelman proposes in his *Disenchanted Realists* (1985). Instead, the answer may be found where liberalism has left off. That is, to bring in "difference" perspectives stemming from ascriptive characteristics, such as gender, race and class, among others, into political science in a way that such an attempt will go beyond the existing "adding and stirring" approach.

Historically, liberalism has been slow to recognize the distinction between such ascriptive differences and the "religious differences" they succeeded in containing in the Enlightenment Era and have since "tolerated." Citizens (men) are expected to leave their religious differences in the private sphere and come to the public sphere for political deliberations as merely citizens—not as Protestant citizens or Catholic citizens.[16] Applying the same logic, the liberal model expects those "citizens with extra baggage" to come into the society as citizens, but not as female citizens, black citizens, or Latina citizens. Yet this "leaving behind" model ends up denying women and minorities the right to keep a part of their identities, perspectives, and values, all of which they cannot

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[15] See e.g. Loppincott (1993), Ricci (1987), Easton (1991), Whyte (1943), and Crick (1959).

[16] This liberal disembodied model of citizenship is still used in political theory today. For example, John Rawls' people under the "veil of ignorance" at the "original position" are supposed to disregard both one's own and others' gender/class/racial differences in order to constitute new just principles that will apply to all citizens equally. In this sense, one's particular ascriptive characteristics will cloud one's judgment unless cleanly separated. Yet such a formula, "(human beings) – (particular ascriptive characteristics)" will

leave behind in the private sphere. To fit into the existing public sphere of "citizens," women are forced to degenderize and minorities to deracialize to learn the new mode of language, acceptable mode of conduct, new consciousness and belief system as "citizens"—i.e. the white middle class model in disguise. What is left behind is a part of their identity, a part of their double-consciousness, and a part of their belief systems and perspectives. What is denied is their oppositional knowledge based on their experiences as "citizens with extra baggage," their wish to affirm such knowledge as "legitimate academic knowledge," their desire to claim political science also as their own, and their hope to end alienation from their own knowledge. What American political science needs as a discipline is a departure from white middle-class perspectives, even though academia has proved in many demographic studies to be still undeniably a playground for the middle class.[17] By applying the perspectives and consciousness that are left behind and still "hidden," "protected" and "treasured" among those who quite do not fit the white middle class male model of citizenship, political science may be able to answer the questions the current framework of analysis is hesitant to address. This study hopes to present an example of such unlimited possibilities.

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lead to deracializing and degendering human beings to replicate a model of citizenship—a white middle class man. Rawls (1971, 1999).

[17] Just as do minorities and women, scholars from a lower class background feel alienation because they feel their conduct, model of socializing, and experience are dissimilar to those of typical middle class colleagues who are born and raised in a professional family. For the demographic studies on academia in

3. Chapter Organization

Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter, "What is the Color of Social Capita?" will focus on a case study to examine the hypothesis that African Americans are still marginalized in political science literature in the United States—the fundamental premise of this dissertation. The existing studies of minority underrepresentation in political science are rather outdated, as the latest study of such kind, Rupert Taylor's (1996), was conducted roughly 10 years ago and does not reflect the changing trends Roger Smith claims to have arisen in the discipline. On the other hand, Smith's 2004 study does not offer a quantitative analysis of the state of the marginalization; thus, his claims for an increase in race studies in political science cannot be confirmed. Therefore, this study will pick up where these others left off. After examining the general trend in political science with respect to the state of race studies, this dissertation will use "social capital/civil society studies" as a test case to examine Wilson's claim that cutting-edge studies of political science always leave out African Americans from their scope of inquiry. The first task will be to substantiate his claim as to whether African Americans are included in studies of social capital/civil society, and if so, under what circumstances they are discussed. Content analysis of the existing social capita/civil society literature will reveal whether there is a constant pattern in which African Americans and other minorities are framed in such literature. Are there any differences or similarities between the pattern observed in social capital/civil society

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the United States, see Lipset and Ladd (1970), Ryan and Shackrey (1984), Steinberg (2000), and Oldfield and Conant (2000).

studies and the pattern in political science in general?[18] Or can we find the same consistent pattern in social capital/civil society studies that can be seen in political science literature in general? The rest of the chapter will be devoted to a context-specific inquiry, namely identifying a reason why African Americans may be underrepresented in social capital/civil society studies. As a part of the presumed explanation, an issue of definitional difference between the social capital concept in political science and the original social capital concept in sociology will be explored as well as the differences in the disciplinary boundaries between political science and sociology that are manifested in the differences in how the two disciplines conceptualize a human being—i.e. a merely political being separated from multidimensionality of being, or a multidimensional being grounded in a real human lifeworld.

Chapter III, "No Universal Truth" will once again use the case study, social capital/civil society studies to verify Wilson's claim that cutting edge research usually leaves out African Americans from the scope of inquiry. Ever since Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) praised the political culture of the nation of joiners, civic democracy has been the central subject of academic discourse. Civic democracy refers to a participatory mode of democracy in which citizens come together to form associations, foster trust, expand networks, share information, participate in the decision-making process, and create a civil society that stands as an intermediary between the government and the private sphere. The civic tradition has been revisited by numerous political scientists,[19] yet recent works by Robert Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c,

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[18] For a discussion of the pattern in which African Americans and other minorities are examined and depicted in political science literature, see McClain and Garcia (1993).

[19] For discussions of democratic participation, see, e.g., Arendt 1958, 1963, 1968; Mansbridge 1980; Dryzek 1990; and Habermas 1990.

1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 2000a, 2000b, 2003) have opened a whole new discussion of the need for "connectedness," "relationships," and "trust" among people—which he calls social capital—to sustain a responsive democracy.[20] His introduction of a sociological concept of social capital into political science has become a part of the most debated and contested topics across subfields in political science in the last decade.

In this chapter, the focus will be on the reasons behind the selection of the social capita/civil society studies as a test case and its overall significance to political science. We will also probe the unresolved issues hidden in social capital/civil society studies. The unresolved issue will be discussed again in Chapter VII as a test case to examine whether perspectives from *"others"* or perspectives from the formerly marginalized groups in American society, could be used as a theoretical foundation in answering the unanswered issue.

The next chapter, "Disciplined by the Discipline" uses "sociology of knowledge" as a theoretical framework of study in critically examining the formation/creation and maintenance of formal knowledge, such as ideologies and intellectual ideas in general. This will be followed by a discussion on symbolic capital, a concept by French sociologist Pierre Bourdeau on how symbolic capital or the possession of a "naming right" is used to legitimize particular ideas while dismissing others, as well as to create and maintain the hierarchy of knowledge.[21] In other words, this chapter aims to expose the power relations and power struggles lurking within the processes of social control of

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[20] Social capital refers to "feature of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions." Putnam 1993a, 167. For further studies of social capital and its application in comparative politics, public administration, public policy and American politics, see e.g., Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2003).

knowledge, social construction of knowledge, and maintenance of the existing ruling ideas. In so doing, we can de-neutralize ideas, concepts, and truths which are often presented as naturally given and ideologically neutral.

This examination will be followed by a genealogy of political science as a field to examine how the American Political Science Association (APSA) in its formative period framed the scope of study in political science. Since its inception, the APSA has been the leading voice of the discipline in defining the boundary. It publishes scholarly journals that enjoy high regard from its peers and hosts an annual conference now known as "the" conference among political scientists in the United States. Now it almost gives an impression the organization and the discipline have merged into one and reached the point where political scientists cannot discuss one without the other. Although the APSA has contributed to the development and management of the discipline, we need to remind ourselves: "All forms of political organization have a bias in favor of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others, because organization is the mobilization of bias. Some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out" (Schattschneider 1960, 71). If such is the case, what was left out from the scope of studies in political science throughout the process of establishing the discipline? How was it justified, and what was its end result?

Juxtaposing with the previous Chapter, Chapter V "A Genealogy of *Other* Political Science" will begin with a genealogy of black political scientists in the United States and examine how the latecomers fared and were "included" in the organization, and how they struggled to solidify their position in the predominantly white discipline.

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[21] Pierre Bourdeau is also credited for coining the social capital concept at least 10 years before Putnam applied and modified it in his study in political science. For Bourdeau's concept of capitals, see Bourdeau

Those black pioneers of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s rarely worked in an environments where they could simply "publish or perish," a mantra of academia, and thereby devote themselves primarily to research. Because they were the first of the firsts, those who chose non-HBCU (Historically Black Colleges and Universities) rarely had black mentors to shepherd them through departmental politics, conduct joint research with them, or even to provide a shoulder on which to cry: they were on their own from the beginning. These black pioneers had to fight a war most young newly hired white assistant professors did not have to fight right away, challenging and negotiating with the establishment to create an environment where they, and more importantly, the succeeding generations of minority students and professors could have equal opportunities to conduct research and receive education as did their white counterparts. Ultimately, this dissertation argues that their relatively late entry into the already established discipline defined the conditions under which—and only under which—the first generation of African American political scientists would be able to survive their initial stage in the discipline. This historical status of African American political scientists as the absolute minority in the discipline and the constraints on their symbolic capital has long been overlooked because political scientists may have thought there was nothing to explore beyond what seemed to be the obvious. Yet, the fact is that marginalization of race relations politics in the discipline, especially the "African American politics tradition," is a direct result of the substantial underrepresentation of African Americans in the history of political science, of those who most often consider such a study to be their calling.

The second part of this chapter will shift its focus to the current state of African Americans in the discipline with respect to their employment opportunities, retention, and

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(1981, 1984, 1986)

promotion to examine whether the history of underrepresentation has shown significant changes. The relationship between the African American pioneers and the organization has been at times frosty: [African Americans were] "the pariahs whose relationship to the national body [APSA] was at best peripheral" (Woodard 1977, 18). The civil rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s influenced African American political scientists to claim their rightful place in the discipline; however, when their demands were not met with a conscientious effort by the organization, the situation reached the boiling point.[22] After boycotting the annual APSA conferences two years in a row, in 1970 they branched out from the APSA to establish a scholarly organization of their own, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Juxtaposing with Chapter IV, this section will also examine the role of knowledge, hierarchy of knowledge from the emancipatory perspective, and tradition in African American politics studies.

The next chapter, "Not Just Adding and Stirring" will return to the unresolved issue in the test case, the social capital and civil society studies explored in Chapter II, and examine whether the perspective of formerly marginalized groups in society can shed light on finding an answer to the unanswered question. The question to be examined is the location of civil society, the very foundation of the social capital/civil society studies without which discussions of civil society and social capital would remain on shaky

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[22] The Committee proposed the organization sever ties with corporations that practiced discriminatory hiring policy and exclude such corporations from the APSA investments, purchasing, publishing, and donations. The committee consisted of a total of 16 members: Paul L. Puryear, Chair (Fisk University), Russell Adams (North Carolina College), Twiley W. Barker (University of Illinois), Samuel D. Cook (Ford Foundation), C. Vernon Gray (University of Massachusetts graduate student), Tobe N. Johnson (Morehouse College), Mack H. Johns (Atlanta University), Robert E. Martin (Howard University), Lols B. Moreland (Spellman College), Frank L. Morris (Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduate student), Michael J. Parenti (Yale University), William P. Robinson Sr. (Virginia State College), Harry M. Scoble Jr. (University of California-Los Angeles), Nathaniel P. Tillman Jr. (Delaware State University), Alex Willingham (University of North Carolina), and Maurice C. Woodard (Federal City College.) For the

ground from which to build further case studies. Where is it that people come together to form associations and generate social capital? Too often scholars use "civil society" without clearly defining its conceptual location: does it stand in between the public and the private and work as an intermediary between the two? Or does it reside in the private because that is where people gather together without interference from the government?

This section will first focus on the existing models of the dichotomy of the public and the private, the liberal model and the civic republican model, and see if the dichotomy—or dichotomization of the human lifeworld—is still a useful framework to discuss the plethora of human interactions. This dissertation argues that the existing public and private dichotomy is too rigid and incomplete to determine the location of the civil society. Instead, by introducing the African American concept of "community," this study has coined a new term, "the collective private sphere" or the social sphere, lying between the private and the public sphere—partly private yet collective in nature. The public sphere and the social sphere without the crossover between the social sphere and the private sphere constitute a civil society, but not the single hegemonic civil society that is often assumed in social capital and civil society studies. American civil society consists of many different civil societies that are born spontaneously whenever and wherever people meet, socialize or engage in the act of politics. These small civil societies are not "counter" civil societies, because naming them so would make one particular civil society serve as the center and standard by which other civil societies are measured. Those many spontaneous civil societies are not static, they appear and disappear; they are floating and bouncing with each other, making and breaking

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complete report, see a report compiled by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in Profession. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 3 (Winter): 37-8.

coalitions depending on issues that draw them together and drive them away. The existing tradition in political science is reluctant to recognize these different traditions and different perspectives grounded on the experiences of the formerly marginalized who are forced to alienate themselves from their own knowledge. Moving the center to the periphery and seeing it from a new center will lead us to view American society in an unexpected, fresh and innovative way. Thus, the perspectives of minorities are not brought in for the sake of political correctness, but for further development of the discipline of political science and an attempt to tame the discipline that disciplines us all.

The final chapter, "Declaration of Epistemological Independence" will begin with revisiting the reasons behind the underrepresentation of African Americans in political science literature. It will be followed by a brief discussion on the state and the future of the discipline with respect to embracing different perspectives.

Chapter II
What is the Color of Social Capital?

1. Introduction

Before examining the two fundamental questions raised in the introductory chapter, it is essential that the state of the "black politics" article in political science be analyzed so that we can have a general idea about its current status. Are African Americans still underrepresented in the scope of study in political science as many scholars, such as Jundas, Walton, Wilson and Dawson have claimed in the past? The latest quantitative study of this genre was conducted in 1996, and thus, the findings drawn from past studies may not exactly reflect the state of race/black politics articles in 2005 or the changing reality in political science that Roger M. Smith alleges has been taking place in the last decade. For this reason, a new content analysis of the state of the black politics articles needs to be conducted in order to compare the current trend (1995-2005)[1] with the trend in the past. After the current state of the articles is examined, a test case—social capital/civil society studies—will be used to analysis Wilson's assessment (and sentiment) that African Americans are overlooked in the overall scope of cutting-edge studies. The choice of social capita/civil society studies as a test case will be discussed in detail in Chapter III along with problems surrounding both concepts.

[1] For exact volume numbers, see Table 1.

2. State of Black Politics Articles in Political Science

The primary database used for this part of study is the Social Science Citation Index because of its vast and up-to-date coverage of publications in social science as well as its convenient abstracts for each article. JSTOR was also considered for the potential primary source of the database; however, it does not necessarily post the latest volumes of journals on its web, and in some cases, abstracts are not available for review.[2] For this reason, the Social Science Citation Index was selected over JSTOR.

Seven journals in political science were chosen for content analysis: the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (*AAAPSS*); *American Journal of Political Science* (*AJPS*); *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*); the *Journal of Politics* (*JP*); *Political Science Quarterly* (*PSQ*); the *Political Research Quarterly* (*PRQ*) and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (*PS*). Specialty journals such as *Comparative Politics* and *World Politics* were excluded from the scope of journal selection as the focus of the content analysis in this study is strictly on black politics in the United States; therefore, articles on the genocide in Rwanda or post-Apartheid politics in South Africa were likewise excluded. These final selections consist of leading general journals that usually cover many different subfields in each issue and therefore can expect to have a greater appeal to a wider audience in political science.

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[2] For example, its postings of the *American Political Science Review* cover from 1906, the inaugural year, to 2001, and the *Political Science Quarterly* from 1886 to 2000.

Screening of race/black politics articles was conducted in the following manner. Three search limits were set for the Social Science Citation Index advanced search: 1) journal sources, set as the aforementioned seven journals; 2) year, set from 1995 to 2005; and 3) document, set as "articles." For example, [SO=*American Political Science Review*, year 1995-2005] will yield all the articles published during those ten years in the *American Political Science Review* but exclude book reviews, professional news, biographical items, table of content, etc. From there, adding a keyword in the "Search within Result" command will display all the articles on a particular "topic" in the *APSR* from 1995-2005.

Four keywords are used for the "Search within Result" command: rac*, minorit*, black*, and African American.* The asterisk is a wild card command allowing one to search all the words that begin with the letters preceding the asterisk. For example, potential vocabularies for rac* may include "race," "races," "racial," "racist/s," "racism," etc. In the case of minorit*, the result will yield articles whose topics are classified under either "minority" or "minorities." Some articles are naturally cross-listed under two or three topics, such as "race," "blacks" and "African Americans." The Social Science Citation Index will automatically check and delete double or triple listings of the same articles within the group when all the selected articles are submitted for review and print. Other potential keywords that may be associated with race/black articles such as "ethnicity" and "womanism"--which is often used in black feminism—are not used for this study because a preliminary test indicated that articles listed under such topics are most

likely to be also cross-listed under one or more of the other selected keywords for this study.

After the initial screening of the articles, all titles were examined manually; for those with ambiguous titles, abstracts of the articles were read and checked to make certain the selected articles were on race/black politics. For example, "minority" does not necessarily mean racial minority, as it could also apply to gays, women, or even a minority party in the U.S. Congress. Race means a particular group of people (although it is often used interchangeably with minorities) in some studies, but in others such as electoral studies, race can refer to a contest as in presidential or mayoral race. Therefore, the time-consuming manual screening was necessary to eliminate all articles not directly related to African Americans.

The research method is summarized in Appendix 1, with the results analyzed in Table 1-3. From 1995 to 2005, a total of 3,598 articles were published in the seven general journals in political science, with each journal averaging from 20 to 70 articles per year. Initially, the Social Science Citation Index yielded 372 race/black articles; however, the number decreased by roughly 45% after the manual screening eliminated articles on Asian Americans, Hispanics, gay **minority**, presidential **race**, non-U.S. politics, etc. Overall, a total of 207 articles (5.75%) were confirmed to center on blacks, their political behaviors, electoral behaviors, social movements, etc. Among the seven journals, the *AAAPSS* ranks first with 52 articles while the *PSQ* ranks the last with 10. The large number of black articles in the *AAAPSS* is attributed to a commemorative issue (No. 568) in 2000 to mark the one hundred-year-anniversary of the publication of "The Study of the Negro

Problems" by W. E. B. Du Bois. The journal also issued a special report on ethnography in 2004 (No. 594) which added five articles to the total number of black articles in the *AAAPSS*. Except for these two years, on average roughly 15 articles were published each year by the seven journals during the period. Excluding the first quarter of 2005, the *AJPS* published roughly 3.4 articles per year; the *APSR*, 1.9 articles per year; the *JP*, 4.6 articles per year; the *PRQ*, 2.5 articles per year; the *PSQ*, 1 article a year; and the *PS*, 1.7 articles per year. In other words, these discrepancies between "on-year" and "off-year" with respect to the number of black politics articles indicate that blacks as a group are still underrepresented in political science journals unless a special issue pays special tribute to black behavior.

Before the trend is further assessed, the nature of the journals should be noted as their specific mission may partially account for the large volume of black articles in the *AAAPSS*. Differing from the other six journals, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (as its name indicates) does not confine its scope of research to political science alone. In fact, it carries black studies in sociology, and anthropology, some of which under normal circumstances might not get published in more "authentic" political science journals. However, it is premature to judge the *AAAPSS* as being more race-conscious because it covers a sociological field that historically has had a better track record of including minority studies (Wilson 1985). In addition, unlike other journals, the *AAAPSS* publishes issues six volumes a year, which translates into a larger number of articles, thus increasing the statistical chance of black articles being published.

With respect to the black-to-white ratio, the *JP* fared best with 9.67 % of black articles while the *PS* ranked last in this category. This result may give the false impression the *PS* is the least black-friendly journal as it should be noted that all news items, such as announcements for the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute and the Minority Identifying Program as well as bibliographic items such as obituaries and career items were excluded from the scope of this inquiry. If those news items on race (14 pieces) and biographical items on black scholars were included in this research, the *PS* would easily outrank the *JP*, *PSQ*, *PRQ* and most likely the *APSR*. However, all biographical items were categorically excluded from the scope of research in this study because biographical items are not easy to classify by race even when pictures of political scientists accompany the articles. Due to this limitation, potentially many black bibliographical items, such as the symposium on the careers of selected black political scientists featured in the January 2005 issue, had to be classified as ineligible for this content analysis to ensure the accuracy and coherence of the research. For these reasons, it would be incorrect and unfair to assume the *PS* is the least black-friendly journal among the seven, as in the 272 unclassified bibliographical items, the symposium in the January 2005 issue alone counted as five items on black political scientists. The same logic applies to the other six journals as they may have carried a number of news items or biographical items on black students and scholars.

Given this most recent data on black articles in political science journals, how should we assess the state of black politics articles in political science? The greatest impediments to comparing this study with several past studies is that all

research use different methodologies, different time periods, and different screening criteria, such as screening articles by keywords in the title, the subject, or the abstract. In addition, weaknesses in some of the past studies make a simple comparison unreliable. For example, Jandas' study screens articles by keywords appearing in titles rather than in abstracts, which leaves the possibility black politics articles without keywords in the titles may have been incorrectly classified as non-black articles. Taylor also does not clarify whether variations of keywords, such as **rac**ism or **rac**ial discrimination, were included in his study that screened for the keywords "race" and "ethnicity."

The only comparable study is by Walton et al., one based on a content analysis of the *APSR* (1906-1990) and the *PSQ* (1985-1990). Just as was done in this dissertation, these researchers searched keywords in abstracts or actual articles rather than just in titles and manually checked potential articles to make certain those selected were actually on race relations or blacks. In the 6,157 articles since the inaugural issues, they found 27 race-related articles in each of the journals for a combined total of 54 articles, among which 21 were labeled as African American politics tradition articles (1995, 153).[3] Compared with the mere 27 articles each

[3] However there seems to be a simple mathematical error in their study. Although they claim these 54 articles account for 2% of the total 6,157 articles, the correct figure should be 0.817 %. A brief excerpt from their article is as follows: "Second, only about 2 percent of the articles published through 1990 (on our account 6,157) addressed the experience of African-Americans. Third, nearly two-thirds of those articles that did tended to fall within the tradition of race relations politics. Fourth, works in the African-American politics tradition were quite infrequent in the opening decades of the century and began to appear in somewhat more significant numbers only in and after the 1940s. And fifth, it was not until the 1970s that the two traditions began to exhibit parity in frequency of publication. Besides these general lessons, a number of related points emerge in this historical study. Both the *Political Science Quarterly* (hereafter, *Quarterly*), over its 105 years, and the *American Political Science Review* (hereafter *Review*), over its 85 years, published an identical number (twenty-seven) of race-related articles. Most tellingly, these articles amounted to no more than 2 percent of the total number of articles. Moreover, the clear majority of the combined fifty-four articles reflect the tradition of race-relations politics. Little more than a third of the articles (in

found in the history of these publications (84 years and 105 years respectively), the current statistics—20 articles in the *APSR* and 10 articles in the *PSQ* from 1995 to the first quarter of 2005—seem to indicate a giant leap forward. During the period Walton et al studied, black articles in the *APSR* (out of a total of 3,683) comprised only 0.73% of the articles published, while the black articles in *PSQ* (out of a total of 2,473) comprised only 1.09%, as opposed to 4.57% in the *APSR* (out of a total of 438) and 4.63% in the *PSQ* (out of a total of 216) today. This more than fourfold increase in each journal may give at least the *impression* that the number of race-related studies has drastically increased in the last decade.

Yet however these figures may be interpreted or compared with others, it appears political science as a discipline has not exactly gained a place on the honor roll when it comes to inclusion of race studies. During the first 105 years of its existence, the *PSQ* published merely 27 articles on race and blacks while the same journal carried 10 articles during the last 10 years from 1995 to 2005. Compared with "the dishonorable mention" in the past, or in *relative* terms, the current status of race studies seems to indicate much improvement. However, 10 articles in 10 years translates into only one article per year. When we compare zero articles in many years during the first 105 years and one article a year in the last 10 years, it is

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our count, twenty-one) were concerned with ways to enhance and improve the political power of African-Americans" (152-3). It is clear from these passages that Walter et al. mean to say the 54 articles amounted to roughly 2% of the 6,157 articles. Unfortunately, their calculation does not add up literally as 2% of 6,157 is 123.14. Their mathematical error may stem from the simplest mistake of adding ratios of the race-related articles in each journal: the twenty-seven articles account for 0.74% of the total 3,683 articles in the *APSR*, and another twenty-seven articles amount to 1.09 % of the total 2,474 articles in the *PSQ*. When you add 0.74 and 1.09, the figure, 1.83 is close to what Walton et al. repeatedly call "about 2 percent" (152) or "no more than 2% (153). Other than this simple computation error, the origin of "2 %" cannot be easily understood. Unfortunately, this incorrect figure has been quoted by other political scientists on race studies. For example, see Roger M. Smith (2004, 42).

quite doubtful this should be called a drastic improvement. The same logic applies to the *APSR*'s publication of roughly 0.23 articles per year, or in other words, zero articles in many of the 84 years Walton et al. examined. Can we call an increase to 1.9 articles per year from 0 articles per year a remarkable one? Roger M. Smith opines in his 2004 study that "things have clearly changed dramatically in the past decade and a half, with a proliferation of race-related scholarship so massive that I shall not try to summarize it here" (43). Still, this dissertation is reluctant to endorse Smith's claim that there has been a *dramatic* increase in the genre in *absolute* terms. Except for the "on-year" in which special editions on black or race-related subjects are published, the number of black articles remains consistently within the range of 11 to 19, or an average of 14.875 per year. Even though the track records of the past 90 years in the history of the discipline may have been much less encouraging, an increase to an average of 2 articles per year in each of the seven journals may not represent the massive proliferation that Smith describes. This is especially true if one looks at the record on the same subject in sociology (see the next section of this chapter), which clearly calls into question whether 14.875 articles a year of race-related articles in political science journals can be called a massive increase.

There are some possible scenarios that could explain the discrepancies between Smith's remarks and this study: 1) Smith may be right if there has been a dramatic increase in books rather than journal articles on black politics; 2) he may also be right if there has been a massive increase in the number of proposals that are sent to the APSA or to other regional conferences that indeed are being accepted for

conference presentations on race; or 3) he may be correct if studies that use "black" as one of the variables rather than as the central subject are also classified as black politics articles. For example, "black" as a variable is often used in studies on electoral systems or civic participation, although the central themes are not about black electoral behaviors or civic participation by blacks. Another possibility may be attributed to the selection biases of journal editors, as Smith may be right if he has access to data indicating a dramatic increase in the number of manuscripts on black politics being sent to journals that nonetheless did not result in publication. As editorial article selection (to be discussed in chapter IV) is conducted in a black box behind the scenes, authors have few clues as to what happens during the decision-making process beyond the comments from reviewers. There may also be some distant possibility that disproportionate numbers of manuscripts on black politics are being rejected due to their sub-par quality or unsuitability. Such explanations seem unlikely because it is unrealistic to assume Smith has access to such data on selection biases of each of the major political science journals.

Alternatively, the massive increase in black politics articles that Smith alleges may be attributed to an increase in available outlets for publication of black materials, such as the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS)'s *National Political Science Review* (*NPSR*) and that organization's newsletters, as well as the *Journal of Black Studies (JBS)*. Although the *JBS* was already publishing in 1970 and may not lend support to Smith's argument, the *NPSR* began publication in 1990, exactly 15 years ago. The publication of a new black journal in 1990 roughly matches Smith's classification of "an increase in the

last decade"; however, the *NPSR* is issued only once a year and cannot alone contribute to any massive increase in black politics articles in political science.

There is also a possibility the keywords used in this research—rac*, minorit*, black, and African American*—may not be sufficient, as there are other terms closely associated with black articles that were not used in this study. Hoping to yield more black articles and to verify the validity of this hypothesis, this dissertation also used the *APSR* and input some dummy keywords, such as "du Bois," "segregation," "Affirmative action," and "civil rights" in the Social Science Citation Index advanced search. Nonetheless, these additional keywords did not reveal any change in the number of articles.

Another factor may be that political scientists interested in black or race-related issues may submit their manuscripts to sociological journals rather than political science journals because they know all too well the track record of such studies in both these disciplines. If so, political scientists crossing to a different discipline may also contribute to the fewer number of race-related articles in political science. This possibility will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Despite these considerations, at this point this study could not find convincing evidence to support Smith's claim that there has been a drastic increase in black politics research at least in the past 10 years.

3. Comparison with a Sister Field

It is often said political science lags behind its sister field of sociology in its inclusion of minorities in its scope of study (Wilson, 1985; Dawson and Wilson

1991). This section examines this assumption and compares the state of black studies articles in both political science and sociology so as to clarify where political science stands today in this regard. For the content analysis of the time period 1995-2005, seven sociology journals of general interest were selected: the *American Journal of Sociology* (*AJS*), *American Sociological Review* (*ASR*), *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*[4] (*AAPSS*), *Social Forces* (*SF*), *Social Problems* (*SP*), and *Sociological Theory* (*ST*). The same methodology and restrictions with respect to keywords, time period, etc. were applied to this research as with the previous political science journal analysis. The result of this research is listed in Table 4.

Among the total of 2,508 articles, 479 were initially screened as race/black articles, but after the abstracts of the articles with ambiguous titles were checked, the number decreased to 321 articles. This result is still 114 articles more than political science journals have carried (207), although the samplings in sociology are roughly one-and-a-half times smaller than those of political science (a total of 3,598 articles.) As opposed to 5.75% in political science, 12.8% of the total articles in sociology are devoted to black social issues. More telling is the fact that two of the seven journals, *Social Forces* and *Social Problems*, devote more than 20% of their journal articles (20.37% and 22.43% respectively) to black issues in sociology. They are followed by the American Sociological Association's flagship journal, the *American Sociological Review* (15.44%), with the *American Journal of Sociology* hovering at nearly 10% (9.42%). Only *Sociological Theory* (3.39%) fared worse

[4] Because of its nature, this journal is classified under political science as well as sociology in JSTOR. Given this precedent, this dissertation study included the journal in the context analysis of

than the average of the seven political science journals (5.75%). This finding makes one wonder if American sociologists and political scientists have indeed been analyzing the same nation, the United States of America, which has the same demographic composition. Given these data, suffice to say that black studies have been an established field of research in the discipline of sociology and therefore such studies are much more visible in the field of sociology than in political science *even today*.

In terms of political scientists possibly crossing the disciplinary boundaries to publish, this study chose the years 1995, 2000, and 2004 to conduct spot checks and see whether political scientists authored any of the black articles in sociology journals. Again, the Social Science Citation Index was used to examine a total of 80 articles—all black studies articles published by six sociology journals in those three years—to identify the authors' institutional affiliations at the time of publication.[5] Naturally, the sociology department came first with authorship of 61 articles, which was followed by demography/population (6 articles) and criminal justice (4 articles). Business/management, social work, poverty research, liberal arts, policy research, gerontology, urban poverty research, and political science/global studies constitute the other nine. Only one article was written by a scholar directly associated with a political science program. Based on this examination of 24.9% of the total black articles in the six sociology journals in three different years, it is safe to say that political scientists crossing to sociology for publication occurs only rarely. One could therefore interpret this result as indicating that political scientists

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both fields.

are not likely to send their manuscripts on black issues to sociology journals, or if they do send them, few were not accepted for publication . Again, there is little evidence to support Roger Smith's assessment of a "massive increase" in black politics in political science. The evidence—an average of two articles in each of the seven political science journals per year and only one article in the six sociology journal in three different years—seems to suggests a "minimal" increase.

The differences between political science and sociology in their inclusion of race issues may stem from differences in the nature and scope of the two fields . As this subject will be revisited in Chapter III, "What is the Color of Social Capital?", this section will only briefly mention how the general differences in the two fields may have affected the different levels of incorporating blacks in research. In general, sociology studies human beings and their problems in diverse levels of society that may include a microstructure surrounding each human being, a community, or the wider American society in general. Accordingly, sociology is more likely to view human beings as multi-dimensional *social beings* who travel freely to different levels of society as opposed to simple *political beings* (or political animals, as Aristotle claims) as conceptualized in political science. These differences were best captured in "What is Sociology?", one of the short informative articles posted on the American Sociological Association (APS) web homepage:

> Sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behavior. Sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organizations, and societies, and how people interact within these contexts. *Since all human behavior is social* [emphasis added], the subject

[5] The *AAAPSS* was excluded from this spot check as this journal cannot be classified as either sociology or political science.

> matter of sociology ranges from the intimate family to the hostile mob; from organized crime to religious cults; from the divisions of race, gender and social class to the shared beliefs of a common culture; and from the sociology of work to the sociology of sports. In fact, few fields have such broad scope and relevance for research, theory, and application of knowledge...Because sociology addresses the most challenging issues of our time, it is a rapidly expanding field whose potential is increasingly tapped by those who craft policies and create programs (American Sociological Association 2005).

It may not be fair to compare this succinct summary to the "What is Political Science?" posted in American Political Science Association (APSA) because the latter is mainly addressed to undergraduate students and consequently is much simpler :

> Are you interested in American politics? International affairs? Critical issues such as health, the environment, civil rights? Theories concerning the ideal government and how power and resources are allocated in society? Do you want to study these subjects and pursue a career based on your interest? If so, you should consider studying political science" (APSA 2005).

Although the statement includes health and the environment in "critical issues," their definitions of political science and political scientists posted on the exact same page lower expectations of studying more diverse issues in the field:

> "po·lit·i·cal sci·ence *n.* the study of governments, public policies and political behavior; uses both humanistic and scientific perspectives and skills to examine all countries and regions of the world" (APSA 2005).
>
> "Political Scientists *n.* professionals who study politics, government, and public policies" (APSA 2005).

As opposed to the discipline of sociology studying ever-expanding lists of social problems, political science, or at least its national organization, takes rather a traditionalistic approach of limiting the scope to what is conventionally considered politics, government, public policy, and political behaviors. Perhaps the

organization thought simplifying the subject would make it easier for undergraduate students to understand the nature of the discipline. Many feminist scholars among others may have difficulty accepting this traditionalistic boundary of political science that excludes issues in the private sphere, especially the injustice taking place there. If the posted definitions are correct, non-power elites may hardly be an issue in studying a government inhabited by the power elite, such as traditionally the white middle-class males here in America. What exactly is a study of political science? Who defines what is appropriate or inappropriate to study? Who draws the boundary between sociology and political science? How is such a boundary observed and delineated? These issues will be examined in detail in Chapter IV, "Disciplined by the Discipline."

Another difference found between political science and sociology based on the content analysis is that there are more sociological studies than in political science that pay attention to the intersectionality of gender, race and class that constitute a matrix of oppressions and inequalities among citizens. Political inequalities cannot be separated from social inequalities and economic inequalities unless one takes the Arendtian approach to define what is political or can conveniently detach oneself from the matrix of oppression and identify one particular source of oppression. Yet, as Dawson and Cohen raise this issue in the *State of the Discipline III* in 2002, political science also sadly lags behind sociology in incorporating intersectionality in research. It is relatively easy to spot intersectionality articles in sociology; the Social Science Citation Index yielded at least 9 intersectionality articles in the *American Sociological Review* alone from

1995 to 2005.[6] During the same period, excluding false alarm articles, the Social Science Citation Index yielded only one such article in the *APSR* that focused on women and racial minorities together: Suzanne Dovi's "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Women, Black, or Latino Do?" (2002). In the *JP*, three articles fall under this category: Katherine Bratton and Kerry Haynie's "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: the Effects of Gender and Race" (1999), Jane Mansbridge's "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'" (1999), and Fred Cutler's "The Simplest Shortcut of All: Sociodemographic Characteristics and Electoral Choice" (2002). Yet, among those examples of "race and gender" articles, only one (Cutler's article) targeted intersectionality while the others used race and gender mostly as explanatory variables or mentioned race or gender only briefly to complement either of the subjects.

This lack of attention to intersectionality or a part of intersectionality, such as race, gender, or class may be partially explained by the demographic composition of the members in the American Political Science Association and the

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[6] All the articles were first screened by the race keywords described in section 2 of this study and then by intersectionality keywords: (woman*) or (Women*) or (Gender*) or (Female*) or (femi*). The examples from the *ASR* are the following which are listed chronologically from most recent to oldest: James R. Elliott and Ryan A. Smith. 2004. "Race, gender, and workplace power." 69 (3): 365-386. Nicola N. Beisel, and Tamara Kay. 2004. "Abortion, race, and gender in nineteenth-century America." 69 (4): 498-518. Natalia N. Sarkisian and Naomi N. Gerstel. 2004." Kin support among blacks and whites: Race and family organization." 69 (6): 812-837. Robert L. Kaufman. 2002. "Assessing alternative perspectives on race and sex employment segregation." 67 (4): 547-572. Leslie McCall. 2001. "Sources of racial wage inequality in metropolitan labor markets: Racial, ethnic, and gender differences." 66 (4): 520-541. Irene Browne. 1997. "Explaining the black-white gap in labor force participation among women heading households." 62 (2): 236-252. Myra M. Ferree and Elaine J. Hall. 1996. "Rethinking stratification from a feminist perspective: Gender, race, and class in mainstream textbooks." 61 (6): 929-950. Jennifer M. Lehmann. 1995. "Question of Castle in Modern Society; Durkheim Contradictory Theory Theories of Race, Class and Sex." 60 (4): 566-585. Jonn J. Beggs. 1995. "The Institutional Environment – Implications for Race and Gender Inequality in the US Labor-Market." 60 (4): 612-633.

American Sociological Association. While female members comprise only 39% of all the members in the APSA, 53.9% of the ASA members are women who are naturally and historically the driving force to include "differences"—reflections of themselves—in their studies.[7] In fact, since 1952, eight female scholars have presided over the ASA to mirror a more diverse demography in the discipline and the organization.[8] On the other hand, political science once again lags behind as its female members had to wait until 1990 to have their first female president of the national organization established in 1903. Sadly, such an honor bestowed to a woman in political science has been repeated only twice since then.[9] How women leading the national academic organizations have affected the nature of the disciplines cannot be generalized here without further study.

4. Social Capital Did It Again?

This brief section examines whether African Americans are left out from the scope of cutting-edge studies by using social capital/civil society study as a test case. The discussions of the selection of this subject as well as the problems and ambiguity surrounding this concept will be discussed in the following chapter.

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[7] American Sociological Association. http://www.asanet.org/research/membership3.html "ASA Membership Data: The Gender Composition of Regular and Student ASA Members, 1999 to 2003 (Percent of Members)" downloaded 04/30/2005. American Political Science Association. "Data and Reports on the Profession: APSA Membership and Governance Data Tables" http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/APSAdata.pdf. Downloaded 04/30/2005.

[8] Dorothy Swaine Thomas 1952; Mirra Komarovsky 1973; Alice S. Rossi 1983; Matilda White Riley 1986; Joan Huber 1989; Maureen T. Hallinan 1996; Jill S. Quadagno 1998 and Barbara F. Reskin 2002. American Sociological Association. "APS Presidents by Year of Term" http://www.asanet.org/governance/pastpres.html downloaded 04/30/2005

[9] Judith N. Shklar 1990; Theda Skocpol 2003 and Margaret Levi 2004. American Political Science Association. "Past President" http://www.apsanet.org/content_2936.cfm downloaded 04/30/2005.

Therefore this chapter focuses only on a content analysis of social capital/civil society articles in political science journals.

Arguably, social capital and civil societies comprise two of the most debated topics across political science subfields in the last decade. A Social Science Citation Index advanced search yielded a total of 114 articles containing either "social capital" or "civil societ*" in the 16 political science journals across diverse subfields: 5 articles in *Political Theory*; 10 articles in *Comparative Politics*; 6 articles in *World Politics*; 14 in *Urban Studies*; and 3 articles in *Public Administration Review* among others.[10] The same methodology and restrictions were used to examine the black politics and social capital/civil society articles in the previously selected seven journals, the *AAAPSS*, *AJPS*, *APSR*, *JP*, *PRQ*, *PSQ*, and *PS*. Among the total of 55 articles, only one—Eric Uslaner's 2004 article, "Trust and social bonds: Faith in others and policy outcomes" in the *PRQ*—focused on blacks and social capital/civil society. It is quite understandable why Ernest Wilson has lamented that African Americans were often left out from the scope of inquiry in cutting-edge research topics; one only needs to look at the astounding black-to-white ratio in these studies, 1 vs. 54, in the seven journals. Social capital study in political science began with the publication of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* in 1993, more than 10 years before the first social capital and black politics article was published in one of the mainstream political science journals. But how can this be? How can African Americans be so underrepresented in social capital/civil society studies, and political science in general? The next chapter,

[10] The following journals and articles comprise the rest: 3 articles in *Political Behavior*; 8 articles in *Polity*; 2 articles in *Law and Society Review* and 8 articles in *Journal of democracy*.

"What Is the Color of Social Capital?", discusses context-specific reasons behind the invisibility of African Americans in social capital/civil society studies literature.

Appendix 1

Research Method Summary

Date Examined: April 17, 2005

Journals Examined

- *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (*AAAPSA*)
- *American Journal of Political Science* (*AJPS*)
- *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*)
- *Journal of Politics* (*JP*)
- *Political Research Quarterly* (*PRQ*)
- *Political Science Quarterly* (*PSQ*)
- *PS: Political Science and Politics* (*PS*)

Issues Covered: 1995-2005

- AAAPSA v. 537 -
- AJPA v. 57 -
- APSR v. 89 -
- JP v. 57 -
- PRQ v. 110-
- PSQ v. 109
- PS v. 28

Database/Web Used

Primary: Social Science Citation Index
Secondary: Jstor
Journal publishers' home pages

Keywords

- Rac*
- Minorit*
- Black*
- African American*

Table 1
Total Number of Articles in Seven Political Science Journals 1995-2005

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
AAAPSS	75	83	78	77	72	90	53	74	53	64	21	740
American Journal of Political Science	46	57	63	77	41	70	56	43	49	54	29	585
APSR	43	44	50	44	46	35	42	37	43	33	21	438
Journal of Politics	30	49	48	32	46	60	46	51	57	54	13	486
Political Research Quarterly	41	41	42	42	26	38	41	39	41	53	14	418
Political Science Quarterly	25	25	22	22	17	23	21	20	17	19	5	216
PS: Political Science and Politics	76	49	64	67	56	46	84	61	104	85	23	715
	336	348	367	361	304	362	343	325	364	362	126	3598

Table 2
Total Number of Black Politics Articles in Seven Political Sciene Journls 1995-2005

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
AAAPSS	1	0	1	2	1	32	2	2	0	11	0	52
American Journal of Political Science	2	4	9	2	1	4	1	5	3	3	2	36
APSR	1	2	0	0	1	3	4	2	3	3	1	20
Journal of Politics	5	8	2	4	8	4	5	3	2	5	1	47
Political Research Quarterly	2	0	2	2	1	4	3	1	4	6	0	25
Political Science Quarterly	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	1	2	0	10
PS: Political Science and Politics	4	0	4	0	2	2	1	0	1	3	0	17
Race Total	15	14	19	11	15	51	16	15	14	33	4	207
Total Articles	336	348	367	361	304	362	343	325	364	362	126	3598
Percentage	4.46%	4.02%	5.18%	3.05%	4.93%	13.26%	4.66%	4.62%	3.85%	9.12%	3.17%	5.75%

Table 3
Initial Screenings and Final Selections in Seven Political Science Journals

	Initial screening	Final Selection	Total Number of Articles	Percentage
AAAPSS	84	52	740	7.03%
AJPS	72	36	585	6.15%
APSR	38	20	438	4.57%
JP	84	47	486	9.67%
PRQ	61	25	418	5.98%
PSQ	13	10	216	4.63%
PS	20	17	715	2.38%
Total	**372**	**207**	**3598**	**5.75%**

Table 4
Sociology and Black Articles

Journals	Total #	Black Articles	Percentage
American Journal of Sociology	308	29	9.42%
American Sociological Review	447	69	15.44%
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	740	52	7.03%
Annual Review of Sociology	82	6	7.41%
Social Forces	491	100	20.37%
Social Problems	263	59	22.43%
Sociological Theory	177	6	3.39%
Total	**2508**	**321**	**12.80%**

Table 5 Social Capital and Black Social Capital Articles

	Social Capital/Civil Society	Black + Social Capital/Civil Society
AAAPSS	24	0
AJPS	4	0
APSR	13	0
JP	4	0
PRQ	6	1
PSQ	1	0
PS	3	0
Total	55	1

Table 6
Journals in Sociology and Black-Related Articles 1995-2005

Journals	Total #	Black Articles	Percent
American Journal of Sociology	308	29	9.42%
American Sociological Review	447	69	15.44%
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	740	52	7.03%
Annual Review of Sociology	82	6	7.41%
Social Forces	491	100	20.37%
Social Problems	263	59	22.43%
Sociological Theory	177	6	3.39%
Total	**2508**	**321**	**12.80%**

Chapter III
No Universal Truth

1. Introduction

The previous sections used content analysis to examine the state of black politics literature in the discipline of political science and whether or not African Americans are excluded from the scope of cutting edge research concepts, social capital/civil society. This chapter will follow up that test case and attempt to identify the factors that may have influenced the underrepresentation of blacks in social capital/civil society literature in the last decade—i.e., after the "resurrection" of civil society and the "importation" of social capital into political science.[1] Social capital/civil society studies are selected as a test case because they are two of the most debated subjects across the subfields in political science during the last decade and even beyond academia, and thus can be considered as examples of cutting-edge research concepts. Despite their significance, existing studies have left many unanswered questions that need clarification. Although these conceptual ambiguities will be discussed further in the following sections, we can state here that social capital/civil society studies can benefit from some fresh approaches and new insights as well as for future applications in research. While reexamination of

[1] It is naturally assumed political scientists began using the civil society concept after the democratization in Latin American nations in the 1980s and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern block in the early 1990s. Yet the concept of civil society can be traced back to as far as ancient Greece, where it has since been a part of western political/philosophical tradition. The brief history of the concept will be discussed in Section 2 of this chapter. Likewise, political scientists may assume the term *social capital* was coined by Robert Putnam, the author of *Making Democracy Work* (1993) and the *Bowling Alone trilogy* (1995a, 1995b, 2000). However, sociologists had been

these two concepts is a daunting task, it also provides a great opportunity for multiculturalists to prove whether an inclusion of "others' perspectives" in political science—in this case African American politics tradition—can contribute to the discipline in a manner that benefits their fellow political scientists. If applying the decentered perspective of "African American politics tradition" can clarify any of the ambiguities surrounding social capital/civil society debates, then multicultural political scientists can press forward on the argument to include *differences* in the discipline for potential conceptual developments and clarifications in many other cases plagued with fuzziness. In applying African American politics tradition to existing social capital/civil society studies that unknowingly or knowingly exclude non-white middle-class men, this dissertation will demonstrate the potential utilities of an unconventional approach, that of seeing the center from outside, and thus creating a new center so as to complement the existing epistemology.

Beginning with a complete silence, studies of African Americans in political science in American academia have thus far gone through several sequential stages of development. The complete silence on black issues was followed by the "blacks as problems tradition,[2]" or social epidemiological studies that fundamentally perceived blacks as the origin of sociopolitical problems, threats, or nuisance—in short, something potentially explosive and uncontrollable problems that must be contained to maintain social order and harmony. Next emerged the current two

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using the concept of social capital in their studies at least ten years before Putnam imported it into political science. For further details, see Section 3 of this chapter.

[2] McClain and Garcia (1993), and Smith (2004) use "race relations politics" rather than a "blacks as problems" tradition to juxtapose with "African American politics tradition." However, this dissertation study uses "blacks as problems," as "race relations politics" is merely a euphemism that may cloud the real nature of its focuses.

approaches, one of which uses blacks as only one of many variables to verify or nullify particular hypotheses. Although such studies do not necessarily center as much on black politics, political behaviors, institutions or social movements as did the previous "blacks as problems tradition," the new approach may give an erroneous impression that the inclusion of blacks was finally complete in the discipline. "Sprinkling" a black variable in research follows what is conventionally called an "adding and stirring" approach to inclusion of *differences* in social sciences.[3] It literally adds "*difference* variables" such as women and minorities to research which makes it look more *difference*-conscious on paper rather than actually trying to incorporate these peoples' vantage points, experiences, and epistemologies, or without analyzing larger social and political issues from the new prisms.[4] Meanwhile, challenging the premise of "blacks as problems," black political scientists began a new genre of study—"African American politics tradition"—by focusing mostly or exclusively on blacks with respect to their political behaviors, social movements, and institutions. Thus their focus may be narrowly confined to the welfare and empowerment of their fellow black citizens rather than those of all American citizens of different colors. Although the "adding and stirring" and the "African American politics tradition" remain dominant today,

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[3] However, few political scientists use the "adding and stirring" approach in classifying the mode of black politics studies. Many scholars, including McClain and Garcia (1993), Dawson and Cohen (2002) and Rupert Smith (2004), use a simple dichotomy of "race relations politics" and "African American politics tradition" or their variations rather than a trichotomy. Judging from this general acceptance of the dichotomy, there is a realistic chance "sprinkling" articles may be included as "race articles" in some of their previous content analyses.

[4] "Adding and stirring" originally referred to a "false" inclusion of women in social sciences in the 1970s and 1980s that tended to "add" women as a variable in research. Although what feminist social scientists hoped was to include women's vantage points based on their experiences and ways of knowing, the adding approach gave the mainstream or male scholars in general a false sense of

there is one more approach left unexplored: the highest form of multicultural approach in political science, that is, to decenter a vantage point, or in this case *to apply African American politics tradition or their worldviews to analyze mainstream politics and political concepts rather than applying mainstream politics and political tradition or their worldviews to analyze African Americans.*

At first glance, this approach may not seem revolutionary; yet it is a Copernican turn from the "blacks as problems tradition" or from the "adding and stirring approach" that applies mainstream politics and political concepts to analyze African Americans. It is an innovative way of swapping who gets to define and who and what are defined, a process that will ultimately deconstruct what is considered the normal and traditional way of knowing in political science. It is an unconventional way of changing the object and the subject in the traditional power dynamics as well as altering the hierarchy in intellectual and knowledge production in which an exercise of power over others always privileges a particular group of power holders. This anti-hegemonic approach also differs from the "African American politics tradition" that may confine the scope of study to African Americans alone in the hope of uplifting and empowering them above all else. Although the nature of the "African American politics tradition" should not be easily generalized here without further research, it may not be so far-fetched to call it a "study of African Americans, by African Americans, and for African Americans." Thus as far as the inclusion of blacks in political science is concerned,

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"mission complete." For more on the struggle of feminist social scientists, see Dorothy Smith (1979). For more on feminism and epistemology, see Nicholson (1990).

such an approach can be considered as either the highest form of inclusion or the end of inclusion.

Yet it is not the highest form of multicultural studies of black politics in political science, as the highest form of multicultural studies of black politics ought to be a crossover (and thus *multi-cultures*) of the "African American politics tradition" and mainstream political science. For it to be called the highest form of multicultural studies, it must also create a new epistemology, a new framework of analysis, and a new vantage point that will benefit the whole discipline; or in other words, it must add to mainstream political science. Otherwise, "white-middle-class political science" and "African American politics tradition" will be permanently segregated to a parallel existence in the same discipline without much to connect the two. This dissertation study will thus employ the highest form of multicultural study, namely, applying "African American politics tradition" or their worldview to analyze mainstream political science and political concepts as well as to reexamine the existing ambiguities surrounding the social capital/civil society studies. The actual application will be discussed in Chapter VI, "Not Just Adding and Stirring."

The first part of this chapter, "No Universal Truth" will briefly review the civil society concept, including its historical development and the origin of the current debates surrounding it. Section 2 will use the same frameworks to analyze the social capital concept and its conceptual problems and ambiguities. The third section will identify context-specific reasons for the underrepresentation of blacks, most notably in social capital/civil society studies. The final section of this chapter

will serve as an introduction to Chapter IV, epistemological racism in political science, which is one of the fundamental inquiries in this dissertation.

2. Civil Society Concept

"Civil society" as a political concept is as old as "democracy," as it originates from *politike koinonia*, a term in ancient Greek political philosophy referring to a political community (Cohen1998). A renaissance of civil society studies began in the late 1980s at the onset of democratization in Latin American nations, a part of what Samuel P. Huntington has called the third wave of democracy (Huntington 1993). After the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, civil society studies were embraced with additional enthusiasm by political scientists (Cohen and Arato 1992; Walzer 1992, 1997; Putnam 1993, 1995a, 1995s; Ladd 1999, 2001; Diamond 1994; Etzioni 1994, 1998; Wuthnow 1996; Ehrenberg 1999; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Warren 2000; Chambers and Kymlicka 2001; Rosenblum and Post 2002; Hodgkinson and Foley 2003; Keane 2003; Edwards 2004). Though long dormant prior to the current resurgence, it is no exaggeration to say that civil society has become one of the most fashionable concepts not only among political scientists and social scientists, but also among public policymakers, NGO organizers, development specialists, and experts in civic education, to name only a few.[5] Yet as far as a common

[5] For example, the World Bank established an online in formation section, "The World Bank and Civil Society," specifically devoted to civil society on its home page at http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,pagePK:220469~theSitePK:228717,00.html. Likewise, the United Nation issues an on-line newsletter titled *Civil Society Observer* at

understanding among them is considered, the proponents of civil society in diverse schools of thoughts seem to share little and argue past one another.

Across the traditional ideological line, advocates disagree as to the benefits of creating and maintaining a vibrant civil society, ranging from limiting the power of authoritarian governments, legitimating existing government, pushing government to be more responsive to citizens, socializing citizens, providing a space for publicity and political debates, training political leaders for the next generation, and finally developing democratic dispositions in citizens. Furthermore, civil society is considered an alternative as well as a solution to an ever-expanding invasive welfare state, a supplement to the state in providing social services to citizens, a manifestation of the bourgeois domination and control of society, and a space for active citizenship. Such obvious contradictions and expansiveness have reduced civil society to merely a catch-all term that "has come to signify everything—which is to say nothing" (Reiff qtd in Morsy 2004). It has become a "conceptually elastic" (Morsy 2004) "fashionable buzzword" (Glasius 2001) through an "inflationary use" (Outhwaite 2001) so much so that the presence of an interpreter may be even required in the future for discussions among various proponents of civil society.

Political scientists have attempted to solve the Zen-like riddle of "everythingness and nothingness" by classifying various schools of thoughts on civil society and identifying differences, yet the end results seem to have

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http://www.un-ngls.org/cso/cso.htm. Not only public/international organizations, but also NGOs post information on civil society and fund projects to strengthen civil societies in developing nations. For examples, see Care International USA at www.careusa.orgm, or Save the Children at www.savethechildren.org.

contributed only more confusion: system-supportive or system-challenging civil society (the Tocqueville school vs. former dissidents in Eastern Europe); neo-conservatives, liberal-pluralists, or neo-Marxists; generalists or minimalists; Marxists vs. neo-Marxist Gramsci school; political science vs. sociological interpretations, to name only some. As is often the case with the social sciences, different advocates end up classifying the same civil society scholars in different categories and labels. However logical their reasoning may be, their attempts to categorize civil society advocates have created only more disarray in streamlining the concept.

Given this rather messy state of civil society, Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards raise as many as twelve questions with the concept in the introductory section of their article, "The Paradox of Civil Society" (1996). Those questions include whether to separate civil from political society; what factors prevent civil society from falling into many warring parties; how small associations are able to generate supposedly wide-scale benefits; and whether civil society is able to counterweigh governments without any assistance from political parties (38-39). Yet before scholars of any schools can answer such daunting questions, they may first want to go back to the starting point, as two far more fundamental disagreements over civil society were left unsettled: i.e. what exactly constitutes civil society and where it is located in 21st century America. These two questions are intimately connected with each other and are basic to the most fundamental components of the civil society concept. Without probing these questions discussions of civil society would preclude further conceptual developments and

applications. What does civil society include and where can it be found? The following section will briefly review the genealogy of the civil society concept and how the mapping and composition of civil society have changed from the original concept of *politike koinonia.* By so doing, this study will trace the origin of the current confusion among contemporary scholars concerning the location and constitution of civil society.

In Greek civil society, *Politike koinonia*, (*societas civilis* in Latin) is interpreted as a political community where free male citizens,[6] regardless of class or occupational status, gathered together to engage in political deliberation, took turns in ruling and being ruled, and collectively determined the fate of their *polis*. As politics was conducted exclusively in the public sphere, the public sphere became a political sphere as well. It follows that Greek civil society was not located in the public sphere, but rather the public sphere was in itself. The clear demarcation between the public sphere and the private sphere—family and household economy—also defined the boundary as to where civil society began and ended. Therefore, in ancient Greek philosophy, the civil society did not include family, intimate relationships, or household economies.

This identification of the political community and civil society remained almost intact from the Romans to the medieval period, then through the medieval to the Renaissance until the subsistence economy developed into early capitalism wherein production of goods expanded beyond households. Although formerly part of the private sphere, economic production then moved outside of the familiar

sphere and began to bear more social significance by affecting a wider population on a previously unknown scale. Thus began a long-standing controversy over whether to include the market or sphere of economy in the private or public sphere, or ultimately in civil society.

At the beginning of the Enlightenment era, philosophers took various approaches to civil society, ranging from Lockes' identification of civil and political society to Montesquieu's juxtaposition of the state/government and society so as to identify more vividly the source of threats to individual liberty. The Montesquieuan approach as well as the development of capitalism—a transformation of household economy to a nationwide economic production and market—practically ended the Greek identification of society and the political sphere. G. W. H. Hegel further developed the civil society concept, which transformed itself from more than a simple dichotomy of state/government and civil society (1821), as it contained "the system of needs," "the administration of justice" and voluntary associations, which are rather unconventional classifications. He denoted "the system of needs" to refer to economic activities through which men fulfill their economic needs, while the phrase "administration of justice" referred to legal institutions that defined the framework for structuring civil society. In short, market and production, legal system, and voluntary associations constituted Hegel's concept of civil society. Alexis de Tocqueville, a traveling French philosopher to Jacksonian America, also trichotomized sociopolitical institutions into a civil society of economic and cultural associations, local state political society, and state

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[6] "Free male citizens" is an oxymoron because citizenship was limited to men, and citizens by definition were free men. Thus this term was used only to clarify the differences between ancient

apparatus (Cohen 1992). He marveled at the American habit and spirit of creating private associations and their by-product of fostering democratic dispositions among men—i.e. the transformation of men from private beings to other-regarding citizens (Tocqueville 1825). Some contemporary proponents of civil society such as Robert Putnam, Amitei Etzion, and Michael Walzer are labeled neo-Tocquevillians because they share Tocqueville's adoration for human developmental effects nurtured through the act of participation. Tocqueville is in line with Scottish Enlightenment philosophers including Adam Smith, J. S. Mill, Francis Hutcheson, and Adam Ferguson, an author of *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) who considered civil society to be "primarily a realm of solidarity held together by the force of moral sentiments and natural affections" (Seligman 2002, 19). On the other hand, Karl Marx's negative perception of civil society stems from his identification of civil society with a bourgeois society (Buergerliche Gesellschaft) in which men's access or lack thereof to the means of production defined both class and sociopolitical relations among men. Primarily, civil society was considered a realm of economic/material production to which social relations and the political power dynamic were subordinated and subjected (1843). Therefore, there would be no true civil society in a Marxist sense until a bourgeois society is crushed down to the ground and human beings achieve true emancipation from alienation and exploitation.

One of the first 20th century theorists to contribute to the conceptual development of civil society was Antonio Gramsci (1929). Although a Marxist, he went beyond the confines of the orthodox Marxist labeling of bourgeois civil

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Greek and contemporary understanding of citizenship and the composition of civil society.

society and conceptualized civil society to be much more than simply a realm of production. Civil society is where the Marxist superstructure of society creates ideologies and cultures to legitimize and maintain the existing framework of society; therefore, civil society is considered a sphere of struggles for hegemony. Unlike orthodox Marxists, Gramsci's concept of civil society includes family, associations, and cultural institutions (even churches), but nonetheless excludes economic production. Some contemporary scholars disagree with Gramsci over his exclusion of the market from the private sphere or his inclusion of family in civil society; however, he orientated one contemporary interpretations of civil society as being situated outside of the market where it serves as an intermediary between state/government and the private sphere.

Contemporary theorists jumped onboard to join "fashionable" civil society studies, yet, it is hard to say if they helped to clarify the civil society *concept* before applying it to their empirical analyses. Ambiguities surrounding the civil society concept still linger a decade after the collapse of the former Soviet satellites that accelerated the current resurgence of civil society debates. Larry Diamond, a comparativist, takes a similar approach to Gramsci that excludes the market from civil society, but Diamond also excludes family from its composition:

> Civil Society (*sic*) is conceived here as the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bounded by a legal order or se of shared rules. It is distinct from 'society' in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interest, passions, and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable. *Civil Society* (*sic*) *is an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the state* [emphasis added]. Thus it excludes individual and family life, inward-looking group activity (e.g., for recreation,

> entertainment, or spirituality), the profit-making enterprise of individual business firms, and political efforts to take control of the state (1994, 5).

Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, authors of *Civil Society and Political Theory* (1992), one of the most comprehensive works on the history of civil society available today, also take a quasi or neo-Gramscian approach to exclude family:

> We understand 'civil society' as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication (ix).

In addition to these two scholars, other political scientists such as Mark E. Warren (2001), and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (1998) exclude the family from civil society on the ground that unlike other associations in civil society, a family is not a voluntary association. Further, Warren argues that "there is nothing civil about such relationships" (57). If we take a traditionalist approach to define the institution of family as something one does not have the choice to join or not to join, then the family should be categorized as a non-voluntary association. Certainly, children born into a family do not have control over their choice of parents, race, or economic standing. Yet it could be also interpreted that the nucleus of the family is founded on an association between two consenting adults who freely and voluntarily enter a marriage contract. On the other hand, contemporary feminist scholars, including Susan M. Okin who relocated a concept of justice from the public sphere to the familial sphere (1991), would agree to the lack of civility and, at times, undemocratic nature of family as an institution.

However, an exclusion of the family from civil society does not necessarily mean that it has little to do with the foundation of civil society. Francis Fukuyama argues:

> Civil society—a complex welter of intermediate institutions, including business, voluntary associations, educational institutions, clubs, unions, media, charities, and churches—builds, in turn, on the family, the primary instrument by which people are socialized into their culture and given the skills that allow them to live in broader society and through which the values and knowledge of the society are transmitted across the generations (1995, 4-5).

The foundation of civil society rests on the institution of family, the first place of human socialization. Nancy Rosenblum and Robert C. Post go further than Fukuyama and favor including both family and friends:

> The elements of civil society range from groups based on religion and ethnicity to more fluid voluntary associations organized around ideology, professionalism, social activities or the pursuit of money, status, interest, or power. They range from circles of friends...to single-purpose political advocacy groups. Civil society also includes communities, like formally organized religious settlements, with their implication of primary socialization, strong attachment, and common history and expectations...From many perspectives, the family counts as an element of civil society; it is the premier mediating, moralizing institution. (2002, 3)

Although it is not directly coded as the family, David Held includes "the domestic world" which likely refers to the familial sphere:

> There if a profound sense, moreover, in which civil society can never be 'separate' from the state; the latter by providing the overall legal framework of society, to a significant degree constitutes the former. None the less, it is not unreasonable to claim that civil society retains a distinctive character to the extent that it is made up of areas of social life—the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction—which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the state (1987, 314).

Alan Wolfe, in his extensive discussion of civil society in *Whose Keeper?,* also includes close human connections in the primary sphere of socialization and defines

civil society as composed of "families, communities, friendship networks solidaristic workplace ties, voluntarism, spontaneous groups and movements" (1989, 20). As does Wolfe, Michael Walzer (1992) sees civil society as primarily a set of relationships rather than a set of institutions or organizations. In other words, creation and maintenance of various human connections compose the core of civil society: "The words, 'civil society' name the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks—formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology—that fill this space" (89).

Thus far, this brief review has examined only Western European and American social scientists; however, given the origin of the current revival of civil society studies, it is only appropriate to turn its focus to one of the former dissidents in the East European block who influenced the "society against state" school of civil society. Václav Havel, former Czech President, writer, signatory of Charter 77, and former political prisoner, conceptualized in 1985 that civil society was first and foremost a space where citizens in the communist regime could take off their public masks that they were forced to wear for the sake of self-preservation and live in truth In other words, they could become true to themselves. Because the decision whether to live in truth is an individual one which may also have public repercussions manifesting in collective resistance in public against a regime, his civil society concept could be considered as both public and private in nature (Barker 2000).

> [civil society] includes...the most varied free, civic attitudes, including instances of independent self-organization. In short, it is an area in which living within the truth becomes articulated and materialized in a visible way (Havel 1985, 65).

> The point where living within the truth ceases to be a mere negation of living with a lie and becomes articulate in a particular way, is the point at which something is born that might be called the 'independent spiritual, social and political life of society.' This independent life is not separated from the rest of life (dependent life) by some sharply defined line. Both types frequently coexist in the same people. Nevertheless, its most important focus is marked by a relatively high degree of inner emancipation (Havel 1987, 85).

Nonetheless, after the Velvet Revolution and Czechoslovakia's (and later the Czech Republic's) successful return to democracy, somehow Havel's concept of civil society lost its uniqueness that was deeply ingrained in the specific historical and political circumstances in Czechoslovakia before the current revolution, and it has now been transformed into something akin to what is normally considered civil society in Western democracy. The civil society concept based on "society against state" or "society against government" that former dissidents in Eastern Europe such as Havel, NZZ Solidarno;ć's Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik shared has lost its meaning in the transition to democracy, albeit not in the translation. Havel's speech to Macalester College in Minnesota in 1999 embodies such a difference.

> [Civil society is] a society in which citizens participate—in many parallel, mutually complementary ways—in public life, in the administration of public goods and in public decisions... In a somewhat simplified way, we could say that civil society has three basic pillars. The first pillar is one of association in the broadest sense of the word—free association of people in different types of organizations, ranging from clubs, community groups, civic initiatives, foundations and publicly beneficial organizations up to churches and political parties... The second pillar of civil society is constituted by a strong self-government within the system of public administration... These three pillars of civil society—association, decentralization of the state and delegation of the exercise of some of its

> functions to relatively independent entities—are the three basic goals that should be pursued in the process of restoring civil society in my country.[7]

His previous idealistic concept of living in truth had disappeared and was now replaced by a "standard" intermediary civil society concept commonly seen in the Anglo-American social sciences.

So far, this section has reviewed various conceptions of civil society espoused by many scholars in different schools of thoughts. Their various compositions of civil society include market, family, friendships, legal system, civil organizations, and educational institutions, among others. In short, they stretch from the private sphere to the public sphere, which unfortunately supports the previous claim that civil society has come to signify everything, and thus nothing. What can we infer from the historical development and many different dimensions and conceptualizations of civil society as presented?

First, from Locke to Gramsci, a concept of civil society was generated by European social scientists based on their analyses of their own societies in particular historical periods. Influenced by their forebears, contemporary American theorists have created their own concepts of civil society, but they are still deeply ingrained in the tradition in political science in which unknowingly or knowingly civil society scholars seem to be constructing or at least trying to construct a universal model of civil society. Václav Havel's example did opens up a new possibility: while Czechoslovakia was under communist regime, Havel's concept of civil society was distinctively different from that of scholars in the past and those present in the West. However, after Czechoslovakia (and later the Czech Republic)

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[7] For the entire text, see http://www.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/1999/2604a_uk.html.

was transformed into a democracy and integrated into the EU, or democratic Europe, Havel seems to have lost the distinctive humanist touch that colored his concept, and his old idea was reduced to a more general or generic model of democratic civil society. It is unclear if the Czech Republic's integration into democratic Europe and Havel's conceptual transformation are purely coincidental or rather reflect changes in the political and economic structure of society that may no longer require citizens to pit society against state, thus affecting Havel's vantage point. In either case, Havel's two conceptions prompt us to entertain the possibility that civil society can be a context-specific substantive concept ingrained in specific cultural, political, and social conditions in a specific time; therefore, it is entirely appropriate to create a unique context-specific civil society concept based on today's America—i.e. multicultural America in the 21st century, rather than a universal and generic model.

Second, those various conceptions by past and present scholars failed to map the location of civil society. Is it in the public sphere or in the private sphere? Where can one find a civil society, or more specifically, a civil society in the United States in the 21st century? This dissertation will not attempt to replicate a past mistake by generalizing a context-specific idea and universalizing it or presenting it as universal truth, for truth is always merely a partial reflection of socially constructed reality, and thus is not even a reflection of reality. Instead the objective of this dissertation is to identify the location of civil society in the United States in the 21st century by bringing in a decentered perspective from the African American politics tradition. As previously cited in Chapter I, Seidelman argues that

transcending the existing liberal conceptual framework does not necessarily mean moving it its right or left ideologically. A new concept of civil society and its location may be found by researchers through switching the traditional positions of seeing and being seen; analyzing and being analyzed; and defining and being defined. What can bringing in the African American politics tradition contribute to creating a new context-specific concept of civil society for 21st century multicultural America? This question will be the focus of Chapter VI, "Not Just Adding and Stirring."

3. Social Capital Concept

Let us now turn to a discussion of the social capital concept, the other half of the interrelated concepts of social capital/civil society. This section will briefly examine the development of the social capital concept as a political "godfather" of social capital study in political science. It will also explore the problems with the current state of social capital studies. A final section will follow that explains the invisibility of African Americans in social capital/civil society literature, which will also serve as an introduction to the next chapter, "Disciplined by Discipline."

The renaissance of civil society studies in the later 1980s was accompanied by Putnam's introduction into political science of social capital: "connectedness," "relationships," and "trust" among citizens that are vital to sustaining a responsive democracy (1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 2000a, 2000b). Putnam's social capital, and his famed "bowling alone" thesis that declining civic participation by American citizens negatively affects the quality of

the democratic participatory process, attracted serious attention from scholars and professionals who shared his perception that the seed of the trouble in American democracy lay precisely in the loss of connectedness among people. Although many groups, from quantitativists to qualitativists in academia, and from nostalgic liberals to Republican conservatives in Congress, have welcomed the vigorous discussions over Putnam's works, there has been confusion and controversy over how to apply, define, and measure a social capital concept (Edwards and Foley 1998; Foley and Edwards 1997a, 1997b, 1999; Ladd 1996, 1999a, 1999b; Levi 1996; McBride 1998; Newton 1997; Portes 1995, 1998, 2000; Schudson 1996, 1999; Skocpol 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999). Diverse groups of social capitalists have interpreted Putnam's concept and thesis in their own way to promote their own vision of ideal America and civic renewal.[8] They have used the same terms, such as social capital, democracy and civil society, yet their diverse definitions,

[8] For example, "compassionate Republicans," such as President George W. Bush, found in social capital the answer for the electorate's disillusionment with an ever-enlarging federal government which invaded civil society and allegedly killed civic vitality. Revitalization of the institutions of family, church, and local organizations was perceived as the alternative to an aggressive, yet ineffective welfare state. The thought was that Reaganesque private initiatives would get rid of the economic burden of the welfare state and finally make civil society what it should be; compassionate Republicans therefore saw civil society as existing independently from state interference, free to be what it is. On the other hand, civic republicanists and liberals, such as former Senator Bill Bradley, former Senator Pat Schroeder, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and others, conceptualize civil society as existing hand-in-hand with the state: without the partnership with the state, there would be no institutions to help create civic space and no institutions to help remove the structural obstacles preventing popular participation in civic activities. The argument following the line of J.S. Mill that democracy is a school for human development strikes a cord with nostalgic liberals. Civic republicanists and communitarians yearn for the restoration of civic virtue and the use of public reason to settle moral differences for the sake of consolidating a common identity among diverse citizens. Deliberative democrats have found associational democracy is less hostile to the voices of minorities, and that the participation of formerly neglected groups has an empowering effect.

interpretations, and myriad applications have complicated and confused current social capital debates. [9]

Although the past ten years of social capital studies yielded only one article on social capital and blacks in the seven general political science journals, there have been some studies, albeit a small number, in other political science journals such as the *American Behavioral Scientists, National Civic Review* and *Social Science History*; semi-scholarly journals such as the *American Prospect* and the *Atlantic Monthly*; as well as book chapters that focused on minorities in general and/or blacks, used blacks as a variable, or included some references to black political behaviors to supplement the social capital trend in America. Typically, the discussions of a minority have been brought up in the context of "crimes" and "inequality" in an "inner-city"—be it political or economic. This habit tacitly and unfortunately reminds us of the old racial stereotypes and the false claim, without any reference to the structural changes in the economy that resulted in the reduction of decent unskilled works,, that the existence of poor racial minorities, somehow contributed to the deterioration of urban areas (Portney and Berry 1997; Sullivan 1997; de Souza Briggs 1998; Putnam 2000; Ringold, Van Ryzin and Ronda 2001). Such a misleading or subconscious linkage of the negative concepts gives an incorrect impression that "minorities" and "middle-class" or "minorities" and "suburban" are essentially incompatible concepts, although in fact the number of

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[9] Particularly, Putnam has been criticized, especially in his *Bowling Alone* trilogy (1995a, 1995b, 2000), for ignoring the role of institutions (Galston 1996; Skocpol 1996, 1997, 1999; Valley 1996; Heying 1997; Newton 1997; Edwards and Foley 1998), methodology and samplings (Galston 1996; Levi 1996; Schdoson 1996; Portney and Berry 1997; Edwards and Foley 1998; Ladd 1999a, 1999b; Rich 1999), counterexamples (Eastis 1996; Levi 1996; Foley and Edwards 1999), etc.

black middle-class individuals is on the rise. Despite within-group differences in economic and social statuses, intersectionality of minority life has not yet been explored as was the case with political science literature in general—something that has been well-documented in the past (Dawson and Cohen 2002.). Usually blacks are depicted as either "making it" or "not making it" with nothing in between, such as middle-class suburbanites (de Souza Briggs 1998; Damico, Conway and Damico 2000). Being "poor" or "economically disadvantaged" are attributes stereotypically assigned to minorities, and especially to young black or Hispanic males. Female minorities are almost invisible in the sea of the "general minorities" or gender-neutral "minorities" because the term minority seems to be reserved for black men or Hispanic men (Waldinger 1995; Sullivan 1997; de Souza Briggs 1998).[10]

Furthermore, historically complex inter-minority relations across the racial lines, conflicts, and cooperation are rarely explored. Contrary to a popular perception of "minorities against whites," minorities have not always been a united front fighting to break into formal participation in politics, job markets, or education. To the contrary, conflicts among minorities have been a natural feature of American history: "The history of minorities in the United States shows that while one group is gaining ground, another is often losing it" (de los Reyes and Lara 1999, 69). The differential racialization thesis indicates that each minority

[10] The term "minority" rarely refers to Asian Americans, Native Americans, or multi-racial people, who are oftentimes considered statistically insignificant Social capital researchers tend to dichotomize races into black and white, or trichotomize them into white, black and Hispanic, further marginalizing the "other minorities" in already marginalized race issues (de Souza Briggs 1998). Historically, each minority group has had a unique relationship vis-à-vis the majority, which manifests in different experiences, public policy, and political behavior. Thus, dichotomizing race as white and black overlooks the uniqueness of "the other" in terms of the way that other connects with the racial majority and reduces the chance of potential prescription tailored to that other's unique needs.

group is "racialized" in a unique political context, reflecting the needs of the majority race.[11]

Oftentimes, African Americans in social capital literature are mentioned in the context of Emancipation in the mid-19th century or the civil rights movement in the 1970s. For instance, a history of African Americans in civil society might skip the almost 100 years in between. The African American organizations most often mentioned are the NAACP and the Urban League. Yet, other large organizations are rarely mentioned, such as Henry Highland Garnet's African Civilization Society and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with a two million strong membership in the 1920s, although these organizations contributed to the political and economic improvement and empowerment of African Americans in the past. The recent publication of *Organizing Black America* (Mjagkil 2001), an encyclopedia of 675 Africa American associations in the United States from the mid-19th century to the present, at last make it easier for researchers to delve into lesser-known African American organizations that have played a symbolic or significant role in the history of African Americans.[12]

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[11] Looking back, there are a number of examples in which the actions of contradictory minority policies by the federal government are seen as hypocritical or guilty of a double standard. For example, in the mid-19th century around the time blacks were being emancipated, the United States government deprived Mexicans living in the area of California of their territory, virtually enclosing them within the new US territories. One group enjoyed freedom while the other became subordinated. Asians were once called the "yellow peril" and excluded from migration to the United States: in fact Japanese Americans were incarcerated and regarded as potential threats to national security. Yet, in the 1980s, Asian Americans were elevated to model minority status and used as a counterexample to blacks, who allegedly had slower social mobility and lower educational attainment.

[12] Such high-quality systematic studies of minority civil associations in Latino/Latina, Asian American, and Native American communities are still difficult to find, which may result in researchers being reluctant to turn their attention to minority civil societies and civil organizations.

As noted, the early stage of social capital studies closely resembles the history of political science as a discipline that has labeled African Americas as the source of problems, social menace and disorder in the United States, the central theme of the "Blacks as Problems" tradition, and finally the emergence of "African American politics tradition" afterwards as its antithesis. Following the "Blacks as Problems" in social capital literature, in 1999 the first book on black social capital, *Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986-1998,* was published, which examined Baltimore public schools and illustrated the limit of social capital in contributing to successful school reforms (Orr). Following Orr's example, recently scholarly papers at conferences have called for more inclusion of "others" in social capital studies or more attention to African-American social movements (Mathews-Gardner 2002; Okura 2002; Nunnally 2002). In addition to conference papers, Mark E. Warren's interracial social capital and community-building (1998) and John Brehm and Wendy Rahn's (1997) cautious analysis of differences between white and black social capital formation constitute a small genre of discourse on social capital in the "African American politics tradition."[13] Simply stated, political scientists do not seem willing to delve into the social capital formation of minorities, interracial social capital, black social capital or histories of African Americans in civil society.[14] "It would be a dreadful mistake, of course, to

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[13] Although some book chapters, such as the ones in Michael C Dowson's *Black Visions (2003)* and Harris-Lacewell's *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET : Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought* (2004) discuss what may be summarized as black social capital, they do not exclusively discuss black social capital in whole book chapters.

[14] Some may argue that researchers may not see much utility in analyzing African-American political participation, behaviors, social movements and institutions, as they assume there is little visible difference between those of whites. To the contrary, research conducted independently by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) and by Portney and Berry (1997) has discovered racial differences do affect participation patterns in civic activities. Just being black or Hispanic does not

overlook the repositories of social capital within America's minority communities, " as Putnam puts it.(Putnam 1993b, 40). Wilson also elaborates on the need to turn our attention to the uncharted territory.

> The most striking and theoretically interesting features of black political behavior have been expressed through 'non-formal' or often multipurpose institutions like the church or voluntary associations like the NAACP or the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey. Further, the dominant political experience of blacks has been one of the responding to manifold attempts at political *domination*, expressed through political and non-political channels. In the search for autonomy and participation in a racist society, informal network, religion, or the internal dynamics of mass movements have all been extremely important (Wilson 1985, 604).

If indeed "non-formal" or "multipurpose institutions" have been the prime vehicles of African American political behavior, studies of these associations are exactly what are needed in social capital studies for further conceptual development. But as

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affect how an actor engages in civic associations or interacts with others, yet characteristics or properties stereotypically associated with minorities, such as being less educated and less financially secure, make a great deal of difference in how one participates. Within the Hispanic population, religious affiliation affects the way in which individuals are involved or disinvolved in civic associations: for example, Roman Catholics tend to be less involved in voluntary associations than mainstream Protestants. Inner-city blacks, who are less represented in political participation have different agendas from wealthy white suburbanites, yet, because of their lack of representation in the political process, their voices are less likely to be heard by policymakers. Unfortunately this differential manifests itself in a discrepancy between their actual needs and their perceived needs. The needs of the more educated and wealthy white population are oftentimes overrepresented in the policymaking process, which is exactly why the participation of minorities deserves vigorous attention from academics and policymakers, as nonparticipation in political associations and other civil associations does not necessarily mean a lack of interest. Numerous factors influence the day-to-day decisions on whether to participate in particular functions. For example, finding a baby-sitter in order to participate in civic activities poses a great challenge to single mothers. A lack of reliable transportation might deprive low-income citizens of the mobility needed to attend functions, especially at night. Other research has found residential segregation positively affects the participation of minorities in community affairs, because minorities tend to identify such a minority-dominated community as "theirs" and foster deeper affections toward their neighborhoods (Portney and Berry 1997, 643). In another study, Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt (1996, 21) argue that social capital in the inner-city might not be necessarily an asset to a successful minority, as the more connected one is, the more obligations, responsibilities, and financial accountability one has as well. There are numerous examples of African Americans who "made it" and then became obligated to financially support a large number of kin and friends who had in the past protected the future star from violence and drugs. For example, *The New York Times* reports basketball star Allen Iverson, who grew up in a rough neighborhood in Virginia, now supports 33 members of his extended kin and so-called "block family" or "neighborhood family" consisting of his old friends in Virginia (2002).

Chapter 11 reveals, why are African Americans underrepresented in social capital/civil society studies?

4. Explaining Why

Chapter II reported that only one article on African American and social capital/civil society was published in the seven major political science journals from 1995-2005, as opposed to 54 on "general public" and social capital. One way to explain the invisibility is to look at the big picture, i.e. the general trend in political science in which merely 5.75 % of articles focused on African American and political behaviors, social movements, political culture, etc. Given this stark fact, one may conclude studies of African Americans and social capital are marginalized precisely because studies of African Americans themselves are marginalized in political science in the first place. Thus, one needs to search for answers beyond the confines of the social capital concept and examine the nature and history of the discipline that has allowed such underrepresentation to continue. The next two chapters, Chapter IV "Disciplined by the Discipline," and Chapter V "Genealogy of Other Political Science" will examine the discipline of political science itself that may have influenced the invisibility of African Americans. Yet interestingly, one final look at social capital concept has uncovered an unexpected culprit that has influenced the lack of African Americans in social capital studies. Precisely who or what is that culprit? The answer lies in the transformation of the social capital

concept or differences in social capital as conceptualized and applied in sociology, and in political science—with Putnam's as its dominant representation.[15] The following section will briefly review the development of the social capital concept, including its transformation, different meanings, and applications in the two fields, and then analyze their manifestation in the invisibility of African Americans.

Originally, social capital is a sociological concept coined by a French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in 1986—eight years before Putnam imported it into political science with his publication of *Making Democracy Work* (1994). Because Bourdieu's work was published in French, his concept did not garner much attention in American academia, much less by American political scientists. His relative anonymity among American political scientists may have later influenced the general misperception that Robert D. Putnam, a Harvard professor, coined the social capital concept. Nonetheless, the social capital concept has been nurtured by many succeeding sociologists including James S. Coleman (1986) and Alejandro Portes (1995, 1998, 2000). Initially, sociologists were mystified by the sudden spotlight on social capital concept following Putnam's appropriation of it into political science and were taken aback by the unorthodox interpretations and applications of social capital in their sister field. Under such circumstances, the newly implanted political science concept was criticized as "[a] conceptual stretch" (Portes 2000, 3) "a conceptual twist" (Greeley 1997, 587), and "misuse and abuse" (Greeley 1997, 587).

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[15] It is important to note this dichotomy of the social capital concept in sociology vs. political science is used to capture the general trend in the two fields, but in reality, it is not as clear-cut as the dichotomy may imply.

According to dissatisfied sociologists, diverging definitions of social capital in sociology and political science manifested themselves in three distinct applications of social capital in these two fields. They are distinguished by the differences between: 1) relationships and individual attributes (Greenley 1997; Portney and Berry 1997; Edwards and Foley 1998); 2) individual/group property and community and national property (Portes and Landolt 1998); and 3) micro-structural variables and cultural/attitudinal variables (Portes and Landolt 1998; Foley and Edwards 1999).

Pierre Bourdieu, the first social capital researcher in sociology or any other field for that matter, defined social capital as "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (1992, 119)." Thus, social capital was conceptualized as something that inhered in *relationships*—which are fluid rather than static memberships—and that was *instrumental* to executing one's objectives. On the other hand, Putnam's definition adds a formerly unseen dimension to it; he states: "social capital refers to connectedness among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. *In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called civic virtue*" [emphasis added] (2000, 19). As distinct from the use of social capital in political science, sociological social capital is ethically and morally neutral: social capital does not include civic virtue or educative/human developmental effects of participation celebrated by the contemporary Tocquevilleans. Following the example of Bourdieu, other English-

speaking sociologists in general conceptualized social capital as something value-neutral deriving from relationships that enabled people to obtain information and resources essential to achieving their goals.[16] In addition, because it lodges in relationships, social capital is a context-specific concept in that it all depends on particular circumstances under which social capital is formed and utilized. Naturally, sociologists claim that political scientists misconstrue social capital as static individual attributes such as virtue, tolerance and trust rather than a product of fluid human relationships (Edwards and Foley 1998, 12-14).

Second, those concerned sociologists claim that political scientists who conceptualize social capital as individual attributes overlook the micro-structure surrounding the agents of social capital, within which such a relationship is or is not formed. They argue that sociologists pay particular attention to micro-structural relationships to examine the obstacles that prevent potential agents from forming relationships and how the potential agents overcome these obstacles (Foley and Edwards 1999, 163). Therefore, the context-specific nature of social capital at the individual level cannot be used to generalize a national trend: social capital can consist of an individual's assets or resources used to pursue individual goals, but it

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[16] For example, Pierre Bourdieu defined social capital as "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. See Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, *Invitation to Reflective Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 119. Ronald Burt's version referred to "friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use capital—relations within and between firms are social capital—it is the final arbitrator of competitive success." See Burt, *Structural Holes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) 9. Alejandro Portes conceptualized social capital as "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in a network or broader structure." See Portes, *Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview.* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 12. James Coleman defined social capital as trustworthiness, mutual trust, obligation, circulation of information and norms facilitating the achievement of goals. See Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 306-313.

can never consist of an asset of an abstract community in which people comprising the community may or may not have actual relationships.

Third, while dissatisfied sociologists conceptualize social capital as a micro-structural variable by using a small group or an individual as a unit of analysis, they allege that political scientists conceptualize social capital as a cultural, attitudinal, or social psychological variable using a community or a nation as a unit of analysis.

> Part of our [sociologists'] discomfort with the use of 'political culture' variables (norms and values) of all sorts in research inspired by the concept of social capital, is that such research tends to divorce such subjective attributes of individuals from the social context in which (and only in which) they can be understood usefully as social capital (Foley and Edwards 1999, 162).

By using social capital as a conventional cultural, attitudinal, and social psychological variable, these sociologists allege that political scientists have reduced social capital to the level of conventional political culture analysis, relying on value surveys in which an aggregation of individual values is supposed to measure the national trend. Bob Edwards and Michael Foley analogize the use of social capital in political science with the use of the GNP in economics. They claim that by using social capital as a cultural and attitudinal variable, social capitalists replicated the same mistake that economists have committed in the past by overlooking the internal distributions of social capital within a nation. "The same level of GNP per capita can make vastly different distributions of income, wealth, and opportunity among subgroups within a society each with its own potential for generating different levels of wealth, inequality or immiseration"(1999, 130). By making social capital a cultural or an attitudinal variable, researchers might

potentially misconstrue how economic, social, or racial inequality translates into social capital deficits or surpluses, or how social capital is "distributed" among sub-groups. Averaging social capital by the whole population does not explain the real picture of inequalities surrounding social capital accumulation. In other words, divorcing such subjective attributes makes everybody identical—i.e. identically abstract—or identically white-middle class, a traditional model of human being in political science that does not reflect today's diverse demographic compositions in the United States.

As required by their discipline, political scientists pay attention to "the political," the idea transformation of social capital in political science may have been inevitable. As can be seen from the definitions of "political science" and "political scientists" posted on the APSA website, political scientists' interpretation of what is political seems to be restricted to the conventional notion of "the political": political activities or political history taking place strictly in the public sphere, not human relationships. To refresh our memory, let us re-read the definitions and compare them to that of sociology posted on the ASA:

> Po·lit·i·cal sci·ence *n.* the study of governments, public policies and political behavior; uses both humanistic and scientific perspectives and skills to examine all countries and regions of the world (APSA 2005).
>
> Political Scientists *n.* professionals who study politics, government, and public policies (APSA 2005).
>
> Sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behavior. Sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organizations, and societies, and how people interact within these contexts. *Since all human behavior is social* [emphasis added], the subject matter of sociology ranges from the intimate family to the hostile mob; from organized crime to religious cults; from the divisions of race, gender and social class to the shared beliefs of a common culture; and from the

> sociology of work to the sociology of sports. In fact, few fields have such broad scope and relevance for research, theory, and application of knowledge...Because sociology addresses the most challenging issues of our time, it is a rapidly expanding field whose potential is increasingly tapped by those who craft policies and create programs (American Sociological Association 2005).

Naturally, different research interests between political scientists and sociologists have resulted in different methodological approaches and different scopes and units of analysis. Yet something went amiss when political scientists who followed Putnam naturally turned their attention to the political manifestation of social capital, or social capital as they allege as primarily manifested in a collective good. Those missing elements are two of the most fundamental nature of sociology embedded in the social capital concept: analyzing human interactions within various structures, be it society or small groups, and paying attention to the personal relationships of multidimensional nature of human beings. Human beings can never be political beings or what Aristotle called political animals alone. Researchers cannot detach such an aspect from multifaceted human beings without considering its relationship to other aspects of the lives of live human beings in their relationships in the everyday world. Because they were unaware of its significance, new social capitalists in political science forgot all about the origin of the social capital concept as something that is lodged in *relationships*. Yet in order to analyze relationships in the multi-dimensional *everyday world*, researchers must consider structures surrounding human beings and their *subjective* attributes—be they race, class, gender, or sexual orientation to name only a few—that foster the development of such relationships, or hinder such relationships from forming with

particular agents who also bear particular subjective conditions. Divorcing subjective attributes from discussions of relationships transforms multi-dimensional beings into identically disembodied political beings. Under such circumstances, research in personal relationships between and among people or relational aspects of social capital has been replaced, while the political manifestation of cultivating social capital by aggregation of individual social capital has been far more emphasized. Combined, these two omissions deprive us of potential discussions of actual personal relationships among diverse people in America that reflect today's diverse demography along with the opportunities to identify agents of social capital formation, relations among agents, relations among different race groups (multi-racial social capital), minority social capital and the history of civil society as seen from "others'" perspectives. Therefore, bringing sociological relational aspects and the concept of a more realistic multidimensional everyday world to the political science arena allows the introduction of "difference" discussions in social capital studies. But how can it be done? Political scientists who may have tacitly been *disciplined* not to cross the conventional disciplinary boundary may well be conceptually imprisoned in "the political." Is there any way those prisoners of conscience in the discipline can liberate themselves and their fellow inmates? This is one of the many topics that will be discussed in the following two chapters, "Disciplined by Discipline" and "Genealogy of Other Political Science."

As indicated, the concept of the missing African Americans in social capital studies in political science is a manifestation of the transformation of the social capital concept when it was imported in political science from sociology. This lapse

partially explains the underrepresentation of African American in social capital studies; yet, it is still a part of a bigger picture. Fundamentally, what causes such an underrepresentation of African Americans in political science literature other than the usual suspect, racism, or a little more sophisticated term, institutional racism? The next chapter will break down the so-called institutional racism and focus on the epistemological aspect of racism that may manifest itself in minority underrepresentation in political science.

Chapter IV
Disciplined by the Discipline
"The Tradition" of American Political Science

1. Introduction

Let us briefly summarize the previous two chapters before going on to the next inquiry. Chapter II "What is the Color of Social Capital?" revealed the lack of representation of African Americans in political science literature in general as well as in social capital/civil society literature in particular. From 1995 to 2005, a total of 3,598 articles were published in the seven general journals in political science, with each journal averaging from 20 to 70 articles per year. Overall, a total of 207 articles (5.75%) were confirmed to center on African Americans, including their political behaviors, electoral behaviors, social movements, etc. Except for the "one-year" in which special editions on African Americans or race-related issues are published, the number of African American articles is consistently within the range of 11 to 19, or an average of 14.875 per year, which translates into roughly two articles per year in each of the seven journals in the last 15 years. When it comes to social capital/civil society literature, African Americans are further marginalized as only one among the total of 55 pieces in the seven journals centered on them. The literature review of social capital/civil society literature in other political science journals in Chapter III "No Universal Truth", found that the discussions of African Americans were stereotypically pigeon-holed in the context of "crimes," "poverty" and "inequality" in an "inner-city," and were often linked to negative social phenomena, which ironically fits the profile of the "African Americans as Problems" tradition. In social capital/civil society studies, researchers tend to use

historically white associations, such as the Lions Club, Elk, and Rotary Club to analyze the health of civic participation in the United States. Because minority organizations were rarely used for research, this finding indicates the universal model of "citizen" in political science is still based on a white man. Our study also attributes the underrepresentation of African Americans in the social capital/civil society literature to the definitional and conceptual changes with the social capital concept that took place after Robert Putnam imported it from sociology to political science. In the field of political science, social capital has come to be used as a cultural/attitudinal variable, or a static property of individuals and groups, rather than fluid relationships among human beings. By using social capital as a static civil virtue and aggregating it at the national level, political scientists have managed to ignore the actual relationships among live human beings with many different identities. Such special attributes as female-gendered, African American, and homosexual are lost in the transformation of a social capital concept that does not pay particular attention to a "model of citizen with particular attributes." Finally, the comparison with its sister field of sociology revealed that political science, or at least its national organization, narrowly defines what "political" should be and confines multidimensional human beings as simply in "the political." The use of such a disembodied human being as a model of a citizen may well have contributed to the lack of representation of African Americans in social capital/civil society literature.

A question still remains as to the cause of invisibility of African Americans in other political science literature, or in other words, in the discipline itself. It is convenient, yet erroneous, to blame presumed racism as the culprit rendering African

American studies invisible in the field. Such a superficial assumption may lead to nothing but the very limited number of proposals already available for hopefully rectifying racism, especially in the area of human behaviors. For instance, planning more campus workshops on faculty diversity training or recruiting more minority students to predominantly white colleges might be effective in fostering friendly daily interactions among majority and minority students and faculties; however, such efforts will not likely attract academic/intellectual attention to minority issues or research on them. Likewise, it is too simplistic to argue that marginalization of minorities in political science may simply result from the lack of academic interest among scholars in such matters. As each political scientist has a distinct research interests and agenda, the small number of African American articles in political science journals may be a natural manifestation of intellectual disinterest or a reflection of the presumed unpopularity of the subject matter in academia. Unfortunately, such quick inferences overlook many critical issues, including the power dynamics within the field of political science over the guardianship of knowledge: i.e., who are the caretakers of knowledge concerning political science? There are many more unanswered questions as to who or what shapes the interests of political scientists beyond pure academic curiosity; how and who gets to define what is or is not legitimate or appropriate knowledge in political science; and how this process is constructed and maintained in the field.

It is safe to say research on the belief systems and behaviors of political scientists and the power dynamics within the discipline have not been thoroughly explored: "Much attention is given to the shaping of mass opinion. There have been far fewer studies of how elite opinions is formed—how do intellectuals get their ideas? Political scientists

study power, but they rarely consider themselves objects of power" (Roelofs 2003, 27, 32). Perhaps the study of political scientists and the discipline does not seem to fit into studies of "the political," for the discourse of the discipline usually refers to "the study of governments, public policies and political behavior" which "uses both humanistic and scientific perspectives and skills to examine all countries and regions of the world" (APSA 2005). The next sections will then go beyond the confines of the discipline to "sociologize" political science and analyze power and construction of knowledge both in general and within the discipline. A subsequent section will examine the genealogy of political science as a discipline: how it has evolved into what it is today in the United States, and who are the "founding fathers" of the discipline. The ultimate objectives of this chapter are to investigate how the mechanism of knowledge production and power works within the discipline, how the disciplinary boundaries were established, and how such restrictions on the turf affect the way scholars pursue their academic agendas. These investigations will be followed by Chapter V "Genealogy of Other Political Science" so as to examine how the unwritten (or written?) rules of the game in the discipline have affected the underrepresentation of African Americans in political science studies. Through these two genealogical studies, something much larger and much more complex than racism—convenient but too simplistic an excuse—has emerged to explain the absence of minorities in political science. It is not simple racism, but a combination of epistemological racism, a fear of being disciplined by the discipline, the relative late entry of African American political scientists in American academia, and their lack of symbolic capital that have affected the way African Americans have been objectified or excluded from the scope of study in political science.

2. Sociologizing Political Science: Sociology of Knowledge

At first glance, the variety of questions to be examined in this chapter—ranging from the history of the discipline to the nexus between power and knowledge—may require a range of theoretical approaches for investigation. For instance, researchers' preferences for not pursuing race issues might be explained by focusing on the individual level, namely, by looking at the way belief system affects the way individual researchers perceive racial minorities and either develop interests or lack thereof in minority political issues. At the same time, it would also be necessary to look at the structure of the discipline and examine those who have been in charge of the decision-making over publications, instructions, and public relations. Some may also suggest this study should investigate the relationship between the discipline and the state in terms of the discipline's potentially framing of national interests and public policy-making as well as maintaining the ideological status quo of the United States. Therefore, it is essential this study examine the invisibility of African Americans in political science from multi-faceted perspectives that allow researchers to analyze the power and construction of knowledge at both the individual and structural level. To accommodate such a multi-level analysis, this study will use "Sociology of Knowledge" as a theoretical framework. By conducting an analysis of knowledge and power in political science, this section will ultimately argue that knowledge does not exist independently from power struggles or the existence of hegemonic power in political science, and that hegemonic power uses symbolic capital and controls the construction of knowledge, the maintenance of its proper hierarchy, and gate-keeping, as well as marking the disciplinary boundaries to

consolidate its power. The hegemon in political science is none other than the American Political Science Association (APSA) that consolidated the discipline, and in turn was disciplined by the discipline so as to stay within the disciplinary boundary the Association itself established. All political scientists in the United States are in this system together, albeit unknowingly or involuntarily, and thus are bound together by disciplinary rules by their tacit consent that only requires a pledge to pursue professional political science.

Let us begin with a brief overview of "Sociology of Knowledge," which is an odd name for a subfield, but which has been an integral part of Sociology since the early 20th century. Its history began with publications by two German scholars, Karl Mannheim (1929) and Max Scheler (1924); their studies owed much to Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche in the 19th century, who wrote their treatise partly in response to the detrimental effects of liberalism and capitalism on human life, as well as from their dismay at the failure of the Enlightenment movement to keep its promise of human liberation. Being a materialist, Karl Marx held that the class that controls the means of production also controls the means of intellectual production and creates a political culture supportive of a specific economic system in a given period:

> The ideas of the ruling class (the bourgeois class) are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has a control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that, thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subjected to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore, think... hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus

their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch. (1932: 1977, 176)

As the ruling class changes, so do the ruling ideas: according to Marx, in every epoch the ruling economic force of society controls the mental force of society to justify its domination over the other classes. It follows that one's relation to the means of production alone defines one's class status, either as a potential producer or consumer of knowledge. Because of their false consciousness, the subordinated classes have come to perceive and internalize particular system-supportive knowledge as legitimate and unbiased; they do not realize that alternative/subordinated knowledge exists that would lead to their liberation from the exploitative economic system. As a structuralist, Karl Marx does not recognize individual agency or autonomy of the subordinated class until proletarians wake from their false consciousnesses, discard their pseudo-natural bourgeois lenses, and finally identify their subjective interests.

Mannheim and Scheler were critical of the Marxist one-dimensional materialist approach in analyzing history and the construction of consciousness. They firmly believed consciousness is shaped not by material interests, but by the historical and social contexts in which one is placed. Nevertheless, they still shared Marx's perspectives of examining reality in that truths do not exist apart from historical and social processes, and that the same "truth" as presented often means different things to different people in a different context (Mannheim, 273)[1]. In other words, one cannot identify or understand the hidden meanings lurking behind particular ideas without observing a particular social/historical context at a particular time in which particular power struggles among

[1] For example, nepotism and family obligation are two sides of the same coin. While Americans see promotion based on the faintest family connection as nepotism and tend to view such a move negatively

competing groups takes place. It follows that the creation and survival of ideas depends on the result of particular power struggles at a particular moment in history, and thereby such power struggles represent "a cultural and intellectual index of the position of the group in question" (Mannheim 1929, 285). Given that struggle, the demise of a particular idea is not necessarily due to a discovery of "new" truths and their replacement as a result, but it is rather caused by contending groups winning or losing particular power struggles to claim their position as the producer of knowledge.

Mannheim and Scheler's argument regarding the social deterministic nature of ideas was passed on to scholars such as Max Weber, C.W. Mills, and Claude Levi-Strauss. Though diverse in their pursuit of guilty parties, these three scholars can be classified as structuralists who focus more on the force of the structure in socially constructing knowledge while tending to sacrifice the autonomy and agency of individuals who may or may not have the power to co-opt or dismiss ideas. C.W. Mills (1959) argues the values accepted in social science as tradition are fictions that were merely proclaimed by a small number of experts:

> What a man calls moral judgment is merely his desire to generalize, and to make available for others, those values he has come to choose.... [The first of these three overriding political ideals] is simply the value of truth, of fact. The very enterprise of social science, as it determines fact, takes on political meaning. In a world of widely communicated nonsense, any statement of fact is of political and moral significance. All social scientists, by the fact of their existence, are involved in the struggle between enlightenment and obscurantism. In such a world as ours, to practice social science is, first of all, to practice the politics of truth. (178)

Becoming social scientists is in itself political, not because those scholars are in political science, but because they engage in a political game of power struggle for their own

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(e.g., George Walker Herbert Bush and George W. Bush), assisting less fortunate relatives is considered

survival and that of their knowledge. Political scientists as well as other social scientists are not abstract or neutral beings but rather *political beings* who engage in politics to authenticate their version of truth and reality.

Some contemporary scholars such as Michel Foucault and Thomas Kuhn are considered part of the new school of the Sociology of Knowledge. Unlike the previous generation of scholars in this subfield, the new school goes beyond the boundary of formal knowledge and expands its scope of study to informal knowledge, such as the everyday world, everyday reality, and common sense. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's *Social Construction of Reality* (1966) is recognized as a classic in this genre for its pioneering attempt to expose the *fictional nature of reality—not just knowledge* which had not yet been analyzed thoroughly by their peers at the time of their publication. Berger and Luckmann unmasked a reciprocal and dialectical relationship between consciousness and socially constructed reality: socially constructed reality shapes consciousness, and consciousness also frames reality. Other contemporary scholars also depart from the classical materialist/structuralist vantage point of power and knowledge as they analyze them through the lenses of postmodern, feminist, or Afrocentric perspectives.[2] Still other scholars attempt to reconcile the difference between social determinism that underestimates individual agency, and constructivism that recognizes individual agency in forming and maintaining ideas, but tends to downplay the force of structure.

Most relevant to this theoretical analysis of inequality in knowledge and power is French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who was briefly mentioned in Chapter III of this

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social custom in many developing nations.

study in relationship to his coining of the social capital concept. His contribution to the new school of the Sociology of Knowledge lies in his attempts to bridge the gap between structuralism and constructivism, in calling his theory constructive structuralism or structuralist constructivism. He argues that he combine agency, or the will of human beings to control their environment, with the force of the structure to shape individual behavior and belief systems, and he spotlights the mutuality in influencing the construction and maintenance of ideas.

> The dialectical relationship between objective structuralism and subjective phenomena... the social space, and of the group that occupy it, are the products of historical struggles in which agents participate in accordance with their position in the social space and with the mental structure through which they apprehend this space. (Bourdieu 1989,14)

He introduces some interesting concepts in his framework of analysis, such as "symbolic violence," "habitus," "symbolic capital," "pedagogic action," and "field" (Bourdieu 1978, 1884, 1991). "Field" refers to a relational rather than structural space filled with multi-faceted people who enjoy multiple statuses and identities, such as being middle-class, a woman, and/or a college-graduate. Unlike Karl Marx, who rigidly classifies human beings by their relation to the means of production or economic "classes," Bourdieu does not rush to imprison human beings in a single category. Just as with live human beings, people in his theory are multi-dimensional beings who routinely travel from one sphere to another and whose lives also stretch into multiple spheres. Such characteristics of humanness make it difficult for researchers to generalize their multidimensionality into a single category. While Marx defines classes only in an economic context, Bourdieu's "classes" are associated with the nature of groups rather

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[2] For the details of the new school of Sociology of Knowledge, see Chapter V "Genealogy of Political

than sharing similar economic statuses or particular characteristics associated with those groups. Normally, one simultaneously belongs to as many Bourdieuan "classes" (groups) as imaginable depending on the specific nature of one's being and identity, such as to the "class" of the elderly, of males, of heterosexuals, of the handicapped, of blue-collar workers, etc. It follows that one shares parts of one's *modus vivendi* and *modus operandi* with those who share one's "classes" so that one's presumed beliefs and actions—though transformative and fluid—are reflections of the variety of group values.

> It is the structure of the field that both undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position, and to impose the principle of hierachization most favorable to their own products (Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant 1992, 40)

Therefore, "the field is also a field of struggle," in which contested perspectives collide and struggle with each other (101).

On the other hand, "habitus" refers to a structure or a prism through which one sees the outside world and interprets, understands, and makes sense out of what one sees. One's multiple perspectives reflect the multiple identities and classes in which each person resides; therefore, "habitus" is the product of the internalization of the social, economic, and political prisms. Just as in the "field," everybody has a different "habitus" and shares a part of his or her "habitus" with those who belong to the same Bourdieuan "classes." "Habitus" is both a "structuring structure" and "structured structure" in that "habitus" structures what Bourdieu calls the social world; yet, it is also structured by the social world (Bourdieu 1977, 72). Imposition of particular knowledge is implemented through "pedagogic action" including school education, informal education at church and community, social rituals, peer pressure, and the like. Throughout this process, ideas

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Science.

deemed unfit by particular "classes" are omitted from imposition and excluded from formal knowledge in the social world (and thus from reality) so as to maintain social cohesion. Pierre Bourdieu calls such an imposition of knowledge, or forced yet unknowing pledging to and initiation into a particular form of knowing, "symbolic violence" (1981) as opposed to physical violence. Particular ruling "classes" or opinion leaders in "habituses" take advantage of their resources, such as their status, reputation, authority, educational attainment, connections, and financial capital, to try to monopolize the naming rights to ideas.

Defining concepts or claiming "naming rights" to concepts—which Bourdieu calls the acquisition of "symbolic capital" (1984, 1989)—is the ultimate prize for those who prevail in power struggles against lesser opponents. Differing from political or economic elites, symbolic elites do not necessarily possess much wealth, political power, or political status; yet they control the domain of intellectual production with respect to shaping thoughts, knowledge, information, and culture. Academicians including political scientists are bearers of symbolic capital, although the relative strengths of their symbolic capital partly depend on where they are situated and who also cohabits in their spaces. For example, one could argue Robert Putnam, a Harvard University professor, is one of the influential symbolic capitalists in political science because he is credited for importing the social capital concept into political science from sociology and popularizing the term beyond academia, even into American pop culture. Interestingly, his interpretation of the concept differs greatly from the original sociological social capital concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu or sociologist James Coleman (1990, 1998), but the term "social capital" has almost automatically come to mean Robert

Putnam's social capital in political science after the publication of his *Bowling Alone* trilogy (1995, 1996, 2000). In this instance, one could argue that Robert Putnam knowingly or unknowingly exercised a "renaming right" to the concept by using his resources as a "celebrity" professor at one of the most prestigious universities in the United States, which instantly grants him an authoritative status among his peers—and the literate public.

Although one may question the choice of the next example when compared to Putnam, Rush Limbaugh, an ultra-conservative who depending on one's perspective is a political commentator or demagogue, is also a symbolic capitalist who effectively uses his radio program to spread right-wing propaganda. These two examples indicate that what makes someone a symbolic capitalist is not his/her financial capital, human or social capital, or a position in academia, although these resources certainly help him earn more symbolic capital. The possession of symbolic capital enables its bearers to be fully in charge of "world-making," or in other words, composing, decomposing, labeling, and organizing perceptions of the world, or the world itself (Bourdieu 1989, 22). Symbolic capitalists also get to define what the non-symbolic capitalists are, what they are capable of doing, and what they should be; symbolic capitalists also attempt to universalize their ideas, to impose their particular perspectives on the less powerful, and finally to peer-validate and support the system through which this routine is perpetuated. Peer validation is a screening process by fellow experts who "represent the standpoints of the group from which they originate" (Collins 1991, 203).

The beauty of Bourdieu's concept lies in its flexibility, and also in the relational aspects of his terms "field" and "class," which can explain the effectiveness of symbolic

capital when used at a particular moment against particular groups. If a symbolic capitalist moves to a different Bourdieuan "field," he may not always take advantage of his symbolic capital as efficiently as he could in other fields. For example, if Rush Limbaugh were to be uprooted from his own right-wing populist radio program and transplanted into academia, namely the APSA, he most likely would lose his former status as one of the richest symbolic capitalists in mass media, not because he would lose his former Bourdieuan "field", but because he would be now among other rich symbolic capitalists at or above his own (assumed) intellectual level. Therefore he would have to begin a new struggle to accumulate resources for symbolic capital such as new connections, new status among the APSA, and new followers. On the other hand, if Limbaugh were to move to an ultra conservative right-wing town in the West, he might be respected and worshipped as the town's richest symbolic capitalist ever. The "symbolic bourgeois" in a given situation can successfully utilize peer pressure or the tyranny of the majority to silence the "symbolic petite bourgeois" or "symbolic proletariat" and thus enforce their compliance.

A young, moderately talented, junior lecturer in political science can also be a producer of knowledge and consumer of knowledge simultaneously, depending on her placement in a Bourdieuan "class" at each given moment. In a classroom of undergraduate students, the lecturer could become a symbolic capitalist, having power and being able to present particular worldview to students without serious challenge. Although the students may either reject or accept these ideas, they may also choose to believe them without critically examination due to anticipated repercussions, peer pressure, or just apathy. In this case, it can be interpreted the lecturer would successfully

use her status as an intellectual leader in the classroom and induce compliance from students. On the other hand, if the same lecturer were to attend an APSA annual conference and present a particular perspective, it would be challenged by peers and more experienced scholars regardless. The young female instructor, for example, would have to struggle much more fiercely to exercise her naming right than she would in her own classroom. This example of a female instructor supports the Bourdieuan concept that the intellectual division of labor between the producer and consumer is not crystal clear: one can be a producer of knowledge in one "field," yet lose one's power when traveling to other "fields." The division of labor in knowledge production is relational depending upon who simultaneously exists in the particular "field" at a particular moment.

In contrast, some knowledge, in particular competing knowledge, or knowledge that challenges standardized knowledge and shakes its foundation, is deligitimized, subjugated, or discarded (Dryzek and Leonald 1998, 1247):

> Power is exercised epistemologically in the dual practices of naming and evaluating. In naming or refusing to name things in the order of thought, existence is recognized or refused, significance assigned or ignored, being elevated or rendered invisible. Once defined, order has to be maintained, serviced, extended, and operationalized. (Goldberg 1993, 150)

Therefore, construction of knowledge could never be impartial or free from biases because knowledge is selected, filtered, peer-reviewed, normalized, and naturalized by producers of the knowledge and their like-minded peers whose particular vantage points are never neutral. No social scientists, including political scientists, can escape from the particular political, social and economic circumstances that surround them and shape their worldviews, including the political, economic and social perspectives (Dryzek and Leonard 1998: 1246, Walton, Miller and McCormick, 1995, 147):

> No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society. These continue to bear on what he does professionally, even though naturally enough this research and its fruit do attempt to reach a level of relative freedom from the inhibitions and the restriction of brute, everyday reality. For there is such a thing as knowledge that is less, rather than more, partial than the individual (which his entangling and distracting life circumstances) who produce it. Yet, this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical (Said 1979, 10)

Standardized knowledge is a by-product of a particular power struggle in a real-life situation, and therefore both standardized and subjugated knowledge inherently bear political implications: a placement of knowledge is a manifestation of a power struggle over the control of the naming right. The powerful perpetuate this process of normalization and domination of *their* knowledge over others and further consolidate their seemingly monolithic status with support from their manufactured ideas and tacit consent from other people.

In short, in every attempt to construct knowledge, power is exercised covertly or overtly by the powerful over the less powerful to construct their version of reality to support particular knowledge and to protect their interests, which manifests in the following three conditions: that some ideas and information are deemed unfit for public exposure, and therefore they are controlled and suppressed by the third parties that filter them; that such a placement of knowledge creates a hierarchy of knowledge; and that standardized or institutionalized knowledge dominates subjugated knowledge, which is veiled from public view. Democracy is a marketplace of opinions, but some ideas are unlisted in the store inventory and kept in a backroom invisible to customers. The process of constructing particular knowledge to support the construction of reality, and

constructing reality to support the construction of particular knowledge, are mutually reinforcing and commanding in such a way that the process is presented and viewed as natural and harmless to the receivers of information.

If we apply Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital in the context of the discipline of political science, we could say that the producer of knowledge can mobilize symbolic capital, initiate pedagogic action to shape the interests of the capital-less, and resort to symbolic violence, i.e., force the compliance of the consumer of knowledge during the decision-making or non-decision-making process through fear, influence, authority, manipulation, reward, or punishment. Such uses of power give the symbolic capitalists the right to define the boundaries and ideological orientation of the discipline, screen new ideas, select particular articles, omit particular curricula and create a hierarchy of knowledge. Thus, the members of the scholarly community are expected to abide by the "manufactured standard" or "manufactured tradition" as it works as an unwritten code of conduct or code of ethics. If such is the case, studies of African Americans might have slipped through the crack of the hierarchy of knowledge as unnecessary or unimportant knowledge as compared to legitimate knowledge or what political scientists ought to know. It might be bold to claim that the power dynamic in the field works as a filter to limit public exposure of taboo subjects, for such an idea appears synonymous with the popular yet groundless conspiracy theory. Nonetheless, looking back at the history of political science—to be examined in the next section—such an argument is not far-fetched or groundless any more. There are an infinite number of research questions political scientists could potentially pursue, but whether they can fully take advantage of the potential is a different matter. In fact, there are less than an infinite number of

research questions that political scientists are "allowed" to pursue. It ultimately comes down to a simple question as to who owns symbolic capital or controls knowledge; who has the authority to construct and restrict knowledge in political science; and who or what controls the "ideological superstructure of the discipline." In other words, what actually takes place behind the decision-making process in the discipline? The next section will review the history of political science as a modern discipline, especially in its infant state and examine who used symbolic capital and prevailed in the power struggle to create the code of conduct or the "tradition" of political science concerning the boundary of political science.

3. A Genealogy of Political Science in the United States

Although the origin of the study of politics dates back to ancient Greece, where it enjoyed prestige as the master science, political science as a modern academic discipline in the United States emerged only in the late 19th century. Social sciences had existed as a single academic entity consisting of several related fields, such as history, economics, philosophy, and politics, until modern-day American universities launched reconstitutions of their academic organizations in the 1890s. Previously, these diverse programs belonged to a single interdisciplinary professional organization, the American Social Science Association (ASSA), established in 1865 for the advancement of social science research and the articulation of general interests among social scientists.[3] There

[3] Established in 1865, the American Social Science Association initially divided the discipline into four subfields, Education, Public Health, Economy, Trade and Finance, and Jurisprudence, to which Social Economy was added later. For more details, see Edward T. Silva and Sheila A. Slaughter, *Serving Power*:

had always been a tension between the reformists, the younger generation who supported the independence of each social science subfield, and the traditionalists, the older generation who defended the integral and inseparable nature of social sciences as a single academic discipline (Ross 1979; reprinted 1993, 91).[4] Such a conflict stemmed not only from the presumed generation gap between the two opposing factions, but also from their different conceptualizations of what the ultimate objectives of social sciences should be. The younger generation was more pragmatic and eager to solve the social problems confronting American society during those eras—rapid industrialization, reconstruction of the South after the Civil War, American expansionism, influx of unwanted immigrants, and rise of the labor movement to name only some—by conducting empirical investigations or applying the results of scientific investigations to actual cases. On the other hand, the older generation took a moralistic approach to higher education in that the objective of higher learning was taken as a means to nurture the healthy mind and intelligence expected of upper-class gentlemen (Ross 91). In other words, this conflict of interest between the old generation and the new generation could be explained by the Weberian argument that the modern state requires a new type of state function (i.e., state bureaucracy), and a new type of knowledge that facilitates the rational functioning of the bureaucracy and the state:

> Behind the present discussion of the foundations of the educational system, the struggle of the 'specialist type of man' against the older type of 'cultivated man' is hidden at some decisive point. This fight is determined by the irresistibly expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority and by

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The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert. Westport: London: Greenwood Press, 1984, 23.

[4] However, the dichotomization of political scientists might not have been as clear-cut as Ross's analysis. For example, John Burgess belonged to the reformist camp; yet his academic orientation was rather traditional. He used the historical method to study ideas of the state and constitution which hardly could fit into scientific study using the contemporary standard. For example, see Burgess' *Political Science and Comparative* Constitutional Law, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1891).

> the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge. This fight intrudes into all intimate cultural questions (Weber 1922[1946], 243).

If so, the crux of the matter was not simply the young reformists rebelling against the old guards because of the generation gap, but rather the establishment of modern bureaucracy in the Untied States that necessitated experts with specialized technical knowledge to smoothly execute their assigned functions. The birth of political science as a discipline thus resulted from the mutual interests held by the state bureaucracy and the idealistic and ambitious young political scientists, which facilitated the establishment of a specialized technical field in politics as a discipline.[5]

During the second part of the 19th century, vocal reformers increasingly called for the promotion of subfields to independent field/department status and the need for serious advanced studies for professional development of young students.[6] Political scientists were no exception in this vanguard movement that swept through academe. On the first Monday of May in 1880, John W. Burgess (1844-1931), a young Ph.D., received the news the trustees had adopted his blueprint to institute a graduate-level autonomous department of political science at Columbia University—the first such attempt among U.S. universities.[7] After Columbia's social sciences program made a successful transition to independent departmental status, a movement to establish political science as a separate and specialized entity accelerated elsewhere. A number of institutions

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[5] For more on the role of state involvement, see the following section regarding the Land-Grant Act.

[6] The number of political scientists was estimated to be no more than 100 in 1890. David Easton, *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 38. However, this number is disputable, as other researchers such as Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus mention a slightly higher number of "less than 200." *Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967).

followed Columbia in subsequent years: the University of Michigan (1881); the University of California and the graduate program at Johns Hopkins University (1903); the University of Illinois and the University of Wisconsin (1904); the College of the City of New York (1906); the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, and Princeton University (1915); and Stanford University (1919). These schools all established independent departments of political science, although the official names for the programs varied from the department of government to the department of public law and jurisprudence (Ricci 1984, 61). The increase in the number of state-supported universities initiated by the Land-Grant Act of 1862, which set aside 30,000 acres of land for the establishment of schools chiefly aimed at agricultural and technical education, helped young reformists to obtain faculty positions all over the country and to expand their influence in the field.

Reflecting the "separatist movement" in the community of academics, social scientists in various fields respectively called for the establishment of their own disciplinary professional organizations and a complete withdrawal from the ASSA. The American Historical Association (AHA) was founded in 1884, followed by the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1885 and the American Sociological Association (ASA) in 1903. Finally, in an effort to promote scientism or "the scientific study of politics,"[8] the American Political Science Association (APSA) was established in December 1903 by 25 men, including professors, bureaucrats, politicians, and overseas American diplomats who happened to represent the six constitutive units—Comparative

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[7] This is the same John W. Burgess whose social Darwinist idea on race was quoted in Chapter I of this dissertation to juxtapose W. E. B. du Bois' aspiration to uplift his race. Incidentally, Burgess also opposed the inclusion of women in the higher institutions.

[8] "The Organization of the American Political Science Association." *Proceedings of the American*

Legislation, International Law and Diplomacy, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, Historical Jurisprudence, and Political Theory:[9]

> It is declared by them [political scientists] that what they desire is not merely an opportunity to read papers and have them published in the reports of the annual proceedings, but the establishment of some representative body that can take the scientific lead in all matters of a political interest, encouraging research, aiding if possible in the collection and publication of valuable material and, in general advancing the scientific study of politics in the United States (APSA 1904, 11).

The twenty-five–man organization grew rapidly and boasted as many as 214 members at the one-year anniversary of its foundation (APSA 1904, 19-24). Among the founding fathers were Woodrow Wilson (then the president of Princeton University and future president of the United States), Charles E. Merriam (future founder of the Social Science Research Council), and F. J Goodnow, the first president of the organization. Ultimately six of the original members would serve as the president of the APSA.[10] "Seventeen persons holding American doctorates were nominated for office or committee appointment at the first meeting of the American Political Science Association; of this group, seven had taken their degree at Columbia, five at Johns Hopkins" (Somit and Tanenbaus 1967, 34). In other words, the founding members were the crème de la crème of the political scientists that the United States could offer in the early 20th century.

Political Science Association, v. 1 (1904): 11.

[9] The Founding Fathers of the APSA are as follows: Walter E. Clark (City College o New York); E. R. Clow (Oshkosh, WI); F.A. Cleveland (New York, NY); John A. Fiarlie (University of Michigan); John R. Ficklen (Tulane University); Worthington C. Ford (Library of Congress); Frank J. Goodnow (Columbia University); George Haynes (Worcester Polytechnic Inst.); W.H. Hatten, (New London, WI); C. H. Huberich (University of Texas); Isodor Loeb (University of Missouri); Theodore Marburg (Johns Hopkins University); J.J.McNulty (City College of New York); Charles E. Merriam (University of Chicago); Paul S. Erinsch (University of Wisconsin); Maurice H. Robinson (University of Illinois); William A. Schaper (University of Minnesota); George Winfield Scott (Library of Congress); H.S. Smalley (University of Michigan); S.E. Sparling (University of Wisconsin); Henry C. Stanclift (Cornell College); James Sullivan (New York, NY); Robert H. Whitten (New York State Library); W. W. Willoughby (Johns Hopkins University); and James A. Woodburn (Indiana University). *APSA 100*, (2002, 1).

[10] There were estimated to be somewhere between 50-100 political science teachers at the start of the century. (Somit and Tanenhaus, 44).

Similar to other professional organizations in academia, the APSA published its own scholarly journal *The American Political Science Review* (APSR) in 1906, referred job opportunities to members, and exchanged new research ideas at the annual conferences.[11] More importantly, the mission of the APSA from the beginning was "the encouragement of the scientific study—discovering universal validity of politics, public law, administration and diplomacy" (*Proceedings of the American Political Science Association,* 1904, 11). The focus of the study of politics was transformed from ancient moral philosophy to scientific research oriented toward utilities, which aimed to apply itself to empirical cases and find pragmatic solutions to problems confronting the young nation. Character education—nurturing morals and cultivating wisdom through learning moral philosophy—as a goal of learning politics and of higher institutions itself has *seemed* to be gradually sidelined by the *scientific* part of political science. By defeating the traditionalists, the young reformists seized their Machiavellian moment to grab the role of intellectual leaders or symbolic capitalists in political science and thus initiated a process of establishing an organization and a new discipline in accordance with their blueprint.

Once the new organization was established, its leaders moved to the next stage of consolidating their power, i.e., by imposing pedagogic actions and symbolic violence. The APSA, then led by Dr. Ernest Freund of the University of Chicago as "the authority of the discipline," was brought forward in 1915 when the organization specifically identified fifteen fields as the subfields appropriate for college education, which effectively translated into the officially approved subfields in the APSA and thereby

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[11] The first serial publication by APSA was the *Proceedings* in 1904, which carried the articles presented at the annual APSA national conference. After having a parallel existence for seven years, the *American*

defined the boundary of political science itself. Those fifteen original subfields as reported in the *APSR* were: 1) American Government; National; State and local. Municipal; 2) Comparative Government; 3) Party Government; 4) Colonial Government; 5) Diplomacy; 6) Political Science (Introductory Course); 7) Political Theories and History of Political Literature; 8) Constitutional Law; 9) Commercial Law; 10) Elements of Law and Jurisprudence; 11) Roman Law; 12) International Law
13) Legislation and Legislative Procedure; 14) Public Administration and Administrative Methods; and 15) Judicial Administration, the Organization and Functions of Courts of Justice (Heines 1915, 357-374). These subfields represented the APSA's version of what "political" ought to be.[12] This stands as a quintessential example of the APSA or a small number of executive leaders utilizing symbolic capital to define the scope of study—i.e., what area of study is acceptable and legitimate in the discipline. In the meantime, the APSA strongly recommended in its report to the Committee of Instruction of Colleges and Universities that political science be separated from other social sciences such as history or economics and be granted an independent departmental status (Haines 1915, 357). It also requested textbook writers conform to the APSA standard in each subfield in light of scope, contents, and quality (365), and gave suggestions to professors about

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Political Science Review (APSR) took over the place of the Proceedings exclusively in 1913.
12 As of 2005, the APSA recognizes seven official subfields and 37 organized sections. The official subfields are Public Policy, Public Law and Courts, Political Philosophy and Theory, Public Administration, Methodology, International Politics, Comparative Politics, and American Government and Politics. The organized sections are as follows: 1 Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations; 2 Law and Courts; 3 Legislative Studies; 4 Public Policy; 5 Political Organizations and Parties; 6 Public Administration; 7 Conflict Processes; 8 Representation and Electoral Systems; 9 Presidency Research 10 Political Methodology; 11 Religion and Politics; (section 12 unlisted); 13 Urban Politics; (section 14 unlisted); 15 Science, Technology and Environmental Politics; 16 Women and Politics Research; 17 Foundations of Political Theory; 18 Information Technology and Politics; 19 International Security and Arms Control; 20 Comparative Politics; 21 European Politics and Society; 22 State Politics and Policy; 23 Political Communication; 24 Politics and History; 25 Political Economy; 27 New Political Science; 28 Political Psychology; 29 Undergraduate Education; 30 Politics, Literature, and Film; 31 Foreign Policy; 32

ideal lesson plans, lecture type (seminar, class size, difficulty, etc.), and the classification of classes for the sake of "maintaining unity" (374). Coincidently, the report found the most popularly used textbooks for college political science courses in those days were written by none other than the officeholders of the ASPA (368).

The strong influence of APSA executive officers using symbolic capital and pedagogic action can also be observed in the representation of articles in the *APSR*: just as with other disciplines and their official publications, the APSA leaders overrepresented the authorship of articles published in the *APSR* during the first fifteen years.[13]

> Founding members overrepresented in journal articles. APSA leaders were 15.6 percent of the substantive article authors and contributed 22.9 % of the titles.... This ratio is somewhat closer to the others [founding members of other professional organizations and their authorships] and sufficient to suggest the leadership hands shaping the role and content of their specialty's expertise....[t]he leaders to be disproportionately high knowledge producers....Yet, it must also be remembered that the vast majority of the associations' memberships were knowledge consumers, not producers, readers, and not authors (Silva and Slaughter, 28).

Interestingly, the *APSR* had had only three chief editors from its launch in 1906 to 1949. One of the founding fathers, W. W. Willoughby, served for approximately 10 years, followed by another original member, John A. Fairlie, for approximately nine years, then Frederic A. Ogg, who served as the chief editor of the journal for almost a quarter of a century from 1926 to 1949. It is fair to say these three editors laid the foundation for the

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Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior; 33 Race, Ethnicity and Politics; 34 International History and Politics; 35 Comparative Democratization; 36 Human Rights; 37 Qualitative Methods.

[13] Other professional organizations in social sciences show a quite similar proportion of knowledge production by the organization's office holders. According to Silva and Slaughter, 30.3% of all the articles published in American Social Science Association's *Journal of Social Science* during 1906-1921 were written by the ASSA officers. The officers of the American Economic Association accounted for 44.2% of all the articles, while the officers of American Sociological Association contributed 18.3%. (pp. 24-31) The differences in representation may stem from various reasons, including the numbers of professionals in the fields, numbers of officers in each association, articles sent in by the members for possible publication, and number of articles published during the same time span. Yet in terms of the numbers of office holders, the AEA and APSA held the same number of annual posts. The office holders of the ASA were one less than

APSR in terms of its scope, ideological orientation, journal organization, sponsorships, circulation, and finance. In his tribute to Frederic A. Ogg in "The Growth of the American Political Science Review 1926-1949" in the June issue of the *APSR* in 1950, Harold Zink, then a professor at Ohio State University, praised Ogg to the extent he claimed no one had ever made a more significant impact on any professional journals:

> Professor Ogg used his editorial pencil vigorously in connection with the articles both long and short; in addition, he prepared the news and notes, assigned the book reviews, and read the printer's proof, and solicited advertisements from various publishers. Aside from the preparation of the "Recent Publications of Political Interest," "Government Publications," and the "Index," all of the heavy burden of getting out the REVIEW fell on his shoulders. The American Political Science Association has, of course, provided a few hundred dollars each year for a part-time secretary, but the work itself, both that of formulating editorial policies and of performing the drudgery, was done in very large measure by the editor himself (Zink 1950, 257-58).

According to Zink, Ogg was literally a hands-on editor who reviewed virtually every written document—including articles, news items, and advertisements—that ever graced the *APSR* during his tenure as a chief editor. In other words, every written form had to be first screened by Frederic A. Ogg to be printed in the *APSR*, which granted him unprecedented power to shape the orientation of the journal and define the cutting-edge subjects in the discipline. Even by contemporary standards, Ogg was understandably a successful editor: during his tenure, the total number of pages the *APSR* ran in a year increased from a modest 909 pages to 1,243 with some 100 additional pages of advertisements, and the circulation shot up from 1,586 in 1926 to 5,140 in 1949 (259). Most importantly, the *APSR*'s rise in circulation helped garner wider attention by scholars resulting in a greater number of manuscripts sent to the journal for possible publication. This success ironically set the stage for invisible power struggles which still

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the AEA and the APSA (p. 24). Silva and Slaughter list presidents, vice presidents, secretary and treasurers

continue today between the editorial board and individual scholars over a chance for publication: it was the beginning of the screening or "censoring" of articles, news items, and book reviews by the most revered editors of the most authoritative journal in the discipline which could make or break young political scientists.[14] Ogg's predecessor Fairlie recalled that from the birth of the journal to Ogg's succession to the chief editor, virtually all articles received were eventually published in the *APSR* (Fairlie 1926, 182). Under Ogg's editorship, only two categories of articles emerged: articles that made it to publication in the *Review*, and articles that were judged unqualified, unimportant, and unfit. The selection process was conducted in the black box over which rank and file APSA members had little control after sending their manuscripts to the journal, as they had no other choice but to have faith in a supposedly fair and balanced system. Whether actual selections met their trust was a different matter: some areas of studies were slighted, and others disappeared from the *APSR* for a long stretch of time in its early years, which at times looked fairly random to Zink. He also admitted works by senior members of the organization were more often published than those of the rank-and-file members although Zink adds no particular groups in the APSA monopolized the authorships (Zink 264).

Perhaps because the number of memberships still remained low, it was easier for the rank and file to express their ideas about the running of the organization. When it came to defining the discipline, however, it appears that the rank-and-file members were "consumers of knowledge" as opposed to those executive leaders as "producers of

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as leading roles (24).

[14] Because of the rise in the price of papers and print, the *APSR* was forced to decrease the number of pages and thereby the number of articles it was able to carry in an issue. For more detail on the economics of running the journal, see section II and III of the Zink article.

knowledge" (Silva and Slaughter 28) in the infant stage of the development of the discipline. In other words, the APSA leaders presented themselves as the "vanguard of knowledge" with the rank and file being cast as "followers of knowledge." By producing knowledge, publishing textbooks and journals, and giving model lesson plans to political science professors, the APSA in its early stage shaped or at least attempted to shape the foundation of modern political science as an academic discipline, although one may question the extent to which the APSA was effective in *enforcing* such "suggestions" then. Again, one needs to consider the size of the political science community in those days: for example, only 214 men registered for the first annual conference in New Orleans in 1904 (APSA 1904, 19-24) as compared to more than 6,000 in 2002. Only 20% of the *APSR* subscribers were engaged in college education from 1913-1932 (Gaus 1934, 729), less than 1 percent of the 71,722 college and university faculty members listed in the national census in 1930 (732). A survey conducted by the APSA Committee for the Advancement of Teaching found that only 38 among 300 universities and colleges in the nation maintained separate departments for the study of politics in the 1910s (Easton 1971, 38). Naturally, new political science courses being offered, new programs being launched at some universities, or professors leaving the U.S. for study abroad always made the news in the *APSR*.[15] Therefore, it is possible to assume the national organization had relatively little difficulty in influencing the development of the discipline, if only because there was only a small network of political science professors in the nation to be informed of the latest updates through the *APSR* and other written forms. What little suggestions and directions they could get from the organization might

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[15] See "News and Note" section of the *APSR* in its inaugural issue in 1906 (100-107). The fact Washington and Les University added classes to the existing political science curriculum made the APSR

have been more than welcome to young scholars who had to bear the overwhelming responsibility of creating an academic infrastructure to found political science departments at their individual institutions while at the same time having to teach intellectually starved undergraduate students to their satisfaction. It would not surprise contemporary political scientists even if the first generation of young professors with uncertain ideas about the boundaries and orientation of political science might have looked at more established universities and colleges for reliable tips for running their departments and teaching political science as it should be done:

> All of these [external roles of discipline—one being a declaration of independence as a discipline, and formation of formal characteristics of a learned discipline: an official organization, an officialdom, an official journal, and regular, officially prescribed meetings of the membership] performed important functions. They also fostered another requisite of a leaned discipline—a common status of mind. If a discipline is to flourish, its practitioners must be in general agreement about their subject matter, their techniques, and the interests and behavior appropriate to the practice of their profession. Such a state of mind had developed, we have seen, in the formative decades. Still the vastly expanded opportunities for contact and communication afforded by the newborn Association would do much both to strengthen and to shape the views share by its members (Somit and Tanenhaus 1967, 500).

In addition to defining the boundaries of discipline and production of knowledge, the early APSA officeholders contributed to shaping public policy and public opinion by aligning with industrialists-turned-philanthropists such as the Carnegies, Vanderbilts, Filenes, and Rockefellers, among others. By allying with them financially and ideologically, early APSA members set another boundary beyond which other rank-and-file political scientists were not encouraged to go: to stay within the framework of capitalism and the political system that justifies it, symbolic capitalists and financial capitalists merged into one and formed a formidable force to initiate Bourdieuan

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news, although there is no likelihood it would make it to the News section in the *APSR* today.

pedagogic actions. For example, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) was established to counterattack the surge of socialism and the increasingly unmanageable labor movement in the Untied States, as well as to produce knowledge supportive of capitalism—the very economic system that has produced millionaires such as them and placed them in unparalleled privileged positions in society vis-à-vis the rest, i.e, the proletarians. Ironically, the objective of the education of political philosophy as character education—cultivating morality and nurturing young minds—has survived, although it was thought to have died when the science of politics was introduced in the early 20th century. Character education or nurturing of young minds has been then rechristened to "citizenship education," which was designed to mold young minds and create the kind of citizens necessary to sustain the longevity of the American political and economic system.

In 1884, financial tycoons such as Marshall Field, Everett Macy, Edward Filene, and George Eastman sponsored the establishment of the National Municipal League that was originally designed to study urban issues and find practical solutions to high crime rates, poor housing conditions, poverty, and massive influx of immigrants that exceeded what any metropolis could easily handle. Just as a number of political scientists enjoyed cozy relationships with the SSRC in terms of research funding and employment opportunities, executive leaders of the APSA along with their counterparts in other academic professional organizations participated in the research projects sponsored by the National Municipal League. In addition to the members of the American Economic Association and the American Sociological Association, some 60% of APSA members participated in this capitalist-financier-backed association as officeholders, and funded

researchers, policymakers, and presenters of papers and proposals at the League-sponsored conferences (Silva and Slaughter 216). At first glance, the National Municipal League looked like a quintessential philanthropic organization , yet its mission was to force Bourdieuan symbolic violence— i.e., to create and instill in urban residents and new immigrants a political culture supportive of the existing political and economic system of the United States, lest they turn to radical labor movements or even worse, socialism. Therefore, the role of academics participating in the League's activities was literally and figuratively commissioned to serve the needs of the business tycoons.

Those private foundations, such as the Rockefeller, the Ford, and the Carnegie, have played significant roles in shaping the minds of junior scholars and nurturing loyalty among senior scholars; as they were the sources of research grants, scholars would better not antagonize them or question their ideological orientation. Gabriel A. Almond, a young student in the 1930s, was kindly reminded by Charles E. Merriam, his dissertation advisor, to exclude a section critical of the Carnegie from his dissertation:

> What he [Merriam] was concerned about was that I had done some psyching of John D. Rockefeller, who was the founder of the University of Chicago and the source of its funding; and I had gathered material on Carnegie, and the Carnegie Corporation was becoming an important source of research funds (Baer, Jewell and Sigleman 1991, 127).

In 1905, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching established a pension plan for university professors, which literally bought the loyalty of senior professors who otherwise would have faced financial uncertainty in their declining years (Roelofs 2003, 9). It is hard to imagine professors on the Carnegie pension plan would engage in the kind of political discourse that might have alienated their financer and cost them their pensions. As early as the 1940s, the danger of political scientists losing their autonomy

was palpable:

> Men who have families to support on inadequate incomes will think twice before they criticize views that lie deep in the emotions, such as a views on private property. Life and vigorous inquiry into established verities is not likely to flourish when there is a contingent possibility that unpopular ideas may cost the academic man his position or interfere with his promotion...and from past experience he knows this is more than a mere possibility (Loppincott 1940 [1993], 156)

The Rockefeller Foundation did not just finance the assisting of retired professors and funding of young scholars, but also createed a Public Administration program at universities in the various parts of the United States:

> For training government personnel, the Rockefeller Foundation created the department of public administration at University of California, Chicago, Cincinnati, Harvard, Minnesota, Virginia, and the American University. The grant to Harvard helped to organize an activity in public service training on a graduate level, and the work was the forerunner of the ASAP (American Society of Public Administration)...to consolidate this new field, the Spelman Fund developed and financed the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago under the guidance of Charles E. Merriam, Beardsley Ruml, and Guy Moffett. (Fosdick 1952, 199, 206; Roelofs 2003 66-67).

It is easy to assume the Rockefeller Foundation has enjoyed some degree of power concerning the intellectual and ideological orientation of the new discipline they had sponsored as well as the selection of loyal personnel to staff Public Administration departments nationwide.

The APSA leaders—as well as university board members and local politicians—used academia as the extension of the national credo, by playing such system-supportive roles throughout APSA history. Although its constitution calls for an unbiased and ideologically neutral stand as an association, APSA history even beyond its infancy indicates otherwise. There has been a built-in bias toward supporting capitalism and liberal democracy or, in other words, maintaining the ideological status quo, the

foundational framework of American society. It is little wonder that business leaders—as well as government officials—supported establishing independent political science departments around the country and have been instrumental in persuading trustees of universities and state legislators to do so (APSR 1915: 357). The APSA resolution to support the US involvement in World War I, its relative silence during the McCarthy Red Scare, and numerous APSA presidential addresses supporting the state[16] betray a perception that political scientists are researchers with neutral lenses devoid of any ideological biases. Board members at various public universities also joined this campaign and assisted in maintaining the ideological status quo by expelling or not granting tenure to controversial figures who did not seem to ardently support US war efforts, who wrote critical articles on US foreign policies, or who were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. William A. Schapter, a pro-labor political science professor who was already a controversial figure at the University of Minnesota, was dismissed by the university board members for his less-than-enthusiastic support for the US war efforts (Shrecker, 1986, 21).

> [p]olitical controversy was not conducive to an academic career... By 1985 it was clear that the academic profession was not going to accept the advocacy of controversial social or political reforms as legitimate scholarship. Academic victims of political repression could, it seems, retain their jobs if they kept quiet and gave up their political activities (Shrecker 16).

Marxist professors, for example, were marginalized, and some college professors were either forced or chose to "play it safe" to remain in academe as the prospect of new employment for blacklisted professors was close to nil. Particularly during the McCarthy

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[16] For example, the first president of the Association, Frank Goodnow, advised to his fellow scholars that the objective of political science as a discipline is "perfecting the various operations necessary to the realization of the state will" (Goodnow 1903, 04).

era, "liberal-oriented" professors limited their scholastic activities or outside works by practicing self-censorship for fear of being labeled as intellectual dissidents. Whether or not to support the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, or the feminist movement also challenged academic freedom from the 1960s to the 1970s. For example, Michael Parenti, an anti-war political science professor at the University of Vermont, was denied contract renewal despite the unanimous support from his colleagues in the department (Silva and Slaughter, 314). These incidents in the academic climate indicate a variety of ways to discipline political science professionals who dare to go beyond the established ideological line.

Such framing of the disciplinary and ideological boundary has had significant effects on what researchers could study beyond the APSA's infancy and even beyond the confines of the United States. Except for a small number of radical literature, most studies in political science in the United States *considered* and *accepted* as seminal are, at best, only *slightly modified versions of liberalism or the market economy*. It is not surprising political science in America has been criticized for its tacit liberal bias (Dawson 2001; Dove 1995; Farr and Seidelman, 1940; Lander 1973; Harz 1955; Karenga 2002; Ricci 1984; Seidelman 1985):

> [B]ecause America was so overwhelmingly devoted to the principles and practices of democratic liberalism, the end for political science was virtually laid down in advance, and any discoveries the discipline might make would either engender support of that end or—and here was the danger—detract from existing support by revealing the existence of bad citizenship and encouraging more of the same (Ricci 1984, 70)

Believing in the universal validity of their political development, post-World War II American political scientists were eager to spread the gospel of democracy and the

market economy to newly independent nations that were in the middle of painful state-building. Behind the altruistic motives of goodwill, humanism and humanitarian aid, however, there was a much more pressing need for the U.S. government to exhibit its supremacy so as to deter the spread of communism. (Crick 1959, 244: Farre and Seidelman 1997: Lippincott 1949, 155). W.W. Rostow's theory of stages of economic development (1960), For example, Verba and Almond's comparative civic culture studies (1963) and Huntington's modernization theory (1968) celebrated the ultimate preeminence of the US political and economic system and development over the Soviet system, and regime-supportive political scientists (in other words, covert regime spokespersons) encouraged developing nations to undertake Western-style modernization marching toward liberal democracy and capitalism. Therefore, the APSA's role in defining the disciplinary and ideological boundary by allying with US financial tycoons has had far-reaching effects on the ideological configuration of political science beyond the United States.

Political science as a discipline was born in the early 20th century. It has firmly established its disciplinary as well as ideological boundaries by helping realize the state gospel of liberal democracy and market economy within the first 100 years of its establishment. This is the tradition, the "constructed" tradition in political science as a discipline. Reflecting the changing reality and partly responding to critical voices from disenchanted members, the APSA launched some institutional changes in the 1970s by setting up the committees on the status of female political science professors and minority professors and allowing the charter of new division sections to mirror diversified interests among political scientists. Nevertheless, young students' naïve

ideals in which political scientists challenge the establishment and authority to redress social evils and better the world have to be sidelined by the more realistic goal of survival in the politicized academe, precisely because part of the initiation into the professional world is for them to rid themselves of such youthful enthusiasms to become *disciplined* men. Otherwise, they will be disciplined by the discipline to become more disciplined men.

4. Conclusion

Let us summarize the previous two sections: Knowledge is a by-product of a power struggle between and among contending parties that is used as an instrument to maintain the domination of the hegemon over the subordinated groups. Therefore, knowledge we have come to acquire is not entirely value-neutral as presented, but represents certain types of vantage points that serve to maintain the domination of the hegemon. Even professionally trained political scientists are not immune from this deficiency as they are unable to create or present value-less knowledge. Just as "financial capitalists" rule the domain of economy, "symbolic capitalists" rule the domain of intellectual production, and engage in world-making, i.e., instilling particular vantage points over the less powerful by pedagogic actions and symbolic violence. By applying these ideas to the history of political science in the United States, it has become clear the American Political Science Association in its infant period became in fact a hegemon that defined the disciplinary boundaries as to what ought to be included in studies of political science, what types of lectures should be given to students, and what articles should be

published. Not only did the national organization shape the academic orientation of the discipline, but it also shaped the ideological orientation of political science in the Untied States by allying with wealthy industrialists who sought to rally support from the academia to maintain their domination in the economic realm. These two limits created an environment in which researchers were encouraged to study within the officially recognized subfields within the framework of liberalism and capitalism. The most oppressive element of this power structure is that it has become nearly impossible to differentiate the APSA and the discipline. The APSA has become a discipline itself. Because of the APSA's monopoly over intellectual production and its role as a custodian of knowledge in its infant period, the discipline was almost reduced to the APSA until its monopoly was challenged in the 1970s. To resist the domination of the APSA is to challenge the legitimacy and hierarchy of the discipline, while resisting the authority of the APSA is to challenge the professionalization of political science that requires rules and regulations for cohesion and smooth operation of the national organization. By the time the APSA celebrated its one-hundred-year anniversary of its establishment, it is almost impossible to tell which party, the discipline or the APSA, controls the other as the two forces are almost merged into one. The APSA was created to regulate the discipline, but now the discipline's ideological and academic orientations also constrain where or how far the APSA can go:

> Professionalism can be defined as a form of occupational control, one from among others (guilds, patronage, state regulation) that hierarchically have attempted to regulate the problematical relationship between producer and consumer arising from the specialization of labor. Two aspects of that relationship created the possibility of professionalization. One is the degree of uncertainty in the relationship, which increases with the degree of specialization in production; the other is the potential for autonomy that an occupational group has—the degree to which it can exert its power over the producer-consumer

> relation. Professionalism is a form of collegial occupational control in which the producer's expert knowledge creates a high degree of uncertainty in the relationship and thus a high need for control, and in which the historically high status of its practitioners and the fragmentation of its consumers have enabled the occupation to press and enforce its claims for collegial autonomy (Ross, 1993, 93-94.)

Political scientists are not objectively free; they are the conscientious prisoners of the discipline and are expected to defer to the discipline in terms of its ideological orientations and boundaries. Otherwise, political scientists would be disciplined by the discipline:

> We are disciplined by our disciplines. First, they help produce our world. They specify the objects we can study (genes, deviant persons, canonicity). They provide criteria for our knowledge (truth, significance, impact) and methods (quantification, interpretation, analysis) that regulate our access to it (Davidow, Shummy and Sylvan 1993 ivv).

The discipline of political science sets the limits of what political science research should entail, which results in its great influence on defining acceptable subfields, methodology, textbooks, and even specification for writings. These rules do not exist for the sake of convenience alone but for the sake of controlling the discipline to create disciplined professional men. It may sound pessimistic, but political scientists are not free—they are bound by unwritten rules of the discipline:

> In reality, the disciplines have their own discourse. They engender, ...apparatuses of knowledge *(savoir)* and a multiplicity of new domains of understanding. They are extraordinarily inventive participants in the order of these knowledge-production apparatus. Disciplines are the bearers of a discourse, but this cannot be the discourse of right. The discourse of discipline has nothing in common with that of law, rule, or sovereign will. The disciplines may well be the carriers of a discourse that speaks of a rule, but this is not the juridical rule deriving from sovereignty, but a natural rule, a norm (Foucault 1972, 106).

The next chapter, "Genealogy of Other Political Science," will analyze how the artificially created disciplinary tradition of having to play within the academic and ideological framework of the discipline, the rules concerning knowledge production, and the inequality in the possession of symbolic capital among white political scientists and African American political scientists all affected the way African Americans were objectified, analyzed, defined and overlooked in the history of political science in the Untied States.

Chapter V
A Genealogy of "Other" Political Science
Different Origin, Different Tradition

1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined power and knowledge production, symbolic capital and pedagogic action, as well as the disciplinary history of political science, to clarify who or what defines the disciplinary boundary and creates the so-called tradition in political science. The genealogy of the discipline revealed that young political scientists such as Woodrow Wilson (then the president of Princeton University and future president of the United States); Charles E. Merriam (future founder of the Social Science Research Council); and F. J Goodnow (soon to be a chair of the preparatory committee to establish the American Political Science Association, called for the complete withdrawal from the American Social Science Association (ASSA) in order to launch an association specifically designed to promote scientism in studies of politics and articulate general interests among political scientists. Such a move to break away from the interdisciplinary ASSA was partly prompted by the institutional changes that took place in American academia as political science gradually gained an independent department/program status as a discipline. Those founding members of the American Political Science Association (APSA) won the power struggle against the old guards who took the moralist approach to studies of political science and captured symbolic capital so as to define the boundary of the discipline: what subfields needed to be included; what articles should be published; what textbooks were desirable; and what requirements doctoral candidate should fulfill

(Gaus 1934). Not only did the APSA mark the disciplinary boundary, but it also built an ideological boundary which political scientists were not overly encouraged to cross. Allying with the industrialist-philanthropists, such as the Carnegies, Filenes, Rockefellers, and Vanderbilts, the APSA and political scientists of the early 20th century tacitly pledged to promote and defend American liberalism and capitalism—the ideological framework of the United States—in conducting various research projects that were fully or partially funded by their foundations. By doing so, those political scientists were tied to the entrepreneurial tycoons, and therefore found themselves in a compromising position of having to tacitly accept limitations as to what their research should or should not entail. That Ralph Bunche and Gabriel Almond had to tone down their critique of the "political taboos" to request or keep a research grant are quintessential examples of the capitalist tycoons' exercise of power over the domain of intellectual production. Thus, the study of what the APSA defines as the political in adhering to capitalism and liberalism have become "the tradition" of American political science, which was thereafter instilled in the minds of young political scientists by pedagogic action and symbolic violence. Those political scientists who dared to stray from the dual traditions were literally and figuratively disciplined by the discipline.

Chapter V will follow up on the aforementioned discussion and uncover the hidden part of the disciplinary history that can partially explain the causes of underrepresentation of African Americans in political science. This dissertation argues the epistemological racism that was formed before the entry of African American political scientists as well as their relatively late entry into the already established discipline in the 1960s without comparable symbolic capital of their own manifested

itself in a repeated pattern of excluding African Americans from the scope of political inquiry.

A genealogy of African American political scientists reveals their professional achievements despite their disadvantage as latecomers, including their influence and symbolic capital in the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCH) circuit, as well as their limitations due to the lack of comparable symbolic capital vis-à-vis the establishment in the discipline. It also reveals their struggles—both individually and collectively—against racial discrimination and the other "inconveniences" stemming from it. Using *a different way of knowing* including oral histories and narratives, the first half of this chapter will be devoted to both the genealogies of African American political science and political scientists that are often mysteriously omitted from the mainstream genealogical studies of political science. It is relatively easy to look for books on the disciplinary history of political science, including the trilogy *The State of the Discipline* (APSA 1983, 1993, 2002), as well as *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* (Easton, 1971), *The Development of American Political Science* (Somit and Tonehaus 1982), *Discipline and History: Political Science in the United States* (Farr and Seidelman, 1993), *Political Science in History* (Dryzek and Leonard, 1995), to name only a few. Yet those books carry little if any information about the contribution made by minority political scientists to the discipline with respect to their survival stories and knowledge production. The next part of this dissertation will heavily rely on oral histories, talks, panel discussions and personal communications that are not officially recorded or transcribed.[1] This will be followed by an analysis of the current state of

[1] There have been several attempts to publicize the black political scientists' contributions to the discipline and to the general public, including the APSA Oral History Program that started in 1978 and continued

African American political scientists in the discipline in terms of their contributions, status, and new political science association, as well as problems that may still hinder an increase in the number of African American political scientists or in the literature. The conclusion of this chapter also serves as an introduction to the final discussion of this dissertation (Chapter VI "Not Just Adding and Stirring"), a study that centers on the utility of bringing in different perspectives in political science.

2. A Genealogy of Other Political Science

In the 2004 institutional survey conducted by the APSA, roughly 400 (4%) out of 9,600 US APSA members identify themselves as African Americans as opposed to the roughly 7,400 (80%) white members (APSA Elections Review Committee 2004).[2] Yet those 400 scholars today stand in a unique position to claim their dual heritages as political scientists; they are the successors to Ralph J. Bunche and Merze Tate and other African American forbears in political science as much as they are to Woodrow Wilson, Charles E. Merriam, and F. J Goodnow, the "official" Founding Fathers of the discipline. However, African American political scientists with such double or "bifurcated" heritages were not always in the position to celebrate and enjoy this duality within themselves, as was the case with Du Bois' double-consciousness. By the time African American pioneer political scientists entered the discipline, the disciplinary boundary was

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until the mid-1990s, as well as an APSA panel, "Black Political Scientists and Their Contributions Past, Present and Future," at the annual conference in 2003. Yet, just as with a personal oral history, a political science oral history also faces the same risk of disappearing altogether as the older generations gradually fade away. Is it not time for political scientists to record the experiences of minority pioneers who challenged the disciplinary taboo and struggled, but still succeeded, in expanding the opportunities for the young professionals who have followed? At the very least, our generation owes them this much.

already defined; "founding myth" and "tradition" already "created"; disciplinary journals already published; and the power dynamic already structured. They were forced to engage in a longstanding fight to claim symbolic capital, as it was needed to exercise power epistemologically to break the existing hierarchy of knowledge in political science, to claim the naming right to ideas, and ultimately to introduce different vantage points. Understandably, the paths they took to become professional political scientists were not easy ones.

"Stories" of the African American pioneers in political science begin in the early 20th century, but it is appropriate to begin with the historical background leading to their emergence. The sociopolitical environment under Reconstruction did alter the pre-Civil War race relations in the United States, although the prospect of such a change was drastically different from what both races expected. Despite the enactment of the 13th and 15th Amendments, emancipated African Americans in the South were denied their rightful citizenship in the nation just as they had been before the war, as they were virtually disenfranchised in the South. Instead of the promised liberty and equality (and property, if the "forty acres and a mule" part is included), what they received was oppressive Jim Crow race codes that strictly conditioned socioeconomic environments systematically stripping them of human dignity. On the other hand, their white counterparts also thought race relations had changed from what they were familiar with and felt perplexed as to how they should make sense out of such a drastic switch from the invisibility and subordination of blacks to their increased visibility and assertive demands for equality. The world did change. The Great Migration of blacks to the Northern cities

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[2] For a more detailed analysis, see http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/electiondataforweb2004.pdf. Downloaded 09/12/2005.

in the early 20th century that was partially facilitated by the desire of the blacks to flee the harsh everyday reality in the South altered the demographic composition of the Northern urban areas. Their migration was also prompted by the rapid industrialization in the North that seemed to offer ample job opportunities to unemployed migrants. Fortunately, the temporary halt of immigration from Europe and the loss of manpower during World War I further increased the demand for semi-skilled and skilled workers in factories, which blacks gladly filled. However, the influx of large numbers of blacks to Northern cities forced the locals to confront other unexpected problems such as housing shortages and eventually harsh job competitions which further contributed to the deterioration of race relations in various parts of the country. The uncertainty of whites with respect to their relations to blacks was replaced first by minor annoyance, then by major fear which culminated in white mob violence toward blacks. Now the racial battle was fought not only in the Deep South but also in the urban North.

Under these circumstances, it is understandable how political scientists (or social scientists in general for that matter) of the day perceived blacks and placed them in the domain of epistemology: a problem that needed to be dealt with, fixed, and buried, although there were some "progressive" articles that advocated equal opportunities (i.e., education and access to health care) for "Negroes." In the discipline's infant period, studying racial issues generally meant problem-solving rather than politically empowering African Americans—a characteristic of the African American politics tradition as discussed in Chapter II. In 1913, Ray Stannard Barker summarized the status of Negro in studies of political science as follows: "Up to the present time, although the status of the Negro has presented the most serious single group of problems that the

nation has ever had to meet, his influence as a participant in the rights and responsibilities of government has been almost negligible. He has been an issue but not an actor in politics" (93). The view blacks were not actors but rather issues or problems that needed to be analyzed and solved unfortunately set an example for an epistemological relationship between white political scientists and blacks. Instead of equals, the parties were viewed as subjects and objects; the problem-solver and the problem; a symbolic capitalist and a symbolic proletariat; the one who defines and the other to be defined—ultimate signs of domination and subordination in knowledge production.

The first issue of the *APSR* in 1906 carried two articles about "Negroes": John C. Rose's "Negro Suffrage: The Constitutional Point of View" and Gilbert Thomas Stephenson's "Racial Distinctions in Southern Law." Its selection of the subject may seem a progressive attempt by a young journal; however, it is important to note virtually all such manuscripts were published before Frederic A. Ogg assumed the chief editorship in 1926. JSTOR, a computer database, indicates 54 articles containing "Negro" in abstracts were published in political sciences journals from 1890 to 1920, some of which were written by leading African American figures such as W. E. B. du Bois (1898, 1901, 1913) and Booker T. Washington (1909. 1910, 1912, 1913) or sympathizers such as Mary White Ovington (1906). The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (AAAPSS) allocated its entire September 1913 issue to "The Negro Progress in Fifty Years," which carried a total of 24 articles from social, economic and educational aspects written by a diverse pool of intellectuals across the gender and race line, including du Bois, Washington, Robert E. Park, Howard W. Odum, and L. H. Hammond. It is interesting the journal found to be most race-friendly today (see Chapter

II) was also race conscious more than any other political science journal in the early 20th century. Given the fact fewer than sixty articles on Negroes were published in the thirty years from 1890 to 1920, the intellectual progressiveness of the *AAAPSS* and its indifference to controversy with respect to its choice of subject stands out. However, the quality of articles (or rather, the quality of logical arguments in various articles) appears uneven, with some of the articles containing information considered insensitive, prejudiced or outright erroneous by today's standards.[3] For example, Ray Stannard Baker's "Problems of Citizenship" benevolently argues that voting right restrictions, such as poll taxes and basic literacy, should not be applied to Negroes alone, but also equally to whites (especially the poor whites), while describing Negroes as "possessing no power of inner direction" (93). His essay is not an exception, as J. P. Lichtenberger, an assistant professor of Sociology, notes "[Negro's] imitative ability" should be attributed to the increase in the literacy rates among Negroes. R. R. Wright, Jr.'s "The Negro in Unskilled Labor" notes that freedom made Negroes idle and profligate resulting in their inability to keep their jobs; however, his article fails to mention the lack of employment opportunities for Negroes due to structural inequality, discrimination, or lack of education. Nostalgic romanticization of master-slave relationships is also evident. For

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[3] Although an overwhelming majority of the articles in the *AAAPSS* were prejudicial by contemporary standards, some articles did try to humanize African Americans: L. H. Hammond's "The White Man's Debt to the Negro" construed the race problem to be a human/Christian problem rather than a Negro problem that lacked immediate interest or connection with the majority whites. She also notes the Negro "problem" (i.e., idleness, low awareness for hygiene and low educational attainments) occurred not because of a "Negro's being Negro" but as an economic problem between "the privileged and the unprivileged, of strong and the weak dwelling side by side" (1913, 68). W. E. B. du Bois's "The Negro Literature and Art" also portrayed some dimension of the lives of Negroes that were often overlooked by white intellectuals. At the same time, his thesis also points to economic inequality as being behind the lack of artistic production by Negroes. "The time has not yet come for the great development of American Negro literature. The economic stress is too great and the racial persecution too bitter to allow the leisure and the poise for which literature calls...But the shrinking, modest, black artist without special encouragement had little or no chance in a world determined to make him a menial. So this sum of accomplishment is but an imperfect indication of what the Negro race is capable of in America and in the world" (1913, 236, 237).

example, W. D. Weatherford believes there were mutual "good feelings on both sides [masters and slaves] in the vast majority of class" in the pre-Civil War that was characterized by "faithful childlike loyalty on the part of most of the slaves" (164): "If one visits some of the old plantations, with the 'big house' and the long rows of whitewashed cabins which flank its sides—one can still find many signs of this kindly feeling between two races" (165). Presumably, Marxian false consciousness must have been an alien concept to Weatherford who seems naively to believe that slaves chose to love their masters our of their own free will. Charles Hillman Brough, a professor of Economics and Sociology, also reflects on the stereotypical descriptions of African Americans of those days in his "Work of the Commission of Southern Universities on the Race Question." Those remarks would surprise today's social scientists: "[I]t is true that the Negro is by nature a religious and emotional animal... (51)"; [Negro clergymen's] preaching is generally of a highly emotional type and wholly lacking in any practical moral message" (51); "By protesting against the miscegenation of the races we can recognize the sacredness of the individual white and individual Negro" (57). Yet, the most surprising factor in his article—or any other of the aforementioned articles for that matter—is the remarkable coexistence in a single scholarly work of utterly logical and rational argument (in this case, for equal voting restrictions regardless of race), and the illogical and unscientific characterization of the lives of Negroes. These examples portray the complexity in the minds of social scientists in those days who were not immune from the societal prejudices they believed they were trying to eradicate. The seemingly peaceful coexistence of a brilliant mind and a prejudiced mind without seemingly observable conflicts in one human being renders it difficult to define or

classify who is a true supporter of Negro empowerment or who comprises the outright "racist intellectuals."

Interestingly, Booker T. Washington, one of the most influential Negro leaders of the time, seems to have given a go-ahead sign to white scholars who rendered Negroes as apolitical beings in their scholarly works and in public policy. His so-called "Atlanta Compromise speech" in 1895 at the Cotton States and International Exposition further consolidated his status as the white philanthropists' "favorite Negro" and a successor to the great race leader Frederick Douglass (1818-1895). The speech accepted the sociopolitical subordinated status of African Americans by voluntarily surrendering rightful citizenship, thus antagonizing African American suffragists such as du Bois who advocated political equality among races in both principle and practice:[4]

> As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one.

With his fist opening to show five fingers pointing in five different directions, Washington addressed the mostly white crowd:

> In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress (Washington 1895).

As one can tell from this "separate but equal" principle in his speech, Washington was least interested in making Negroes agitative political beings who would question the

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[4] Although du Bois was initially impressed by Washington's analogy of the separation of race and separation of fingers, he later changed his position and criticized accommodationist Washington. Du Bois' involvement in the Niagara Movement which Washington took as a challenge to his power and eminence permanently strained their relationship. For du Bois' critique of the speech, see chapter III "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). For more details on the relationship

existing political system and structure, sinceas demanding complete suffrage would be such a challenge to the establishment that it would have consequently alienated white philanthropists and their money to support various social and educational programs for Negroes. These white philanthropists, such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Collis P. Huntington, were some of the most influential financial backers and strong supporters of Washington's own Tuskegee Institute. Washington's system-supportive, accommodationist approach nicely fit the ideological orientation of capitalist philanthropic foundations, the ideological orientation and the boundary they set for academia and public policy-making, including the "separate but equal" doctrine upheld by *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1892. Political equality and complete citizenship in practice had to take second place to a more immediate need, i.e., realization of economic independence of Negroes by learning industrial skills at vocational schools (including Washington's Tuskegee Institute) and by contributing to the white society as second-tier productive/economic beings. In a sense, for Washington and his followers being political must have been akin to buying a luxurious item that Negroes could not yet afford and for which they had no daily use. With his approval (or even without), white intellectuals did not have to hesitate to write off Negroes as apolitical beings or confine them to the non-political sphere. Negroes were not political subjects but political objects or issues which attracted intellectual attention.

Outside academia, a series of civil rights movements began with the aim of exercising blacks' constitutional right to vote, encouraging self-help, and publicizing the alarming number of lynchings of blacks. These movements included the black women's

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between Booker T. Washington and du Bois, see Chapter II, "Du Bois and Booker T. Washington" in *Du Bois and His Rivals* (Raymond Wolters, 2002).

national club led by Ida B. Wells-Barnett; the Niagara Movement led by W.E.B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter; and eventually the establishment of civil rights organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC) in 1896 (the oldest secular organization by African Americans in U.S. history); the National Urban League in 1910; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), also in 1910; and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA) in 1918.

It was around this time and amid such sociopolitical and academic contexts that African American students began to graduate with advanced degrees from universities in the United States. An honor bestowed on the first African American ever to earn a doctorate in the United States went to W. E .B. Du Bois, an 1885 graduate of Harvard University. Yet it took another *fifty years* for blacks to produce their first doctorate in political science.

Although some may argue that du Bois, a historian by training and sociologist by profession, should also be recognized as the first black political scientist, the history of black political science in the United States begins with the grandson of a slave, Ralph J. Bunche.[5] Between Du Bois and Bunche, there were several black doctorates who engaged in various social science research, including history, economics, and political science, as was the case with du Bois; however, Bunche became the first black student ever to be trained specifically in political science and awarded a doctorate in the field from Harvard University in 1934. This was roughly thirty years after the establishment

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[5] Given the fact social scientists in those days often engaged in cross-disciplinary studies, some may argue Du Bois and other social scientists should be recognized as the first black political scientists. However, this study interpreted political science as an independent academic entity, and therefore omitted the black forefathers in social science.

of the APSA, roughly twenty-five years after the publication of the inaugural issue of the *APSR,* roughly twenty years after the APSA's selection of the 15 subfields, and eight years after Frederic A. Ogg's succession to the chief editorship of the *APSR.* In other words, by the time the first black man knocked on the door of the profession, the institutional infrastructure had been firmly consolidated, "the tradition" already created, and African Americans already defined.

Bunche was always described as "the first black man": not only was he recorded as the first black Ph.D. in political science, but also the first black Nobel Peace prize laureate in 1950 and the first black president of the APSA in 1954. Evidently, he was an exceptional man who chaired the Department of Political Science at Howard at the age of 24, even before the conferral of his doctorate. He received fellowships from the Social Science Research Council to continue his post-doctoral research in comparative analysis of colonial governments until 1938, which later contributed to his appointment as the director of the trusteeship division of the United Nations. When more than 80% of black Ph.D.s across the discipline were employed at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU)[6]—or strictly speaking, excluded from the white job market—Bunche was invited to teach at his alma mater, Harvard University, after his successful management of the political science department at Howard. Not only had he engaged in research and education, but he also served on various boards and as a trustee at numerous universities including Lincoln University and Oberlin College. After serving as a member of the "Black Cabinet" for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in 1946 he was appointed as the head of the Department of Trusteeship at the United Nations and oversaw the independence of African nations coming out of colonial rule. The Noble

Peace prize was awarded to him in recognition of his role as the chief mediator of the Arab-Israel partition settlement. As the APSA president in 1954, he contributed to the institutional development of the organization by purchasing from the Rockefellers a building in Washington D.C. which today still houses the APSA headquarters.[7] The APSA Ralph Bunche Summer Institute was established in his honor to give all-expense-paid graduate school preparation for African American, Hispanic, and Native American college seniors in political science.

Yet despite his professional achievements and fame in the 1950s, Bunche gradually faded to obscurity as an item of historical trivia: "He became a victim of his own success.[8]" Some argue that he was not necessarily a popular figure among blacks, and in turn, he alienated his "community"; after all, he engaged in international diplomacy—a profession that did not have an immediate impact on the daily lives of ordinary black citizens and their empowerment for political equality and financial security. His interest in foreign relations was unfortunately misconstrued as a sign of his presumed lack of concern for domestic issues, especially the welfare of the disadvantaged (APSA panel 2003). Charles P. Henry, a political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley who wrote Bunche's biography in 1998, argues that Bunche was not exactly a role model, but rather a threat and source of frustration to black youths. Through him they were confronted by the irreconcilable differences between the social and political

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[6] Henry, 49.

[7] For details on the life of Ralph Bunche, see *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* Charles P. Henry, New York University Press, 1999. Bunche's appointment as the first black president of the APSA in the 1950s seems at odd with the treatment of the black population in general. However, from the perspective of the establishment, Bunch was treated as an "honorary white" because of his merit, fame, and political connections that merited him being an unofficial members of FDR's cabinet and receiving an appointment to a lucrative U. N, job.

[8] Henry, 178.

degradation forced upon them and Bunche's unheralded achievements despite his race and the limits stemming from it (Henry 178). Without taking into consideration the socioeconomic environment in which the average young black man was placed, misguided white intellectuals proudly credited Bunche's achievements to the triumph and supremacy of liberalism that heavily values individual efforts to succeed. Therefore, black youths' inability to climb the socioeconomic ladder in the United States was attributed to a lack of motivation and effort on their part rather than to the structural problems that plague the American underclass and certainly guarantee their having hardships in life—if not outright failures. Moreover, as Henry points out, Bunche's accomplishments, fame, and connections with high-ranking white politicians and academics "bought" him an "honorary white status" from which he further benefited financially and socially vis-à-vis the average black citizens with no such special privileges.

On the other hand, Bunche's colleagues and students who knew him personally still treasure their fond memories of this pioneer. One of Bunche's students, Vincent R. Browne, who later chaired the political science department at Howard, credits Bunche's inspiration years earlier as the single most decisive factor in his remaining at Howard despite numerous job offers from other institutions. Robert Martin, the first black man to earn a doctorate from the University of Chicago in the field of political science, remembers how Bunche emphasized to black students the importance of learning political science and of engaging in politics in order to some day become a part of public policy-making that would have a direct impact on the lives of black citizens. Jewel Prestage, the first African American female political scientist to hold an appointment in

the field, still appreciates Bunche's kind gesture when she was a graduate student at the University of Iowa.[9] Although Bunche was invited only to give a talk to the university community, he unexpectedly requested a meeting with African American students on campus. Bunche patiently listened to the grievances and demands made by the isolated African American students at the predominantly white university, then used his influence to persuade the University administration to accommodate some of their requests (Prestage 1995). According to those people whose lives Bunche directly touched, he was a man of integrity who deeply cared about his people and his community; he, too, was once a young black student whose professors did not quite know how to handle as their first "Negro" student.

Merze Tate, a historian by profession, was actually the first African American woman to receive a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University, Bunche's alma mater, in 1941, only seven years after his graduation. Although her training was in the subfield of International Relations, her interest shifted to the discipline of history (diplomatic history to be exact), and she was later appointed to a faculty position in that field and remembered as a historian today.[10] Given the fact that black women had received doctorates much earlier in other fields, such as Medicine (1864), Dentistry (1880), Education (1929), Psychology (1934), and Library Science (1940),[11] political science as well as other non-practical liberal arts and sciences with only vague professional prospects might not have been attractive fields of study for black women.

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[9] Although Prestage was the first African American woman to hold a faculty appointment in political science, Merze Tate graduated with a doctorate in political science. However, she did not "practice" political science. For more details on Tate, see the next section of this chapter.

[10] For this reason, most scholars consider Prestage to be the first female professional political scientist.

However, the interesting parallel between the male pioneer and his female counterpart did not stop at their alma mater; just as Bunche was said to be alienated from his own community, Tate was also criticized by some in her community for not seeming to show adequate interest and concern for black problems, which may have originated from the purely academic nature of her specialization (APSA Panel 2003).

Bunche and Tate were followed by the next cohort of political scientists, some of whom have later become prominent figures in black Political Science such as T. R. Solomon, Samuel Dubois Cook, Vincent R. Brown, Matthew Holden Jr., Charles H. Hamilton, Twiley Barker, Lucius Barker, Emmet Bashful, Robert Martin, Maurice Woodard, Jewel Prestage, Mae C. King, and Shelby Lewis, to name only some. Those second generation of political scientists may not have the same name recognition as David Easton, Samuel Huntington, or Gabriel Almond, yet they have played significant roles in developing the third generation of African American political scientists by mentoring, establishing scholarship funds, and showing by example what it takes for minority scholars to survive in white-dominated academia in the United States.

T. R. Solomon, the second black man to earn a doctorate in Political Science (University of Michigan, 1937), eventually became the department head of Political Science and the dean of students at Prairie View A & M University in Texas, one of the HBCU (Historically Black Colleges and Universities).[12] Samuel Dubois Cook is the first

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[11] For a more detailed historiography of the "first" African American women in education, see "Black Women in the Academy", http://www.huarchaivesnet.howard.edu/0005huarnet/moments8.htm. Downloaded 10/2002.

[12] When the APSA conducted an interview with T. R. Solomon 1989 as part of the APSA Oral History Project, he was recognized as the then-oldest living black political scientist.

African American political scientist to have his article published in the *APSR* in 1957[13]; he accepted a job offer from Duke University, a white "elite" university, in 1965. Charles Harris followed him in 1969 by successfully having an article published in a professional journal in political science.[14] "The Barker brothers," Twiley Barker and Lucius Barker, both the products of the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, contributed to building and expanding the political science curriculum at Southern University -- later known as one of HBCU's powerhouses in political science. They also played pivotal roles in inaugurating the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) and its journal, *National Political Science Review*. Additionally, Lucius Barker was selected as the president of the APSA and thus the second black academic to lead the organization in 1993, thirty-eight long years after Ralph Bunche's presidency. Charles W. Hamilton (University of Chicago Ph.D.), who accepted a position at Columbia in 1969, was later named the Wallace S. Sayre Professor (now an emeritus), therefore becoming the first black political scientist to hold a named/funded position in the discipline. Matthew Holden Jr., now retired, used to hold the Henry L. and Grace M. Doherty Professor of Politics at University of Virginia, and was voted the most outstanding black political scientist by his peers in the APSA in 1986.[15] This recognition

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[13] Samuel Dubois Cook (1957) "Hacker's Liberal Democracy and Social Control: A Critique." *American Political Science Association Review* 51(4): 1027-1039. However, the APSA Oral History Program transcript incorrectly gives 1959 as the year of his first publication in the *APSR*.

[14] Charles Harris (1969) "Separate Treatment for Close Corporations: Lessons from England and Australia" *The American Journal of Comparative Law*. 17 (2) 194-213. The APSA Oral History Program states the year of publication as 1961. However, it does not specify the title of the article, and therefore it may differ from the one he published in the *American Journal of Comparative Law*. However, it is also important to note no articles published by Harris before 1961 were found in JSTOR.

[15] This survey was conducted independently from the APSA, though the pool of the total 87 was randomly chosen from APSA members. A total of 68 respondents participated in this survey. For a more detailed explanation about his methodology and its implications, see Chapter 5 in *African-Americans and the Doctoral Experience :Iimplications for Policy*. Eds. Charles V. Willie, Michael K. Grady, and Richard O. Hope. (New York, Teachers College Press, 1991).

was followed by his selection and appointment as the third black president of the APSA in 1999, six years after Lucius Baker's presidency.

Maurice Woodard (University of Kansas, Ph.D., 1969), a professor at Howard University, is an atypical academic and a rarity among professionals who normally prioritize research and publishing over service. In addition to the usual scholar's commitment to research and teaching, he has dedicated more than 25 years to service in the APSA as an active member of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession where he has helped build the infrastructure of the organization for recruitment, funding, retention, and employment of minority graduate students. His devotion to nurturing the next generation of young political scientists culminated in the establishment of the APSA Minority Fellowship Program in 1969, which benefited not only blacks but also Latinos and Native Americans, helping them in the areas of mentoring and funding so they can survive rigorous training in political science at the graduate level: "Many scholars of color with doctorates in political science now would not have had the opportunity to attend graduate school, if not for Maurice" (McClaine 2003).

Jewel L. Prestage, a former Dean of the Benjamin Banneker Honors College and the distinguished professor at Prairie View A & M University, another HBCU institute, is often recognized as "the dean of African American political scientists" and "the first black woman" to earn a doctorate in political science in the United States from the University of Iowa in 1954 (APSA Oral History Project 1992). This recognition came despite the fact Tate, a historian by profession, received a Ph.D. in political science more than ten years before Prestage. Prestage's professional titles include being the first

director of the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute at the APSA; executive councilor and vice president of the APSA; chairperson of the Louisiana State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights; first black female president of the Southwestern Social Science Association; president of the Southern Political Science Association; and president of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, as well as others. Many of her research projects concerned blacks, women and political equality, which in the days preceding the feminist and civil rights movements was considered quite innovative. To commemorate her pioneering dedication to the field of political science, especially in race and gender, the Southern Political Science Association established the Jewel Prestage Award for the best paper in Gender, Race and Ethnicity and Political Behavior. Her colleagues published a book of collected essays, *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival* (Shelby Lewis Smith 1977), to honor Prestage, during a time when such an attempt to commemorate a black in academia was unheard of.[16]

Prestage, then a new assistant professor, also inspired an undergraduate student, Shelby F. Lewis, who later earned her doctorate from the University of New Orleans after completing her Master's at the University of Massachusetts. Lewis established the Africano Women's program at Southern University and was a founding member of the African Heritage Studies Association that branched out from the African Studies Association in 1969. This program attempts to reclaim the autonomy of both Africans and African Americans and redress the Eurocentric interpretation of African history

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[16] For more details on Prestage's accomplishments, see Hanes Walton, Jr. "Introduction: Essays in Honor of a Black Scholar—Jewel Prestage" in *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival: Essays in Honor of a Black Scholar*. In ed., Shelby Lewis Smith (Balamp Publishing: Detroit, 1977), 3.

within the organization.[17] She has also served as the director of the HBCU Study Abroad Resource Network to help build the infrastructures necessary for study-abroad programs at HBCU and to promote overseas opportunities for black students who are still underrepresented in such programs nationwide. Mae C. King, with a Ph.D. from the University of Idaho in 1968, served on the professional staff at the APSA headquarters in D.C. from 1969 to 1975, and has overseen both the Committees of the Status of Blacks in Profession, and the Status of Women in Profession. Often she was the lone voice of conscientious dissent in the executive councils where mostly senior white males monopolized the executive positions and thus decision-making. King also credits Prestage as her role model not only as a political scientist, but also as a female professional member in a male-dominated organization: "Now, at this point (when she took the position at the APSA), it was Jewel Prestage who became a role model for me, observing how she participated, for instance, in the Executive Council meetings, often, fighting what I often felt like were just lonely battles" (APSA Oral History Project 1994).

Those are some of the Founding "People" (not just Founding "Fathers" as they include female scholars) among African American political scientists, and this oral history is a part of their dual heritages as African American political scientists in the United States. Some may argue their success stories may seemingly contradict a part of the thesis point of this chapter: i.e, that the relatively late entry of African American political scientists in the already established discipline in the 1960s without comparable symbolic capital of their own manifested in the lack of African American politics literature, difficulty in changing the disciplinary boundary to include African American

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[17] For more details on the birth of the African Heritage Studies Association, see John Henrik Clarke, "AHSA: A History," in *Issue: A Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion,* 6, 1/3 summer, 1976.

politics as a field of study, or publicizing different epistemologies, ideas and tradition. However, this would not be accurate. First of all, Bunche, Tate, the Barkers, Holden Jr., Woodard, and Brown et al. are only a tip of the iceberg—in a negative sense. Beneath the tip, there is a huge portion that did not emerge from under the water and therefore has never been recognized as a part of the iceberg. Likewise, there were numerous unnamed African American students who never made it to the national stage, never finished their doctorates, or never were even able to enter graduate school because of racial discrimination, economic difficulties, or other familiar reasons. That invisible attrition partly explains the disproportionate rate of African Americans political scientists in the APSA (4% of the total US membership), as opposed to African Americans in the general population (12.9%) (US Census Bureau 2003). As a matter of fact, those black pioneers barely made it despite their hard work and academic potential.

Although the details of their family backgrounds may differ, those pioneers who had completed their graduate work by the 1970s shared some common difficulties as young students and professionals. Under rigid segregation, those who grew up in the South (including Prestage, King, T. Barker, L. Barker, and Cook), had no choice but to attend substandard high schools with no new textbooks or laboratory equipment. Their choices of a higher education were also limited due to public universities in the South such as the University of Mississippi and the University of Georgia being closed to "colored" students until the success of desegregation in 1962. Therefore these scholars attended HBCU institutions such as Southern University, Morehouse College, Fisk University, and Howard University for their undergraduate studies. At these schools political science programs were either nonexistent, or at best, in their infancy.

Those who attended non-Southern schools faced different problems. Away from home and black communities for the first time to pursue a masters and doctorate, Hamilton, Prestage, Browne, Bashful and Lewis all remember the isolation they felt on predominantly white campuses in the North where their white peers and professors ranged from being friendly to outright hostile. They were not able to find many black students on campus with whom to engage in daily academic or professional discussions or even friendly conversations, although their white counterparts had ample opportunities to do so. Some administrative practices in the 1960s, such as not giving graduate assistantships or teaching assistantships to black students, were institutionalized and considered a tradition not to be challenged (Cook 1990, 22). Some were not allowed to live in affordable dormitories on campus or in faculty housing because of their race. Instead, they had to look for alternative housing off-campus where discrimination was even more rampant. Some prejudiced professors had either low expectations for, or patronizing attitudes toward the black pioneers whom they assumed were not as academically competent as the white students.

At times, their mentors had to be extra cautious, strict, or protective of their protégées in the face of such naysayers; they had to stand up for their students and prove the skeptics wrong. Cook fondly remembers his Ph.D. oral defense in which Dr. Dave Spitz, his major advisor and supposedly his biggest supporter in the department, gave him the hardest time out of respect for Cook. Spitz explained to him afterward that there were some professors in Cook's dissertation committee who believed their "Negro" students were not intellectually equal to their white counterparts. Spitz knew Cook could handle any difficult questions better than "any damn white" and wanted to prove his colleagues

wrong (Cook 1990 36-37). Robert Martin remembers he had to confront and challenge some racially insensitive professors, including Burgess, who argued in his lecture that "slavery wasn't that bad" (Martin, n.d., 47). Although their doctoral or master's degrees were no less worthy than those of their white counterparts, they recall that black degree holders not then regarded as marketable for work in white universities or public administrations. When Solomon applied for an administrative position at a naval office in New Orleans in 1945, he was turned down after the administrators realized the university he graduated from was a black one (Solomon 1988, 2-3). Being graduate students or professors at elite universities also did not shield them from daily humiliation and discrimination in restaurants, public transportation, or civic organizations. Furthermore professional organizations were not necessarily attentive to the special needs of these pioneering minority members. Until Emmett Bashful brought it to the attention of the entity's president, black participants were not allowed to stay in a hotel where the Southern Political Science Association held its annual conference (Bashful 1990, 46-49). On the fist day of his class as a newly hired professor at Duke University, one of Cook's white colleagues asked to serve as his escort to the class lest their students do anything hostile to harass or physically harm Cook—a well-meant but patronizing offer he politely declined (Cook 1990, 54).

Those paths the pioneers had to travel to get where they are now must be inspiring, but at the same time painfully discouraging to young students who have witnessed what obstacles lie ahead that they must survive and how much determination they will need to succeed in academia. No matter how many students enter the profession, black scholars are always latecomers who were not present at the "social

contract" stage of the creation of the APSA or involved in making the disciplinary rules of the game. African Americans were not called to enter the social contract with white scholars, but rather were left behind, so that when they later entered the contract, all the details of the contracts had already been drafted and implemented. Thus the organization the black scholars such as Bunche joined was an academic entity whose boundary had already firmly defined, whose tradition (i.e., "the tradition") had already been created, whose ideological orientation had already been set, whose symbolic capital had been unevenly accumulated by its members, and whose definition of blacks had already been determined by white scholars. Bunche was the only black man in the organization: one man vs. the rest. To what extent can one expect someone like him, even with his fame, connections, and celebrity status, to work not only on the empowerment of African Americans and encourage studies of African American politics, but to actually change the organization and the nature of the discipline?

Worst of all, the pioneer African American graduate students were discouraged from studying Negro/black politics by their white mentors who themselves did not know much about African American politics but "disciplined" (mainstreamed) them not to choose controversial ideas for fear of failing to secure grants. There were many ways to keep pioneers away from pursuing African American politics; for example, public agencies that refused to make public data available to black students or research foundations that would turn down "controversial" ideas. When T. R. Solomon was a graduate student, his M.A. thesis committee rejected his thesis on Negro Politics. Then when he was conducting research on black electoral behaviors, the Detroit Election Commission rejected his request to provide him with electoral data on black voters of

Detroit—a public record—until a white professor wrote them a letter of recommendation on Solomon's his behalf (Solomon 1988, 7). For fear of not being able to secure a grant, Bunche self-censored his dissertation topic from segregation in the United States to a comparative analysis of the protectorate and mandate systems in Africa (Henry 66).

In other words, the first and second generation African American political scientists were literally produced within the confines set by the white professionals and university administrations with respect to the boundary of political science and desirable research topics, and the relations of such to African American politics; there was no room for these new political scientists to improvise as because such innovation might have risked their initiation into the professional world. This unfortunate beginning of initiation into an already established field rather than joining others to create a new field worked to constrain young black pioneer political scientists from immediately expanding the boundaries of the discipline to include black politics or to introduce American politics as seen from their eyes. Indeed, such a goal seemed even too far-fetched to imagine, especially when their own survival was at stake in the predominantly white professional field.

Yet they differed from Bunche and Tate whom the establishment may have expected to "behave" as "token model Negroes," as the younger pioneers were never passive "victims" of the unfortunate sociopolitical environment in the academia. Nor did they just accept professional "inconveniences." Simply, they fought back.

3. The Birth of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Citing as examples the establishment of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in Profession, and Minority Fellowship Program within the American Political Science Association, some long-time members of the APSA praise the efforts and changes made by the APSA with respect to including minority scholars and providing opportunities for young graduate students. On the other hand, some claim the relationship between black political scientists and the APSA was at times frosty. This critical assessment is understandable as the APSA headquarters does not even have an official record of the first black political scientist who joined the organization.[18] Until 1977 when the first such census was conducted, only 16 times were African American political scientists invited to present papers and lead discussions at APSA annual conferences (Woodard 1977, 2). This scanty record might have been a manifestation of the insufficient pools of black political scientists at that point: only *65* or so professors were identified as black in the entire United States at that time, which is approximately *100 years* after du Bois earned a doctorate, and *40 years* after Bunche earned his from du Bois's alma mater. Given the fact the number of APSA members easily exceeded 200 only a year after its establishment in 1903, the slow expansion of African American political scientists only explains the severity of their numerical minority status and their marginalization in the national organization at the time. It is no surprise that Woodard, a long-time member of the APSA and would-be chief administrator for the APSA Minority Fellowship Program, laments in 1977 that African Americans were "the pariahs whose relationship to the national body [the APSA] was at best peripheral" (Woodard 1977, 18).

Reflecting such concerns, the APSA established the Committee on the Status of

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[18] A personal email correspondence with the APSA in 2002.

Blacks in the Profession in April 1969 to examine the state of African American professors at universities and colleges.[19] With sponsorship from the APSA and the Ford Foundation, Southern University at Baton Rouge called for a meeting of African American professors to discuss curricula in the HBCU—their safe haven where they could exercise their symbolic capital without much protest from white scholars. Out of the 55 known black Ph.D.s in academia, 49 participated. Despite its relatively small size, this was the largest assemblage of African American political scientists that had ever taken place in the history of political science in the United States.[20] Although the initial objective was to examine the curricula practiced by HBCU and propose better alternatives (if any), Jewel Prestage, the conference director, let the participants freely engage in discussions beyond the confines of the official agenda, which included the roles of black political scientists in higher education, general concerns for graduate students, and securing external grants that somehow often eluded African American scholars in the past. A year later, the APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession submitted a report to its headquarters which adopted some ideas from the conference. A majority of the proposals in the report were related to academics: to establish a black student fellowship program at the APSA (which was later realized); to establish a black politics studies center; to appoint an associate director for black affairs in the APSA; and to make further efforts to increase the number of black members in the

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[19] It is fair to say the APSA found itself at the critical juncture of its existence in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Not only did black political scientists, but also other critical political scientists such as feminist scholars, challenged the raison d'être of the APSA and organized new annual conference sections or caucuses, such as Woman and Politics, and New Political Science in 1967. Both organizations had a difficult time being accepted by the establishment as legitimate organizations.

[20] In 1969, 65 blacks were estimated to hold Ph.D.s in political science. Out of 65, 55 held academic positions at either HBCU or predominantly white universities whereas the remaining 10 were either retired or held non-academic positions. For the list of conference attendees, consultants, APSA representatives,

organization. Most importantly, the Committee made a proposal that identified a serious problem that only African American members could identify and that the APSA had not even considered as such before it was brought to their attention. The Committee proposed that the organization sever its ties with corporations that practiced discriminatory hiring practices and that it also exclude such corporations from APSA investments, purchasing, publishing, and donations. The Conference's conclusion states: "The conference did not consider this gathering the nucleus of a separate organization, but rather as an opportunity to determine what problems they might have in common with other political scientists and to transmit their findings to the American Political Science Association" (APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in Profession, 1970, 38). However, an interesting historical twist would soon occur.

At the annual conference in New York City in 1969, led by Emmett Bashful, some African American political scientists walked out of the meeting as their Committee proposals were not responded to satisfactorily by the Association. Mae C. King, who worked at the APSA headquarter as a professional staff member, recalls:

> This was the year when David Easton was president of the American Political science Association and the black political scientists had made certain demands, you may say... and we were not really satisfied with the kind of response that they had received from the Association ... But what was also interesting about that is I think it was a year when we saw the issues of race brought before the Association in a way that probably had not happened before and certainly not in the presence of as many African American political scientists as we had that particular year (APSA Oral History Project, 1994, 48).

Black political scientists' political moves within the Association reflected the wave of civil rights movements in which young students, housewives, workers, and the elderly

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and Ford Foundation representative, see "Report of the Conference on Political Science Curriculum at Predominantly Black institutions." *PS. Politics and Political Science* (1969), 322-336.

who never would have participated in political activities stood up to join Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and many others via a wide range of political organizations. The year 1969, in which some black political scientists took direct action against the APSA establishment, was only a year after Martin Luther King's assassination. Therefore the timing was ripe.

Frustrated by the lack of understanding displayed by the APSA regarding the inclusion of black politics into APSA-approved fields of study, a group of black political scientists resorted to an on-site boycott of the APSA's next annual conference held in Los Angeles in 1970.[21] From this boycott, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) was officially born. Today, the conference held at Southern University to discuss political science curricula for HBCU in 1969 is considered the unofficial beginning of the history of the NCOBPS.[22] At last, African American scholars who were numerically marginalized in the national organization found an alternative way of accumulating and using symbolic capital that enabled them to introduce a different epistemology, liberate subordinated knowledge, and peer-validate it through their scholarly outlets such as *the National Political Science Review* and their annual conference.

One of the founding members of the NCOBPS explains why black political scientists could not and should not remain in the APSA:

> We came to recognize that mainstream American political science was nothing more than a self-serving, Euro-centric [*sic*], parochial view of political life thinly disguised in the ill-fitting garb of science and universalism. The ultimate objective of mainstream political science, as we understood it, was to justify and

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[21]However, the on-site boycott of black political scientists is not mentioned in any issues of *PS: Politics and Political Science*, APSA's trade journal, and was omitted in the official history of the APSA compiled by the organization. See. *APSA 100* (APSA 2002), 5.

[22] For more information about the NCOBPS, see http://www.ncobps.org.

> sustain the existing configuration of power in the United States and the world. The long-term interest of black people, on the other hand, would be served by ending the Euro-american domination of the world (Jones 1989, 4).

This was not just a customary farewell to the national organization they were leaving, but rather a *de facto* "Declaration of Epistemological Independence" or "Emancipation Proclamation for Subordinated Knowledge" that would later stir the existing framework of society and nature of the discipline. This time, they did not need a Lincoln-like savior; they freed themselves from epistemologically and numerically marginalized status and made a decentered perspective a centered perspective. It marked a postmodern revolution. It was liberation from internal colonialism. Now, the knowledge and power to dominate were challenged by the knowledge and power to liberate. Now, the hierarchy of knowledge was replaced by coexistence of multiple perspectives.[23] Those African American political scientists declared independence from Eurocentric knowledge that was considered foreign and made them feel outsiders-within. Most importantly, they were determined to talk back to the elite discourses that had long objectified them.

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[23] Technically, "decenteredness" of some sort can be found in most African American political thoughts, such as Nationalist thoughts, black Marxist thoughts, etc. However, one of those decentered perspectives stands out for its distinct vantage point of seeing race, not class or gender, as the primal source of oppression: such a school of thought is called Afrocentricity or Afrocentrism. Many scholars, including noted historian Arthur Schlesinger, misinterpret Afrocentricity or Afrocentrism to mean a black version of Eurocentrism; however, it is critically important to note "centrism" does not indicate racial or ideological superiority over others as seen in Eurocentrism. Afrocentrism or Afrocentricity simply refers to a centered perspective from the point of African Americans grounded on their history and experiences. Equally important is the fact that studying blacks in political science, blacks in history, or blacks in arts, etc. from existing Eurocentric perspectives does not make one an Afrocentrist (Kershaw 1992, 167) Neither are the blacks studying politics or economics are always Afrocentrists. Only when one uses a decentered perspective and reexamines knowledge currently available in academia can one can be properly labeled an Afrocentrist. Therefore, one could say the greatest difference between Eurocentric ideas and Afrocentric ideas is the former's claim on universalism and the latter's rejection of it. Even though Eurocentric thoughts are embedded in European history and ideas, they tend to be presented as universal, thereby denying their historical origin in Europe and apparently holding the neutrality value of science. On the other hand, Afrocentric ideas challenge such a universal claim and neutrality value of science as they base their thoughts on the cultural values of African Americans (Kershaw 164-167).

From the perspective of blacks, their knowledge is not subjugated knowledge, but "*oppositional knowledge*" (Hill Collins 1998, 173)—the source of strength that has placed "a historical gag in [their] communal mouth" (Riggs, quoted in Hill Collins 55). Therefore, true liberation of blacks becomes possible only in conjunction with a throwing away of the historical gag, breaking the silence, liberating their knowledge from the yoke of subordination, challenging the existing hierarchy of knowledge, and finally "talking back" (Hill Collins 1990 215, 1998, 50) to the elite discourse in academia or to symbolic capitalists in political science. It is, in other words, "independence of black knowledge from "epistemological colonization" (Goldberg 1993, 155):

> [B]reaking silence meant criticizing, in public, scientific and other academic "truth" that presented the experiences of White men as representative of all human experience. Such knowledge was characterized by a false universalism unused to open dissent. Closely linked to power relations, false universal perspectives reflected the efforts of a small group of people to exclude the majority of humankind from both education and the naming of what we call knowledge (Hill Collins 1998, 51).

African American political scientists achieved independence from the national organization not only because of their numerical marginalization and epistemological colonization alone. One additional key factor behind their action was their critical assessment of American liberalism that is deeply ingrained in the discipline to serve as a built-in bias for American scholars as well as a barrier that shields them from envisioning a new, more egalitarian society. Therefore, the NCOBPS is not only a professional organization of African American academicians for mutual assistance, but also a quasi-political organization whose calling is to liberate, or to "enhance, and promote the political aspirations of people of African descent living in America" (NCOBPS,

2002).[24] Predictably, their objective does not concur with the constitution of the APSA in 1970—the year the NCOPBS was established—that pledges non-partisan association:

> It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations. The Association as such is non-partisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions on public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose stated above (American Political Science Association 1970, 206).

The two manifestos were essentially incongruent with each other as the NCOBPS cannot be what it is without acknowledging its members' racial identity and their responsibility to their community as political scientists. It seems that African American academics are under the impression mainstream political scientists call for political changes within the context of American liberalism, while African Americans' emancipatory political science aims at fundamental changes in the structure of politics and economy for the advancement of the black race. The two groups were essentially unable to coexist as one happy family in one national organization founded on the very ideology the other group denounces, and in which one group always dominates the other numerically and epistemologically. Most importantly, it is important to acknowledge the dismay of the African American political scientists when they perceived the differences between the two groups from their own vantage point, although the APSA or the

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[24] For more details of their mission, see http://www.ncobps.org/mission.htm. Downloaded 09/12/2005. While serving black people in the United States is one of their primary goals, they have also turned their eyes beyond the confinement of the national boundaries of the United States to goals and issues which include the neo-colonization of Africa; the NCOBPS's attempt to secure observer status in the United Nations (Silver 1991, 277); involvement in the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa; and other projects within their ideal of practicing emancipatory politics. Applying Dr. Martin Luther King's claim that a threat to peace anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere, one of the past presidents of the NCOBPS emphasizes their strong commitment to liberate sisters and brothers not only in the United States but also in the rest of the world: "We cannot pick our places to be liberators. We must be liberators whenever the time and circumstance dictate" (Silver 275).

mainstream political science may not intend to present itself as such. The two groups see the same power dynamic in reality, but create two different assumptions from two different vantage points that seem correct to only one party. For unsatisfied African American political scientists, staying within the mainstream and turning a blind eye to the real world in which their fellow African Americans are subjected to multifaceted oppression is equivalent to deracializing themselves and consenting to—albeit figuratively—become simply "political scientists," but not "African American political scientists." Realistically speaking, it cannot be done because their identity, worldviews and experiences all reflect their *irreducible difference* vis-à-vis white, middle-class political scientists originating from their ascriptive characteristics. Discounting their unique vantage points, epistemology, and frame of reference based on their irreducible identity would have been the price that African American pioneers would have had to pay to stay within the mainstream.

By breaking away from the APSA, African American political scientists challenged "the tradition" in political science that had long objectified African Americans as research subjects rather than aiming to empower black-colored human beings while including elite discourses that had defined the boundary of political science, desirable research topics, and acceptable methodologies, and ultimately embraced American liberalism, the foundation of the American political system that is hesitant to recognize the persistent existence and implications of "irreducible differences."

4. A Minority Report: The Third Generation

It is said black graduate students and scholars are more likely than non-blacks to view minority/race studies in political science as the "highest of callings" and to conduct research in such fields (Dawson and Wilson 1991, 227). If this is the case, common sense suggests that an increase in African American scholars would manifest itself in an increase in African American research in political science. Likewise, a small number of African American political scientists would manifest itself in a small number of research projects on African Americans. Therefore, a further effort is needed to increase the number of African American graduate students and faculty members in American academia to garner more attention to African American politics. Yet, the reality is not that simple, as many factors prevent schools from welcoming more African American graduate students and scholars. This section will briefly review the current state of the third generation African American scholars and students in political science, and examine what exactly is an impediment to boosting the number of African American political science students and professors who are assumed to be more interested in African American politics than non-African American students and professors.

Technically speaking, the "inclusion" or "mainstreaming" of black scholars into the field of political science was completed after both the APSA and the discipline took various measures to accommodate "first experiences" by minority scholars, such as admitting and welcoming Ralph Bunche and the first African American political scientists into the organization, publishing Samuel Dubois Cook's article in its flagship journal (the first such honor bestowed on an African American political scientist), establishing the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute for post-baccalaureate preparation, and setting up the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession to further research the

reality that confronts African American political scientists. Nonetheless, given the number of the African Americans in the APSA—roughly 400 (4%)—the current state of African American political scientists is not necessarily encouraging. Two major factors need to be raised to understand the status of African American political scientists: enrollment/ retention of African American students in graduate program, and hiring/retention of faculty members.

To begin with, the low enrollment and retention of African American graduate students in the field has posed a serious challenge to graduate school administrators who have been eager to enroll more minority students (Preston and Woodard 1984; Woodard and Preston 1985; Geiger and Travis 1997). Many researchers suggest these students are in general, older; financially less secure with unpaid undergraduate loans; more likely to drop out after failing Ph.D. comprehensive exams (Geiger, Travis 1997, 220); and less likely to complete their degrees, or if they do, likely to take a longer time than their white peers (Woodard and Preston 1985, 84-87; Ards, Brintnall, Woodard, 1997, 169). Simply put, college administrators may be able to meet their diversity goals by admitting more black students than in the past; however, college administrations nationwide need to make a serious commitment to take further efforts also to *retain* graduate students.

As a matter of fact, the number of African Americans who are granted doctorates has been steadily decreasing since 1976 (Wilson 1987, qtd in Ards, Brintnall, and Woodard 1997, 160) and political science departments nationwide are having a difficult time in meeting their diversity "goals/quotas" or filling "minority faculty positions" (Preston and Woodard, 1984; Wilson 1987; Turner, Myers and Creswell 1999). This

presents a drastically different picture from the mainstream discipline itself whose total number of faculty positions has increased (Woodard and Cross 1989).

Even if these black scholars successfully complete their Ph.D. programs, another challenge awaits them. According to the 1998 placement report compiled by Sue Davis at the APSA, 79% of African American job candidates successfully found academic positions either permanently or temporarily. Yet this number is elusive: the raw data suggests only 47 black Ph.D.s and ABDs entered the job market in the same year as opposed to 733 white job candidates. Among the placed black candidates, 45% obtained tenure track positions, which translates into merely 17, including presumed placements in the HBCU. The most recent placement report compiled in 2003 for the school year 2001-2002 indicates only 32 (4%) of the total job candidates (1,023) are African Americans as opposed to 729 of their white counterparts (88%). Of the 32 candidates, a total of 59% (19) obtained faculty positions, which marks the lowest success rate among all demographic groups by race, as they trail whites by 22% and Hispanics and Asians by 18%. Among those successfully placed, 65% obtained tenure track positions, which translates into only 13 permanent placements (Lopez 2003, 825-841). Needless to say, these numbers are based on a *two-year* data collection, which means the number of African Americans in the report is even more discouragingly small, because strictly speaking, all these figures need to be divided by two to yield the one-year data, which will further reduce the number of newly hired African American professors in a given year. At this pace of fewer than 10 yearly placements scattered over the United States, it may take a long time even to foster a general perception that the number of African American professors are steadily on the rise.

Yet getting jobs may be the easier part because once they obtain faculty positions, they face yet another hurdle. African American political scientists at predominantly white institutions are less likely to win tenure and more likely to cluster in the lower ranks such as assistant or associate professorships (Moore and Wagsraff 1974; Rafky 1972; Wilson and Melendez 1984). Roughly 50% of entry-level black professors have been granted tenure as opposed to as many as 75% of their white colleagues (Ards, Brintnall and Woodard 1997, 160). As a result of the discrepancies in the tenure rates, the median age for black professors is 39 as compared to 54 for white professors (Ards and Woodard 1997, 164). The lack of senior black professors in the same departments may result in a lack of opportunity for black professors to conduct joint research and talk about their projects face-to-face on a regular base. (Mitchell 1982; Preston and Woodard 1984; APSA Panel 2003; Turner, Myers Jr., and Creswell, 1999, 30-31). The most serious dimension of the absence of senior faculty is a lack of African American mentors who could share their experiences, guide younger professors through departmental politics, and serve as a role model. The problem is further exacerbated by there not being many African American faculty members to choose from. White junior faculty members as well as white students are able to freely choose from many white professors, while black junior faculty members and students who wish to have a mentor of the same color must settle on the only surviving African American professor or at best draw from a very limited pool in the department. Indeed, junior faculty members often find themselves the only African American or only minority member in the department. Even if they are fortunate enough to have black advisors, young professors are also on a tightrope to secure tenure, so they cannot spare too much of their time as mentors (Mitchell 1982, 36).

But the root of the low retention rate of black faculty members goes much deeper than the presumed isolation from white colleagues: black faculty members are expected to shoulder responsibilities far beyond the call of duty. They are naturally expected to take on black students as their advisees, with this tacit obligation being taken for granted regardless of the faculty-advisee ratio (Mitchell 1982, 36). Moreover, these professors even "surrogate-mentor" other minority students, such as Asians or Hispanics, who occasionally may feel they too are practically orphaned in the departments and hope minority professors would somehow understand their experience as an "outsider." Also taken for granted is their involvement in campus activities sponsored by black student organizations or African American institutes, which often force junior black professors into the difficult position of having to confront the university administration even before securing their tenures (36).

The lack of black mentors who conduct research on black politics creates a departmental environment in which black graduate students are more likely to be trained by white professors and encouraged to conduct research on mainstream or relatively uncontroversial issues on race (Hine, 1986). As those white advisors and mentors may not be familiar with African American political issues, such topics may seem unteachable and unadvisable beyond their expertise. "As authority, they (mainstream political scientists) have given their meaning to the past, defined the goals, and decided the legitimacy of ideologies to be used by black people. They may appropriately be called the White Custodians of the Black Experience" (Jones and Willingham 1970, 32). Even when they study black politics, black and white political scientists tend to approach the subject with different methodologies with questions of a different nature which, not

surprisingly, produce different kinds of scholarships. Some African American scholars suggest that the schism in research subjects, methodology, and findings may stem from ideological differences between the two groups of scholars—African American professionals lean more toward the left and maintain unique "outsider-within vantage points." In general, the major differences in scholarship are African American scholars' hope to empower fellow African American citizens, to examine internal dynamics within the community rather than treating African Americans as a single category, and to use the normative approach in examining political systems (Dawson and Wilson 1991, 192). In other words, their works are likely to be system-challenging rather than system-supporting, just as the APSA has been at least in the past system-supporting while the NCOBPS has been system-challenging. Research on African Americans conducted by African American faculty members is often considered self-serving and biased and their supporting evidence less credible (Essed 987; Lander 1973; van Dijk 1993, 19). Perhaps, partly because of such a perception, African American political scientists believe that they rarely receive public or private funds, including funding from the most prestigious National Science Foundation (Loppincott 1940, 156; Wilson 1985, 601). Under such circumstances, African American political scientists believe that studying African American politics or race relations does not necessarily make them valuable in the eyes of their peers or allow them to become an indispensable departmental asset. When departmental evaluations for each faculty member comes up, African American professors sense that articles published in "black label" journals are not considered as significant as those in "white-oriented" or mainstream journals (Mitchell 1982, 41: Blackwell 1988, 308). As a result of navigating the departmental politics over the annual

evaluation, black scholars have little choice but either to submit themselves to moral compromise or to publish two ideologically different kinds of articles in both mainstream and ethnic journals (Mitchell 1982, 41). Otherwise, they are caught in the dilemma of having to choose either becoming an unemployed man of integrity or an employed man of self-hatred (Derrick Bell 1994, 159). African American political scientists are just like any other financially insecure people who are afraid of losing their jobs. This is one of the examples of academics being disciplined by the discipline which also supports the idea in Chapter IV that it is not always political scientists' intellectual curiosity and pure interests that motivate them to choose a research agenda:

> Men who have families to support on inadequate incomes will think twice before they criticize views that lie deep in the emotions, such as views on private property. Life and vigorous inquiry into established varieties is not likely to flourish when there is a contingent possibility that unpopular ideas may cost the academic man his position, or interfere with his promotion ... and from past experience he knows this is more than a mere possibility (Loppincott 156).

For these reasons, the number of African American political scientists and graduate students are frustratingly small even today.

5. Conclusion

Chapter IV "Disciplined by the Discipline" discussed the mechanism of intellectual production, the processes of gate-keeping and peer-validation of knowledge, and applied these tools in examining how political science has developed into what it is today. Likewise, by using the same analytical tools, Chapter V "*Other* Political Science" examined the genealogy of African American political science and attempted to explain

the origin of the underrepresentation of African Americans in political science literature. Several factors have emerged from the inquiry thus far, which has turned out to be more complex than presumed racism, and stretched to the domain of epistemology in political science:

- As Ray Stannard Barker testified in 1913, "African Americans" entered the minds of white political scientists as political issues, but not as political subjects, and thereby were objectified and identified as problems that needed to be dealt with and solved. Originally, modern political science was established to study the scientism of politics and expected to solve actual political issues confronting the nation. Under this circumstance, it is quite understandable political scientists in those days tackled race issues as national problems that needed immediate solutions after the Civil War. However, once other political crises arose requiring immediate attention, such as the Great Depression or World War II, race issues were sidelined until another race crisis came up. This long neglect for race issues, in particular, in empowering African Americans, is examined by Hanes Walton Jr., Cheryl Miller and Joseph P. McCormick in 1995 (Chapter I and II).
- Unbeknownst to them, even some progressive intellectuals in the early 20th century who preached the advancement of African Americans stereotyped African Americans as possessing subhuman characteristics and believed African Americans did not exactly "earn" citizenships.
- Some leading African American intellectual leaders, including Booker T. Washington, also framed African American in their social analysis as apolitical rather than political beings and made a political compromise to advance their

agenda, i.e., racial harmony based on the "separate but equal" principle and economic self-reliance.

- Ralph J. Bunche, the first African American political scientist, entered the profession roughly thirty years after the establishment of the APSA, roughly twenty-five years after the publication of the inaugural issue of the *APSR,* roughly twenty years after the APSA's selection of the 15 subfields, and eight years after Frederic A. Ogg's succession to the chief editor position of the *APSR.* He and his fellow African Americans joined an organization whose rules of the game with respect to the boundary and ideological orientation had already been defined by the establishment. In other words, the organization had used its symbolic capital to consolidate its status as the leading producer of knowledge, played the role of authenticator of knowledge, and determined what counts as legitimate knowledge versus irrelevant knowledge that needed to be discredited in political science. No recorded documents have been found thus far to indicate African American political scientists or scholars engaged in knowledge authentication at the beginning of the APSA, which left African Americans (or other racial minorities and women for that matter) particularly vulnerable to being involuntarily defined one-sidedly by upper-middle class white male political scientists.
- The APSA and its funding affiliates (industrialist-philanthropists) took advantage of the pedagogic action, symbolic violence, and financial insecurity of political scientists to keep political scientists from going beyond the defined ideological boundary. Those who strayed from the disciplinary golden rules feared they would be disciplined by the discipline when evaluations for tenure or promotion

came, which made them more cautious in selecting issues to examine.

- The second generation of African American political scientists was able to use their symbolic capital only in the HBCU circle as evidenced by the conference to discuss political science curricula at Southern University, as HBCU was considered a safe haven in which African American political science professors could exercise their epistemological power and symbolic capital without much protest from their white colleagues.
- Because of their numerically absolute minority status and limited status as policy-makers in the APSA, African American pioneers had little influence over the decision-making concerning bringing in African American politics as a field of study and their vantage points in political science. Although Mae C. King was a part of the APSA administration, her capacity was limited by her numerically absolute minority status.
- In addition to research and teaching, Jewel Prestage and Maurice Woodard and other second generation pioneers—estimated to be fewer than 60 in the early 1970s—had to invest much time in redressing institutional biases and building academic infrastructure for the third generation of African American scholars and students in order to guarantee equal opportunity and possibly relatively equal achievements. In a sense, African American political scientists' fight to reclaim a right to self-definition and to conduct research to uplift their race has had approximately thirty-five "short" years of history, as opposed to the APSA's one hundred years of maneuvering leadership in the matter of knowledge production and authentication.

- In breaking away from the APSA and founding the NCOBPS, African American scholars found a way to use their symbolic capital to introduce African American perspectives in political science and validate their discourses. Their fight for independence roughly coincides with the rise of the civil rights and feminist movements and a demand for multicultural education (i.e., African American studies, Chicano Studies etc.) at higher institutions. The separation from the APSA was much like the young pioneers in political science in the early 20th century breaking away from the American Social Science Association (ASSA) to declare the independence of political science and define its boundary and nature of discourses as they saw fit. The birth of the NCOBPS, just like the birth of the APSA, was a manifestation of the power struggle in the domain of intellectual production over naming rights to ideas. Therefore, African American knowledge did not simply emerge from nowhere, but was rather brought into academia by the changes in the power dynamic between the APSA establishment and the unsatisfied African American academics in political science that manifested itself in validation of a particular kind of knowledge.
- Despite these changes, the number of African American graduate students and scholars who are more likely to be involved in African American politics research has been stagnant, representing less than 5 % of the total US APSA membership in 2004.
- African American graduate students still lag behind their white counterparts in financial capital to continue their education and research, and in social capital to conduct joint research and navigate departmental politics. Various additional

impediments are perceived by some African American political scientists such as unfair ranking of journals and a low evaluation for African American politics at annual reviews, although there may not be a consensus. However, these perceived inequalities seem to give a perception to African American scholars that the rules of the game (which they did not create) do not work to their advantage with African American knowledge still being treated as an illegitimate sibling of widely accepted knowledge in political science. Eurocentric knowledge is considered "must-have" knowledge to get a degree while "African American decentered perspectives" is optional, or rather a kind of knowledge that one does not need to graduate.

To summarize, the epistemological racism that was formed before the entry of African American political scientists and their relatively late entry in the already established discipline in the 1960s without comparable symbolic capital of their own resulted in a pattern of excluding African Americans from the scope of political inquiry. The first of the two fundamental questions in this dissertation research has now been answered, which leaves the question as to why it is important to bring in African American perspectives in political science. For example, what is the difference between bringing in a perspective from an obscure political theorist in the 17th century versus African American vantage points? The next chapter, "Not Just Adding and Stirring," will demonstrate the utility in introducing different perspectives. This dissertation calls for further studies on "the otherized" and their introduction in political science as new perspectives have the potential to provide answers to questions that cannot be responded to by the existing framework of analysis. In this sense, introducing a different

perspective is for the sake of the advancement of political science itself and of *personal gains* for researchers. Although these dimensions in supporting multiculturalism are not much explored, they would undoubtedly strengthen the existing claim to incorporate multicultural perspectives for the sake of justice (or for redressing past injustice), political correctness, or toleration. In a sense, this is the "carrot" (incentive) part of the "carrot and stick" with respect to bringing in multicultural perspectives in political science.

Appendix I Parallel History

APSA History/American History	Year	African Americans in Political Science/African American History
Columbia University launches the first graduate program in political science. Chaired by John Burgess.	1880	
	1885	W. E. B. du Bois graduates from Harvard University with a Ph. D.
	1895	Booker T. Washington delivers "Atlanta Compromise" speech.
The American Political Science Association is formed.	1903	
The American Political Science Review (*APSR*) publishes its inaugural issue.	1906	
	1909	The NAACP is formed.
Woodrow Wilson becomes the president of the APSA.	1910	National Urban League (The Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes) is formed; the Great Migration begins in the 1910s.
US President Wilson mandates the racial segregation of federal facilities in Washington D.C.	1913	
World War I breaks out.	1914	
The APSA announces 15 official subfields.	1915	
Frederic A. Ogg becomes the chief editor of the *APSR*.	1926	
	1934	Ralph Bunche graduates from Harvard with a Ph.D. in political science.
	1937	T. R. Solomon graduates from the University of Michigan with a Ph.D. in political science.
World War II breaks out.	1939	
	1941	Mertz Tate graduates from Harvard University with a Ph.D. in political science
Korean War breaks out.	1950	Ralph Bunche receives the Nobel Peace Prize

Ogg retires after 26 years as the chief editor of the APSR.	1951	
	1954	Bunche becomes the first African American president of the APSA; Jewel Prestage graduates from the University of Iowa with a Ph.D. in political science.
Vietnam War breaks out.	1957	Samuel DuBois Cook's article appears in the *APSR*, as the first *APSR* article written by African American political scientist.
J. F. K. is assassinated; Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba publish *The Civic Culture.*	1963	
	1965	Malcolm X is assassinated.
The National Organization for Women (NOW) led by Betty Friedan is established.	1966	
The oldest APSA caucus, New Political Science, is formed.	1967	
	1968	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.
The APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in Profession is established.	1969	The first "census" reveals the existence of 55 African American political scientists in the entire United States; HBCU Curriculum conference held at the Southern University.
	1970	African American political scientists Boycott the APSA conference. The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) is formed.

Chapter VI
Not Just Adding and Stirring

1. Introduction: Connecting the Dots

The previous two chapters have juxtaposed the differences between the African American politics tradition and mainstream political science in terms of their conceptualization of power, knowledge, objectives of political science research and genealogies, so as to spotlight the epistemological racism within political science that has manifested itself in the underrepresentation of African Americans. This chapter goes back to one of the initial arguments presented in Chapter I, i.e., that bringing an African American perspective (one of many multicultural perspectives) into political science should be encouraged because of its utility, which can be shared collectively by fellow scholars in the discipline and be utilized in their own research to add new analytical dimensions. The first section of Chapter VI, "Not Just Adding and Stirring," will tie together all the loose ends from the seemingly different and independent chapters, which will then introduce a final discussion in this dissertation on the potential utilities of bringing the African American politics tradition into political science. As was the case with Chapters II and III, social capital/civil society studies will be used as a test case to press forward on the "multiculturalism utility" thesis so as to call for a further inclusion of "others" perspectives that are still underrepresented in mainstream political science today.

Let us briefly review the issues and problems surrounding the test case as summarized in Chapter III, "No Universal Truth." After the gradual demise of the

military regimes in Latin American nations in the 1980s, and especially after the sudden collapse of the Soviet domination in East European nations in the early 1990s, civil society studies as well as social capital studies have garnered broad attention from scholars, NGO specialists and policymakers who have searched for a golden formula for making successful regime transitions to democracies. Yet because of the unexpected courting from advocates across the traditional ideological line and disciplinary boundaries, both concepts have been overused to the extent that, albeit unintentionally, they have been reduced to merely fashionable buzzwords with fuzzy and shaky conceptualizations. One often finds political science literature in which social capital, civil society, development, roles of government, and democratization are clustered together, yet what exactly those terms mean collectively depends primarily on who tries to decipher them.

Based on the various literature reviews of social capital and civil society studies, three points clearly emerged in Chapter III. First, as opposed to sociology that captures human beings as what they are—multidimensional beings with unique ascriptive characteristics who freely travel to different microstructures and structures surrounding them[1]—political science may seem to still adhere to a traditional and customary use of a disembodied political being as a model of personhood that is in fact a "white middle-class

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[1] For the detailed analysis of the boundary of sociological study, see the American Sociological Association website. www.asanet.org. Sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behavior. Sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organizations, and societies and the way people interact within these contexts. *Because all human behavior is social* [emphasis added], the subject matter of sociology ranges from the intimate family to the hostile mob; from organized crime to religious cults; from the divisions of race, gender and social class to the shared beliefs of a common culture; and from the sociology of work to the sociology of sports. In fact, few fields have such a broad scope and relevance for research, theory, and application of knowledge...Because sociology addresses the most challenging issues of our time, it is a rapidly expanding field whose potential is increasingly tapped by those who craft policies and create programs (American Sociological Association 2005).

man" in disguise. In so doing, what makes disembodied human beings real and alive (e.g., race and ethnicity) has been sidelined in studies of social capital in political science, which have (although this may be overly simplified) have instead turned their focus to studies of the health of democracy by examining the rise and fall of organizational memberships. Political science needs to bring back "identities" to disembodied human beings in its research in order to reflect multifaceted human beings, all of whom are not white, middle class men.

Second, a brief study of the history of civil society concept has confirmed a lingering concern as to whether Euro-American political/philosophical concepts since the Enlightenment in fact have been value-laden concepts that mirror particular social and political circumstances in a particular time in a history rather than the value-neutral universal ideas we have naturally come to perceive. Chapter IV, "Disciplined by the Discipline," supports this finding that even trained professional social scientists and philosophers cannot be immune from the particular political, social, and cultural bias (also known as a vantage point) they have subconsciously nurtured, nor can they detach themselves from the particular social, political and historical context in which their modus operandi and modus vivendi are formed. It follows that a different political, cultural and social entity in a different time period may call for particular value-laden concepts of its own rather than those that are created for other entities, but then cast as universal. As the example of Václav Havel in Chapter III indicates, changing political, economic, cultural and social reality may persuade someone to create a new concept of civil society that better reflects a new political and social environment. Havel (no longer a political dissident but a part of the establishment) and the new Czech Republic may

have needed a new concept of civil society rather than holding onto their old "society against state" as Czechs tried to move from their painful past when "a breathing room for ordinary citizens and dissidents" was considered a prototype of civil society. Likewise, the 21st century multicultural America deserves its own concept of civil society that mirrors the diverse populations in a uniquely American context that is a product of its political history.

Third, various political scientists and philosophers have tried to map the location and composition of civil society; yet their generic or *universal* models of civil society fail to provide a clue as to where civil society stands or what it encompasses in the United States. As examined in Chapter III, various scholars have formulated their own theories that include a public sphere, private spheres, and an intermediate sphere, family, fellowships, friendships, non-political organizations, and voluntary associations, which further supports the claim the civil society concept has come to mean "everything and thus nothing" (Reiff qtd in Morsy 2004 np.). Civil society can be found in both the private sphere and the public sphere, and in some cases identified with the public sphere itself. But then how does civil society differ from society? What is an intermediate sphere? What does the public sphere entail? What is to be included in the private sphere? Finding the location and composition of civil society in the United States can be a challenging task, yet it is a great opportunity to test the "multicultural utility thesis" that bringing in "different perspectives" is useful in the clarification of existing unresolved issues and thus contributes to the discipline. In combining all three of these points together, the rest of the chapter will use a concept from the African American politics tradition to synthesize a new framework to better understand the location and

composition of civil society, while also paying attention to bringing back identities to disembodied political beings and addressing the specific cultural/political social environment in the United States in the 21st century. The possible utilities behind bringing different perspectives will undoubtedly appeal to those scholars who are skeptical of incorporating African American perspectives in political science and therefore may have in the past overlooked the existence of different ways of knowing or possibilities of creating something new with them.

2. Beginning of Deconstruction

Preliminary work still remains to be done before new concepts of composition and location may be created. What is the "greatest impediment" to clarifying the location and composition of civil society in the United States or existing civil society literature? As examined in Chapter III, this obstacle stems from communication problems among civil society advocates: they use the same terms such as *the public sphere*, *the private sphere*, *civil society* etc., as if unconsciously assuming there is a universal definition for each, so they rarely define or clarify them in their own words. However, as the examples in Chapter III indicate, the concept of a civil society has been expanded by many advocates in different schools of thoughts as to reduce it to a catchy buzzword of the decade. What needs to be done to get rid of such messiness?

The first task is to "shake off" the existing jargon that frames and restricts civil society studies as they are today so as to free them from the consequence of the power struggles over the control of intellectual production that has helped maintain a particular kind of knowledge. From there, construction of new ideas will begin from scratch to

discover the composition and location of civil society. One may oppose such an attempt to deconstruct the existing frame on the ground that redefining or recycling the ideas currently in use is more than adequate. However, the current framework cannot answer such a simple question as to where civil society lies; therefore, one has no choice but to go beyond the existing boundary. Also as discussed in Chapter IV, "Disciplined by the Discipline," knowledge is a product of power struggles in which the particular winning parties claim the naming right, or symbolic capital. Existing knowledge has survived such power struggles—value-laden selections disguised as natural—and consolidated its status as authentic knowledge by gate-keeping the other knowledge it subjugated. Thus, let us go back to the initial stage where such power struggles were yet to begin and construct a new knowledge from scratch. This does not mean a new concept of civil society may not need or use the existing jargon such as *the public sphere* or *the private sphere*. Rather, going back to a blank tablet offers a symbolic significance: liberating civil society from the current framework will give the much-marred concept a breathing ground from which to regroup. Figuratively speaking, everything will be torn down first with some pieces picked up later to be mixed with a new piece, i.e., the African American politics tradition. Now, let the deconstruction begin.

What needs to be deconstructed first from the existing civil society studies? It ought to be the rusty iron pillar, the grand dichotomy of the public and the private, as it conceptually restricts fluid human activities that crisscross the two spheres—however they may be defined. No one can answer whether civil society is located in the public or the private sphere because this historical yet outdated classification cannot reflect the diverse and multidimensional human activities of today that cannot be strictly defined as

either the private or the public. If one may realize the deep gulf between *reality* and *ideology* (socially and politically constructed reality), one faces a crucial question: whether to dismiss reality to save the existing framework of study, or dismiss socially and politically constructed reality to create a new framework of analysis to explain a new reality. Such a critique directed toward the rigid and suffocatingly restrictive public and private dichotomy is nothing new in the discipline: "[t]he apparent neat boundary between *public* and *private* is confounded by an increasingly interdependent *public* and *private* sphere. This creates what in effect amounts to an array of organizations and institutions that have the attributes of both public and private spheres. In essence, this perspective draws attention to the very difficulties of demarcating the boundaries of the public and the private" (Jayasuriya 2003, 1-2.). The existing rigid dichotomy cannot capture all the multifaceted human activities, especially the intrinsic human need and desire to belong or the basic sociability of human beings that is often sacrificed because of the Aristotelian tradition in political science, i.e., a heavy emphasis on the political nature of human beings.

Second, the grand dichotomy is strongly tainted by a tradition of liberalism. The raison d'être of the public-private dichotomy lies precisely in defending liberalism as a political ideology that must fiercely protect the private sphere (or pursuit of happiness in the private sphere) from a potentially overbearing state. Although the question where to draw the line between the public and the private has been a never-ending inquiry among liberals, few liberals question the legitimacy and necessity of the dichotomy to protect the private sphere. This very notion of guaranteeing the sanctuary of privacy is an unquestionable foundational tenet of liberalism without which it would lose its legitimacy

and raison d'être. In other words, liberalism cannot exist without acknowledging the existence of the dividing line and the private sphere it seeks to protect. Judith Shklar (1989, 24) argues:

> [Liberalism] must reject only those political doctrines that do not recognize any difference between the spheres of the personal and the public. Because of the primacy of toleration as the irreducible limit on public agents, liberals must always draw such a line. This is only historically a permanent or unalterable boundary, but it does require that every public policy be considered with this separation in mind and consciously defended as meeting its most severe current standard. The important point for liberalism is not so much where the line is drawn, as that it be drawn, and that is must under no circumstance be ignored or forgotten.

Nonetheless, as stated previously, one needs to go beyond the existing framework that is grounded in a tradition of liberalism if the existing ideas cannot answer new questions.

Third, the existence of the dichotomy also serves to tacitly deny any possibilities of the existence of multiple public spheres or the existence of other spheres that are neither public nor private. Taking the feminist subaltern or a counterpublic as an example, Nancy Frazer argues in her critique of Jurgen Habermas' bourgeois public sphere that there are indeed multiple "other" public spheres, such as "nonliberal, nonbourgeois, competing public spheres and so on" (1992, 115). If this is the case, how will this affect the clarification of the composition of civil society? Will there be multiple civil societies, as is the case with the multiple public spheres? The potential claim of the existence of the third sphere is nothing new to political science: Hannah Arendt, for example, argues the existence of another sphere called the sphere of social—although her sphere of social should more appropriately be named the sphere of economic welfare. Alan Wolfe is also critical of the simple dichotomization of the human lifeworld: "[The dichotomy] is a slippery one, incapable of being established in a

way that accords either with an adequate empirical description of the major institutions of modern society or with satisfactory normative justification" (1997, 182). But the question is what we can do about it if the dichotomy does not work.

The rusty iron twin pillars need to go.

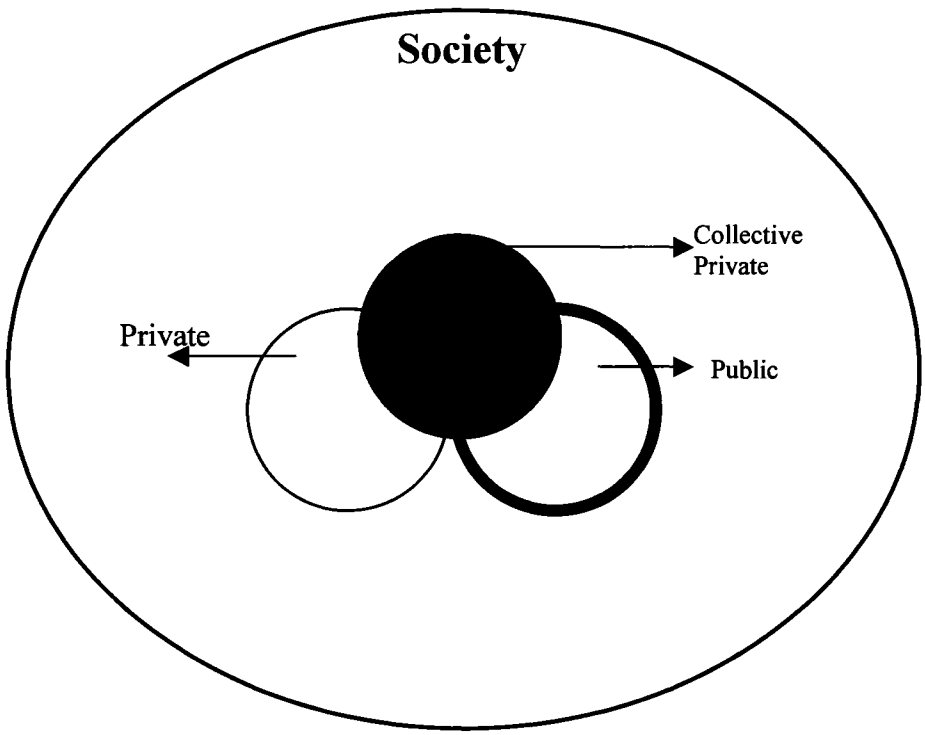
3. Construction Begins—the Birth of the Collective Private Sphere

Now that we have discarded the liberal framework of civil society that includes the public and private dichotomy, the presumed customary mission to create universalism, and a disciplinary discipline of having to recognize the demarcation to stay within liberalism, let us begin construction by salvaging some torn out pieces. The public sphere and the private sphere as ***terms***, not the functions or meanings associated with those concepts—however they may have been defined in the past—will be reclaimed. (What exactly these ***new*** terms mean will be discussed later in this chapter.) Then, let us bring in the African American politics tradition—one of the objectives of this dissertation—to better account for the location and the composition of civil society in the United States. But exactly what concept in the African American politics tradition is most useful in this situation? And what can we synthesize with it?

This dissertation introduces an African American concept of "community" (or communities) that will be used as a foundation to synthesize a new sphere of human lifeworld, freshly termed as the "collective private sphere." Before discussing the mechanism and composition of this new model of civil society, let us examine why the African American concept of community/communities can be a key to mapping civil

society in America, and how accommodating such a new idea will force the existing civil society concept to change accordingly.

Figure 1. Collective Private Sphere

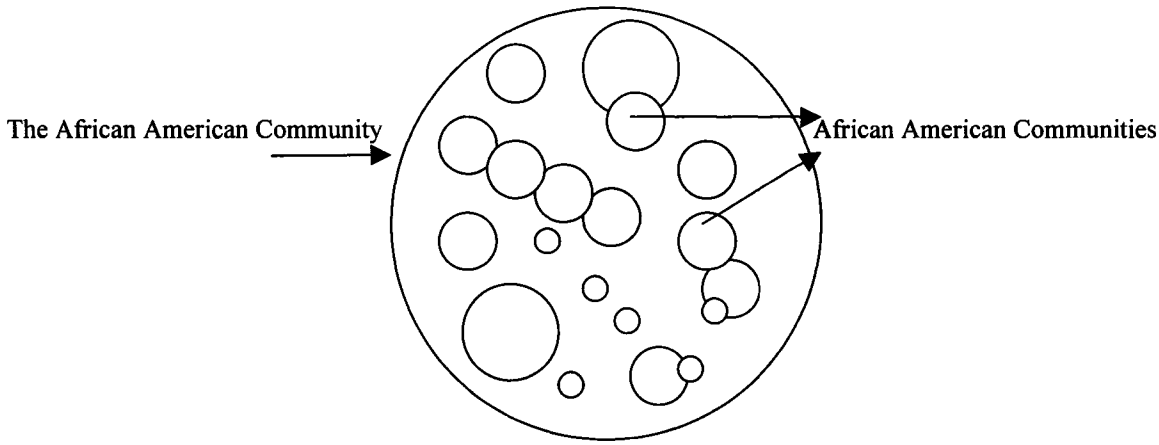


Differing from what we know as "community" in conversational English or as defined in a dictionary,[2] there is another concept of community that is often used by African Americans and other minority groups in the United States. It is a race-based

[2] For dictionary definitions, see http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary. "1 : a unified body of individuals: as a : STATE, COMMONWEALTH b : the people with common interests living in a particular area; *broadly* : the area itself <the problems of a large *community*> c : an interacting population of various kinds of individuals (as species) in a common location d : a group of people with a common characteristic or interest living together within a larger society <a *community* of retired persons> e : a group linked by a common policy f : a body of persons or nations having a common history or common social, economic, and political interests <the international *community*> g : a body of persons of common and especially professional interests scattered through a larger society <the academic *community*>
2 : society at large 3 a : joint ownership or participation <*community* of goods> b : common character :

concept of community that transcends time and differences in class, gender, religion, political orientation or physical location; it ties all African Americans in the United States together just by virtue of their being African Americans. Differing from communities as can be seen in one's neighborhoods, the race-based community is conceptual and thus invisible most of the time but can become visible as African Americans gather together.

Figure 2. African American Concept of Community and African American Communities



In the traditional geographical concept of community with which we are familiar, the premise of the concept is that people live together within close physical proximity in a particular area. A person who utters "my community" in daily conversation is usually referring to a community in which he currently lives or has lived in the past, but he is not referring to a village 3,000 miles away where he has never actually lived or even visited. As the geographical concept of community does not move across any geographical boundaries, in a sense it is a static and fixed concept. It is a community of people who

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LIKENESS <*community* of interests> c : social activity : FELLOWSHIP d : a social state or condition" Downloaded 06/24/2005.

"happen to" live together in close proximity, and under normal circumstances,[3] the fates of individuals are not directly tied to that of their community. Even if one of the community members is discriminated against (e.g, because of his faith), his community will most likely not be obliged or forced to share his fate or be collectively discriminated against by outside people.[4] Communitarian scholars nostalgically use such terms as *harmony*, *unity* and *closeness* to describe the internal dynamic within a community, although these may cover up tensions or the keep-up-with-the-Jones-like competitions that may also exist in the community. Neighbors may occasionally get together for fun at a block party, backyard barbeques, Christmas parties, or their children's basketball games at the local high school. The community exists primarily for allowing one to mark one's private boundary or territory within, and secondarily for socializing, but even socializing is not a mandatory requirement for those who prefer to be left alone. One can choose to stay out of any meaningful relationships with other members of the same community if one wishes to and will be content with a hermit-like existence. On the other hand, although a community cannot necessarily be a fundamental unit of political participation in normal circumstances, a community can become a political association if, for example, some private developers plan to take over an entire community or "somebody else's NIMBY problems" end up being dumped on that community; however, neither of these developments occurs every day. Otherwise, political activities in a community are

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[3] Under an extraordinary circumstance such as the threat of eminent domain, people in a geographical neighborhood share a common fate or a fate prescribed to the community. The state's exercise of imminent domain of a working neighborhood in New London, Connecticut for development of shopping mall etc. is one such example. For details regarding the New London case, see Linda Greenhouse, "Justice Uphold Taking Property for Development. June 24, 2005.

[4] However, an ethnic enclave or residential segregation that make one neighborhood entirely racially or ethnically homogeneous would create a different scenario. If one of their neighbors is discriminated against because of her ethnicity or race, there is a chance other members of the community would face the same fate.

conducted through a third-party association such as the PTA, a local Urban League, or an institutionalized neighborhood association that represents the community (a governing body in the community), which is essentially different from community itself. In a sense, a community, which can be interchangeably used with a "neighborhood," could be a place of many "desperate" intrigues as are often depicted in TV dramas, but essentially it is an apolitical space in normal circumstances whose functions do not go far from the primary role of establishing one's domicile or socializing unless the community is also a micro-independent political entity of its own. When a person moves to a different community 100 miles away, the person will lose his membership in his old community and no longer be considered a member of the community, or at best, treated as only an honorary member. A person can exercise his discretionary freedom and choose to join and stay in a community or move out to another community. Under the circumstances when membership in such a traditional geographical concept of community is temporary, the community does not have much influence in forming one's permanent identity. People who live in the community can relocate; however, the physical location of the community does not move, but rather stays permanently in the same place.

In addition to the traditional concept of community, African American politics tradition has its own unique concept of community that is race-based. When a person utters the term "my community," it can, depending on the context, mean her neighborhood community as well as a conceptual and symbolic community of her fellow African Americans. People in her community in the latter case may include her friends and family members and people she has met and interacted with at some level in the past, as well as people she has never met or will never meet in her life. An African American

woman in Portland, Maine, and an African American man in Portland, Oregon, can be the constituents of the same conceptual community called the "African American community." Therefore, this African American concept of community transcends geographical boundaries and time. Just as with the traditional concept of community, the African American concept of community is a fixed concept, but in a different sense from that of community as a geographical concept. It is fixed in that such a community primarily consists of the members of the same race, so non-African Americans without any familial relations with African Americans by marriage or adoption or without honorary memberships of some sort[5] will neither be seen nor accepted as fellow members of the community.

Differing from the geographical concept, people in the African American concept of community do not happen to live in close proximity with each other, but they happen to be born in the same racial group where the fate of individuals may affect the fate of the entire community. If a person is discriminated against because of race, it affects the entire community in a sense that anyone could be the next random victim. If one driver is pulled over on a highway for alleged "DWB" (Driving While Black),[6] it will affect the psychology and welfare of other African American drivers on luxury vehicles traveling on interstate highways at night. Another example is that African Americans are reportedly less enthusiastic about taking the new heart failure medication BiDil

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[5] For a discussion of honorary membership, see page 29-30 of this Chapter.

[6] Driving While Black (DWB), an idea originally borrowed from Driving While Intoxicated (DWI), has become a legitimate term in social science research and semi-scholarly works. For a detailed analysis of the endemic DWB, see Kenneth Meeks, Driving While Black: What to Do if You are a Victim of Racial Profiling (2000); Kelvin R. Davis, Driving While Black: Cover Up (2001); David Harris Driving While Black: Racial Profiling on Our Nation's Highways (1999); "Driving While Black and all other traffic offenses: the Supreme Court and Pretextual Traffic Stops." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1997).

specifically designed for African Americans[7] as they fear this could be another "Tuskegee experiment" that used African Americans as human guinea pigs.[8] Therefore, African Americans share a common past, fate and future of the race as a community, and thus it is a space for empowerment, collective rage and hopes all combined in one. Under such circumstances, an African American concept of community is primarily a place of shaping a part of one's identity and worldviews, if not them in their entirety. Today, more than a majority of African Americans believe they form a nation within a nation, with 68.5% of African American men and 70.9% of African American women believing their fate is linked to other African Americans (Dawson 327, 330). Their collective past, present and future would partially affect the way they see themselves, the human lifeworld, and the world outside their community; thus, the African American community is their "collective sphere." Even if a person moves from a predominantly African American town to a predominantly white town across the continent, she will not lose her membership, because it is a permanent fixture in her life over which she has no control or room to exercise her discretionary freedom to choose to depart.[9] The community is in a sense chiefly an "African Americans only" or "private" place where memberships are normally limited to African Americans and "honorary African Americans," and therefore

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[7] For details, see "FDA Approves a Heart Drug for African-Americans" The New York Times, June 23, 2005.

[8] Since 1932-1974, the U.S. Public Health Service used 399 African American syphilis patients for "a medical experiment" without their consent or without their even knowing about the experiment or their disease. These mostly illiterate low-income patients in Alabama were left untreated so that the doctors could test their hypothesis that syphilis would affect whites and African Americans differently. Needless to say, for the doctors, those African American patients were useless until they were dead and ready for autopsy. President Bill Clinton issued a formal apology in 1997 on behalf of the U.S. government.

[9] However, some African Americans of light-skin can exercise their discretionary freedom and choose to live as whites, which is called "passing." There have been numerous cases of passing in real life as well as in literature. One of the most famous cases involves Patrik Healy, who became the first "black" president of Georgetown University" in 1874 but passed (lived) as a white man without anyone knowing. Had the Georgetown administration known his identity in the late 19th century, he would not have been chosen for

it can be more appropriately called a "collective private sphere" of African Americans, by African Americans and for African Americans who collectively share the fate of their race. It is a collective private sphere or their safe haven vis-à-vis an American society in general where they can "let their hair down" without the presence of other racial groups and can retrieve their hidden authentic self in place of a Du Boisean bifurcated consciousness. It is a sphere where their dignity and equality among men are not questioned. Finally, it is a sphere where their collective past, narratives, testimonies and different way of knowing are passed on to the next generations as a form of consciousness raising.

In addition to "The African American community," there are myriad of smaller African American communities that are not as permanent fixtures as "the community." In this sense, the African American concept of communities is more fluid and spontaneous as to their formation and disappearance in that they arise whenever and wherever African Americans come together, talk and socialize. Such communities may spring up in a barbershop (Harris-Lacewell 2004) or on a street corner, or in other more or less institutionalized settings such as black dormitories, black fraternities and sororities (Giddings 1988), or local branches of the Urban League, and even the Nation of Islam. Such a spontaneous collective sphere even appears at professional conferences. At the 2002 APSA national conference in Boston, there was a panel dedicated to African American political scientists in the past who had laid down the foundation for the next generations of minority scholars. Although the panel was as open to all political scientists as other panels, there were only one Asian student (the author of this

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the position. For details on passing and especially Healy, see James O'Toole, *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920.*

dissertation) and several white scholars among fifty or so African Americans in the audience. Once the panel began, the room turned into a collective private sphere of African American scholars and "curious visitors" (the aforementioned Asian and the whites) in which the African Americans collectively mentor young graduate students, inspiring them, encouraging them, and "disciplining" them into the African American politics tradition. It turned into a sphere of collective consciousness-raising that invoked the names of W. E. B Du Bois, Ralph Bunche, Merze Tate and other canons of the African American politics tradition. During the question-and-answer session, one young African American scholar stood up and responded to a panel member who said that African American scholars lagged behind their white counterparts in learning quantitative skills. Using an overly exaggerated African American accent and theatrical gestures, the young scholar said to the panel: "Dr. Du Bois is one of the first scholars in the United States to conduct a quantitative study in social sciences. So we shouldn't give credit to white folks for something they didn't invent." The whole conference room burst out laughing as they all knew what the young scholar said was a good-natured jab and joke at the cost of whites that minorities secretly enjoy in the absence of whites. In turn, the scholar instinctively knew nobody, not even those "curious visitors" in the room, would be offended by what he had to say, as he knew he was in a safe haven that shared a mode of language and subtle nuances. In a sense, he was able to "let his hair down" without worrying about the possibility of offending anybody while sharing the proud moment in their collective history of African American political science with young students. It is quite doubtful that he would pull the same stunt again if he were the only African American scholar in a conference room.

This is what a collective private sphere is all about: it is the climate in which African Americans (or any formerly otherized groups for that matter) operate in the absence of the hegemonic group. But this is a secret well kept among African Americans and honorary African Americans as they may be cautious, and thus may not easily show their authentic selves and playfulness in the presence of the hegemonic group with surveying eyes. This is what white political scientists in the mainstream may have heard about, but most likely never have directly experienced and thus may be missing. People within such communities feel connected with each other, abide by their unwritten rules, enjoy the use of their own language and slang,[10] and tease and laugh while allowing themselves to be teased without being insulted or dismissed because of their color, as they may feel occurs in the hegemonic society. At the same time, arguments and fights are also fixtures of any groups regardless of race; thus, the collective private sphere is not always a unified, harmonious or ideologically homogeneous place. The African American collective private sphere is just like a Greek political sphere in a sense that the participants are equal among themselves; therefore African American communities and their sphere of collective private sphere are spheres of equality—equality in the worth of human dignity. In such spontaneous communities that appear and disappear any time, conversations may flow from personal problems to the Iraq War; people may talk about Michael Jackson's latest allegations over lunch or plan together their next barbeque or an upcoming street fest. Yet such social and private gatherings can instantly transform

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[10] One such example is the terms of endearment African American use: sista (sister) and brotha (brother.) "African Americans often say "brother" or "sister" as a way to indicate the possibility of that being the actual fact. In the period of the enslavement, individuals from the same family were often sold to different plantation masters and given the names of those owners, creating the possibility that brothers or sisters would have different surnames." Molefi Kete Asante, "*Contours of the African American Culture.*" http://www.africawithin.com/asante/contours.htm downloaded 06/27/2005

themselves into a site of political engagement and resistance against the state, discriminatory merchants, fellow political scientists[11] or other agents of society that may hurt the welfare of its members. If an African American elsewhere is victimized by the police, African Americans who are seemingly unrelated to the victim may go to the street to protest against police brutality. For example, after Haitian immigrant Abner Louima was beaten and sodomized in 1997 by Brooklyn police officers, and after Guinean native Amadou Diallo was shot dead by four white NYPD officers in 1999, outraged African Americans staged protests to support these two black men—neither of them US-born—because African Americans knew instantly what triggered such police brutality: the color of their skin. As African Americans knew their color was used as an excuse to beat up or kill these men, they could not deny that incidents such as these would never happen to them or fellow members of the African American community. In this case, as an African American community can be a unit of political participation and activities, therefore, the collective private sphere is not only a sphere of the social but also a sphere of the political. An African American concept of "community" or "a collective private sphere" can be deduced to be a sphere of both the social and political—a site of socializing, a site of empowerment, a site of unity, a site of resistance, and a site of discourse and political action.

Cyberspace seems to reflect the existence of both geographical as well as race-based concepts of community, as well as the inseparable nature of African Americans and their communities. The Internet search engine, Google, yielded 604,000 entries for "African American community," 764,000 for "black community," and 5,080 for "Afro-

[11] See Chapter V, "Genealogy of Other Political Science," for details of the protest movement by African American political scientists in the APSA in the 1970s.

American community," while there were merely 93,900 entries for "white community.". Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the entries for "white community" are related to "persons" or "places" such as the "Dr. White Community Center" (http://www.whitech.org), Memorial Hospital-White Mountain Community Health Center (www.thememorialhospital.org/wmcommhealthctr. html), or White Rock Community Church (www.whiterockchurch.org). The spot checks also revealed that "white as a community" was used as a way to compare with other racial groups, be it in the context of public health or educational attainment, but rarely was it used independently. In the unusual case where it was used independently, it was likely to be linked with white racial pride or a white supremacist organization, for example, "Stormfront White Nationalist Community" (http://www.stormfront.org/forum). On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of entries regarding "black community" referred to a community of African Americans rather than their being used as names of persons and places. These discrepancies in the numbers and uses strongly indicate it is an accepted fact that African Americans form their own race-based community in the United States, while people in the United States do not normally use the term *white community* independently to refer to a community of whites. Therefore, community can be a racial-based concept uniquely linked to racial minorities in the United States, but it is not normally associated with white as a race.

Unfortunately, political scientists in the mainstream seem to have overlooked the unique conceptual differences between the two concepts of community—geographical-based and race- based—and rarely has this issue come up in discussions of communities in political theory, although "community" has been a well-researched topic in the

communitarian-liberal debates. "Discussions on community" in political theory mostly focus on the conceptual differences between the two schools, but do not seem to go beyond the color line to look for another concept of community, which is a remarkable contrast to the African American political tradition. Under such circumstances in which studies of community revolve around the great communitarian-liberal debates, or specifically on politics within the African American community, there is no conceptual bridging between the two or conceptual innovation in the mainstream political science from the use of the African American concept of community.

The African American concept of community had a unique history of its own even before the emancipation. The underlying common thread across the diverse school of African American political thoughts—black nationalism, Afrocentrism, black conservatism, black Marxism and womanism—is this tradition and conviction that the "African American community" occupies a special entity in American society. One may look back at the history of the United States and easily point out that slaves formed their own communities throughout the South, even though these were forced communities artificially created by the slaveholders. In the history of African Americans, Martin R. Delany, an African American political activist and an ardent proponent of black nationalism in the mid-18th century, is often credited for the conceptual origin of "a nation within a nation"—a special entity of a distinct group of people within the United States with a distinct culture and shared history. This tradition was passed on to numerous black activists, philosophers, celebrities and ordinary people alike as well as being observed in virtually all cannons of African American political thoughts and *actions*. "I" cannot exist without the presence of "we", and "we" and "I" are mutually

responsible for empowering, nurturing and creating identities of both the community and individual within. Empowering the community will lead to empowering individual people in the community, and the empowering of individual people will lead to collective empowerment. This tradition was observed in Marcus Garvey's black self-determination movement in the 1920s, in Martin Luther King's and Malcolm X's civil rights movement in the 1960s, in the platform of Stokley Carmichael's Black Panther Party, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow-Push Coalition, and even in Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March in the 1990s. There is always tacit recognition among African Americans that they form a distinct cultural, social and political entity within the Untied States that transcends spatial distance and creates special bonds among members.

In contrast to a classical liberal concept of community as merely an aggregation of individuals that does not have much influence in forming people's identities, the African American concept of community has direct impacts on identity formation. "In place of Descartes' 'I think; therefore, I am.' we find in this black tradition, 'I am because we are; and since we are; therefore, I am'" (Mbiti 1989, 141). Further, "If individual identity is grounded in social interaction, in the life of community, then that individual's good life is inseparable from the successful functioning of his or her society. Hence, in the black philosophical tradition, ethics and moral reflection tend to focus much more on collective structure than on an individual decision-making"(Hord and Scott Lee 1995 7-8). In his speech in 1955, Carlos A. Cooks, the founder of the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement (ANPM) summarizes such a unity between the fate of the individual and that of the race. "One cause, one goal, one destiny" (van Deburg, 85). Nathan Hare, then Chair of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State College

in the 1960s, also emphasizes the significance of such a link. "The expressive phase [of the Black Studies Program] refers to the effort to build in black youth a sense of pride or self, of *collective destiny, a sense of pastness as a springboard in the quest for a new and better future* (emphasis added)."(van Deburg, 160). Maulana Karenga, the founder of the Kawaida School of Afrocentrism, also emphasizes the importance of community and unity within. His *Umoja* (Unity) is the first of the seven principles that reflect the Afrocentric values:[12]

> If unity is in essence a Principle, it is no less a practice as are all the other principles. For practice is central to African ethnics and all claims to ethical living and commitment to moral principles are tested and proved or disproved in relations with others. Relations, then, are the hinge on which morality turns, the ground on which it rises or falls...Character development is not simply to create a good person abstracted from community, but rather a person in positive interaction, a person whose quality of relations with others is defined first of all by a principled and harmonious togetherness i.e., a real and practiced unity (de Burg 277).

Not just African American men, but also African American women have been aware of their responsibility to their collective. Sojourner Truth joined the Abolitionist movement to free other slaves after she ran away from her master, even though her own freedom was secured; Harriet Tubman arranged for more than 300 slaves to flee by the Underground Railroad, although her status as a fugitive slave always put her in danger of re-enslavement in the South; Mary McLeod Bethune, who originally hoped to become a missionary in Africa, realized her fellow African Americans needed her more than Africans, and dedicated her life to educating the next generations. It was Rosa Parks's political responsibility to the community, not her personal interest or hope for fame, that

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[12] The remaining six principles consist of Kujichagulia (self-determination), Ujima (collective work and responsibility), Ujama (cooperative economics), Nia (purpose), Kuumba (creativity), and Imani (faith). In de Burge, 276-287. Karenga instituted the Afrocentric celebration, Kwanza, in 1967, where those seven

prompted her refusal to vacate her seat for a white passenger. Even Halle Berry's Academy Award acceptance speech, without directly saying so, was both addressed and dedicated to her community, invoking all the African American actresses who opened the door for other actresses including her. Although many tennis fans may have forgotten the name of Althea Gibson, the African American community will never forget her because she is one of them—she represented their community as much as she did the United States of America when African Americans were not expected to excel in aristocratic sports. For African Americans, "community" is much more than simply living together in geographical proximity: it is a distinctive race-based concept that crosses past, present, and future, and covers all African Americans in the United States.[13]

From the deconstruction, two terms—a public sphere and a private sphere—were picked up, then joined by a "collective private sphere," which is a new addition to mainstream political science, yet historically a part of the African American politics tradition. Still, something is amiss in this new model that is supposed to mirror the American society seen from the eyes of the formerly "otherized": the "something" is the source of the Du Boisean double-consciousness. If African Americans have a vibrant community of their own where they feel comfortable about themselves and enjoy each other's company, then why do they feel their consciousness bifurcated? Why can they not hold on to their authentic self, or their authentic identity?

Now let us go back to Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk* to search for a clue to his bifurcated consciousness.

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principles, which are collectively called Nguzo Saba, are celebrated on each of the seven days of the Kwanza observation.

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, tow thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity [sic] closed roughly in his face (1989 [1903], 5).

Du Bois's idea that a Negro possesses two different consciousnesses is based on a tacit premise that he lives in two different worlds; thus, Du Bois acknowledges the existence of "the other world" from which he cannot escape. His "other worlds" is not "the other world" as conceptualized in mainstream society that refers to a minority community. Instead it is a world where a hegemon controls the cultural and intellectual base, such as education, think tanks, and major mode of mass communication in society; it is a world where he is objectified, defined and assigned a specific role and a status, and therefore learns to see himself from the eyes of the hegemon. He instinctively senses his instilled identity was an artificial creation and far from his authentic and alienated self; yet it is an uphill battle to fight against the force of deracialization in the other world as it also penetrates into Du Bois' own community and teaches Negroes to naturally accept their secondary, subjugated position vis-à-vis whites.

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[13] However, internal divisions do exist. For economic differences among African Americans, see Gatewood (2000), *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* and Graham (1999), *Our Kind of People: Inside America's Upper Class.*

What is missing in the new civil society model is the existence of "the other world" as seen from the African American community—"the generic society" in which the hegomon uses its symbolic, cultural and financial capital to create its own concept of society in which the otherized are made to feel like permanent "visitors." It is a world in which Du Bois and his fellow African Americans were expected to take the secondary place and unchangeable ready-made identities created for them, and expected not to talk back to the white discourses. One may argue Du Bois is merely a figure in remote history and that the sociopolitical environment in which he lived and those of African Americans today are far from identical. Such an argument is off the point in that the Du Boisean double-consciousness is still alive today, although scholars may be using different terms to express their twoness: "outsider-within" (Collins 1990, 1998), in which someone physically and legally is included in the mainstream society, but still feels a sense of not belonging there, not feeling comfortable, and not feeling accepted or visible to the others' eyes. Still, African Americans live in two different lifeworlds, their own community and "a generic society" that once was somebody else's lifeworld in which they were rendered ideologically invisible.

Therefore, how should this generic society be coded in today's America or in political science as it technically lost the meaning as the lifeworld of the racially privileged? It is a sphere of social as it covers activities outside of individual households, and at the same time be an "intermediate sphere." It is a sphere that stretches from the private to the collective, and from the collective to the public; it is a sphere that bridges "individuals" in an isolated cocoon-like private sphere and "individuals-in-relations" in varieties of associations—be it political or racial—in the public sphere and the collective

private sphere. African Americans, and other formerly otherized people alike, do not always live in their own collective private spheres; they also exist in a wider "society" that includes *all individuals* in the Untied States—but nonetheless not in equality. That is why Martin Delaney proclaimed the African American community as "a nation within a nation" rather than "a nation and a separate nation," and why Du Bois is torn between his two consciousnesses. This bifurcation indicates African Americans exist in the two different societies, one of their own collective private sphere, and the other being the "American society" which has been dominated by the white but has been changing toward a more inclusive society. It follows that for African Americans, daily interactions with other races in society are more inevitable than they were before in the segregated environment of the past. The intermediate sphere is where people just exist, coexist, interact, or on some days not interact with each other; it is a sphere where individuals just "exist" or are "chilling" without any particular purposes outside households. The intermediate sphere is where individuals just lead an everyday life and perform the simplest tasks of their daily routines in society with diverse people in the background, such as walk by strangers on the street, ride a subway to get to work, buy a café latte from Dunkin' Donuts, stop by at a post office, read a book in a library, go to a dentist, etc.. Individuals may act alone, but there is always the presence of others/strangers who may not directly interact with the individuals at a particular moment. It is just like in films in which the spotlight and focus are on the principal actors, but supernumeraries are also in the same frame walking, working and talking around them without being recognized by the principal actors. The intermediate sphere is where historically white civil associations were born—the kind of associations that are often and almost

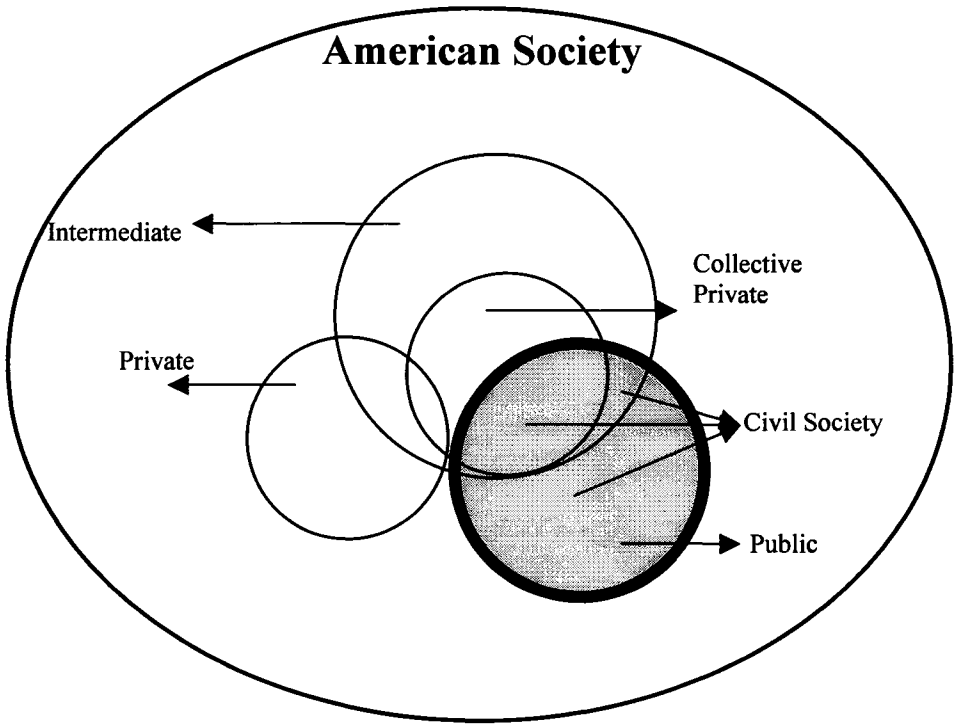
exclusively used in social capital/civil society studies in their initial stage. The sphere of social/intermediate is the last missing piece of the new concept of civil society that better reflects the reality in the United States and thus can better explain the location and composition of the contemporary civil society. By introducing the African American concept of community, the simple grand dichotomy was forced to transform itself into a more elaborate model with four distinct spheres.

4. Multicultural US Model of Civil Society

Putting these four spheres together, stirring them and *shuffling* them will produce a new model of civil society, the "multicultural US model" consisting of a public and its overlapping part of the collective private sphere, and thus a part of the intermediate sphere as it encompasses a collective private sphere. This is the answer for which this chapter has been searching: ***the American civil society springs up in the public sphere and its overlapping parts in the collective private and in the intermediate sphere.***

Now let us examine the civil society in Figure 3 that is encircled in bold. This single circle for civil society may give an erroneous impression that a civil society and each of the other spheres are all single unified spheres; however, it is important to note there are myriad of civil societies existing within "the civil society in America" just as there are many identity-based and interest-based civil societies existing in the United States today, as discussed in the collective private sphere. On any given day, there are many different civil societies coexisting while myriads of civil societies are

Figure 3. A Basic Unit in Multicultural US Model of Civil Society 2

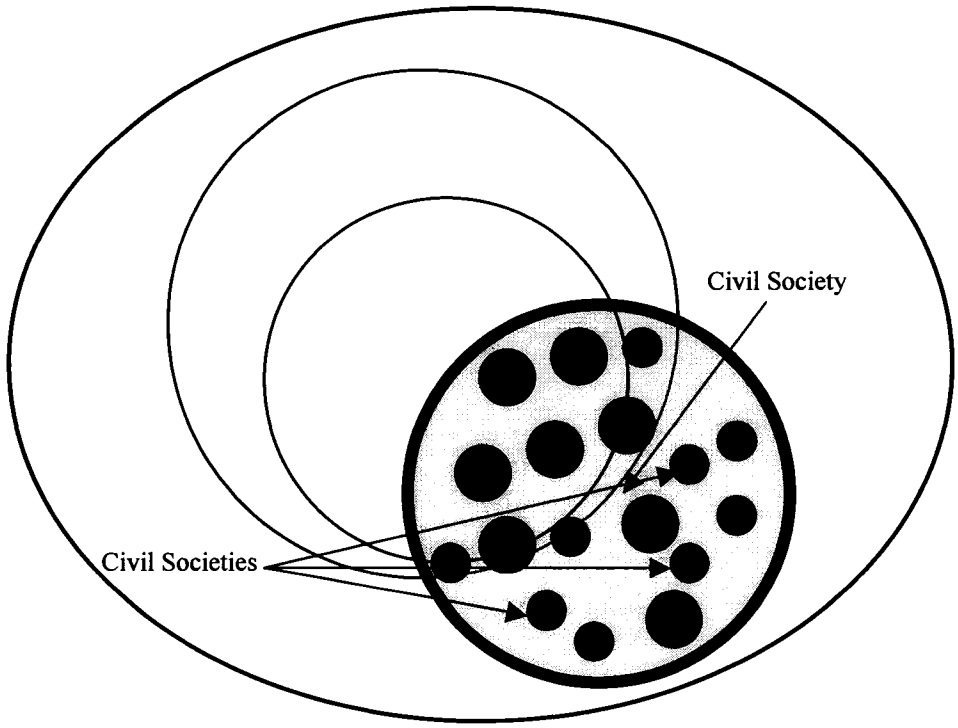


appearing, disappearing, and coalescing simultaneously in a *shapeless* fluid universe, which the above one-dimensional drawing could not quite capture. The United States may at times see "the civil society"—a product of multiple mergings of many different civil societies— but "the civil society" is not a permanent feature of the American society. Such unions change day-to-day depending on issues in question, as people are multidimensional, curious, and playful enough to "surf," "hop," or "visit" many civil societies. Within the American society, a large number of civil societies arise (Figure 4); a civil society for the hegemonic whites, for feminists, for gays, for Hispanics, for anti-war protesters, for animal rights supporters and many others. Some civil societies may be based on ascriptive characteristics, such as race and sexual orientation, while others nay be based on particular interests, such as gun-ownership or ethical treatment of animals.

Yet this study does not call these various civil societies as "underground", "sub" or "counter civil societies" vis-à-vis a traditional hegemonic civil society model used in many political science literatures, because defining them as such would tacitly support an idea that "other" civil societies exist solely to challenge the hegemonic civil society or to withdraw from the mainstream civil society, which may overlook an alternative raison d'être that may hold members of each civil society together.

Proponents of liberalism often misconstrue the concept that identity politics and multiculturalism are based on irreducible group identities that undermine individual agency and choices to form one's identity, and they fear that such inseparable affiliations with irreducible groups will lead America to domestic Balkanization. To the contrary, civil societies in the United States are not exactly static group-based civil societies: as this model shows, civil societies today are fluid and flexible in a space where individuals are free to make choices and decide whether or not to associate with any particular group. Even in the civil societies of ascriptive characteristics, a person may exercise his discretionary freedom to withdraw into his private sphere and not come out. In addition, as human beings are multidimensional beings, no one leads a one-dimensional life based on his one particular identity. Any given person has multiple identities that are the product of the intersections of race, class, gender, political orientation, sexual orientation and many more, so a person can choose to participate in many non-ascriptive civil societies. Depending on the issues most crucial to him at a particular moment in his life, he can visit or even move to a different civil society, or can create a new civil society with like-minded people. Therefore, what liberals fear—America breaking down into such irreducible identity based-groups—is unfounded, because one's affiliations and

Figure 4 Civil Society Magnified—Multiple Civil Societies



loyalties to particular groups are not always permanent. Civil societies are rather fluid, changeable, and relatively open: most civil societies are not closed to people who do not necessarily fit the primary description and characteristic of a unique unit.[14] In other words, all people can just "check it out" to see if they want to remain in a particular civil society. For example, there are a large number of straight people who support gay rights; they may not have the same experience or natural vantage points as an "authentic gay", however they are defined. Yet they can be a part of the gay civil society if they have learned to acquire through reading or from the experiences of family members, friends, or even strangers a vantage point similar to an "authentic gay", and if they understand their discourses and are committed to working toward pushing the agenda of the gay civil

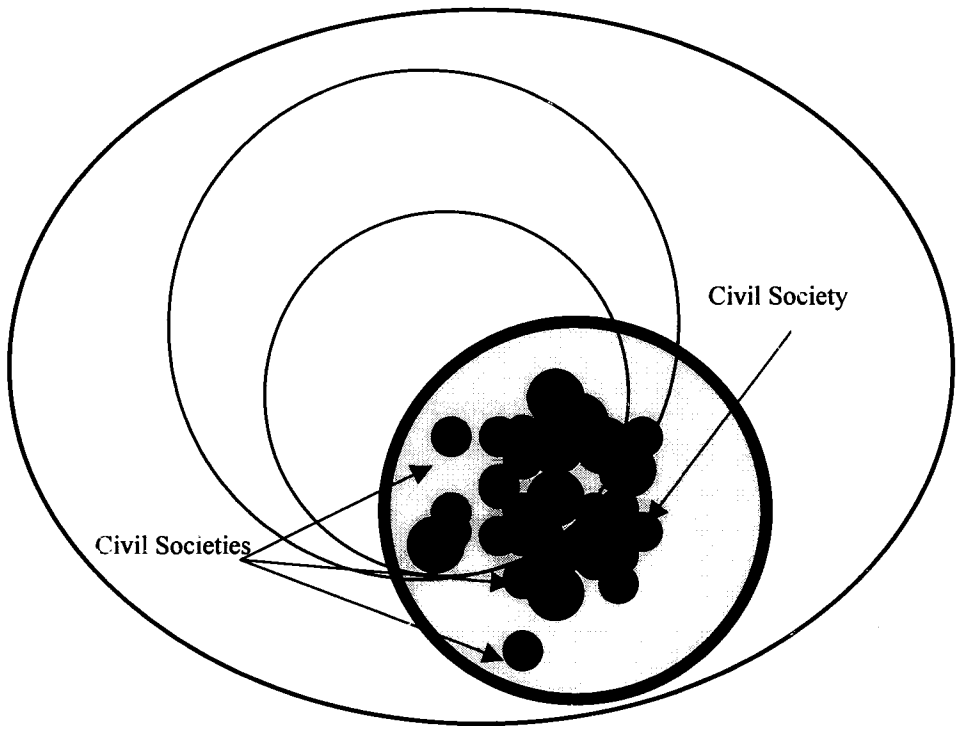
society. This is what multiculturalism is all about: being curious and daring to crisscross many boundaries.

As the American civil society today consists of a myriad of different civil societies floating and bouncing against each other in a shapeless universe, civil societies are not entirely harmonious, or orderly; the existence of disagreement is a fundamental feature of any civil society. For example, a gay civil society is not "the comprehensive unified gay civil society" because there are many differences existing even among "authentic gays" in terms of their political orientations, and thus they are still entitled to express their own preferences. It follows there are many gay civil societies, many feminist civil societies, and many African American civil societies popping up and coexisting, although they may quickly merge into single units (or like-minded coalitions) when an occasion arises. Thus, this model respects individual agency and the liberty of people to choose their own interests and identities while acknowledging the force of one's own ascriptive statuses to also shape one's identity.

Although civil societies may float and bounce against each other, they may also withdraw themselves from interacting with other civil societies until they find coalition partners or for as long as they want to maintain their low-key status. Fundamental Mormon polygamists and survivalist militias are a few examples of units that may withdraw into their own cocoons and emerge only when they want to form coalitions with like-minded people or when they seek publicity to further enhance their causes. Figure 5 depicts the coalitions of many different civil societies and represents the coming together of many units when an issue in question affects a large number of the U.S.

population regardless of political, racial or sexual orientation. For example, the terrorist attack on 9.11 and the show of patriotism and national solidarity afterwards—or at least

Figure 5 Civil Society Magnified—Unified Civil Societies



the overwhelming national attention to a single political issue--are examples of issues that have confronted the nation, and in turn drawn out many civil societies to provide a wider forum for political discourse and action. It is in a sense a multicultural civil society in which for example a black student and a white accountant who seemingly share nothing in common can nonetheless come together and denounce President Bush for invading Afghanistan. Yet after they leave the forum, these two individuals have the option to continue their association in the social sphere and the private sphere, or go back to their individual independent private lives. Likewise, it is a true multicultural civil society where a lesbian mother in a Blue State and an Evangelical mother in a Red State

form a rally to support the troops and their soldier daughters deployed to Kabul without knowing or questioning the other's identities. Yet after the rally is over, these two mothers will go back to their own lives without being forced to sit down to have supper together. It is entirely up to their discretion as this model reflects the reality in the United States in which the liberal individual rights to choose and protection of the private sphere stand above obligatory political correctness. But there may still be a possibility these two women of seemingly different identities would walk together to a nearby Starbucks Coffee to have espresso and kill time until they could catch cabs individually. This realistic model of civil society allows such flexibility for one to crisscross many different spheres, and at the same time it allows ambiguity in identifying one's exact special location while moving from one sphere to another. Where and when do these people leave the political sphere and enter the social sphere? It is when the rally ends, or is it when the two women stop talking about their common political issues—their daughters deployed to Afghanistan? This model allows such ambiguity surrounding the classification of human actions that cannot be easily defined as either political or personal, or personal or social. At the same time, this new or "real" civil society model reflects a potential that enables such a strange coalition even temporarily of a lesbian mother and an Evangelical mother by connecting them via a common cause beyond their differences.

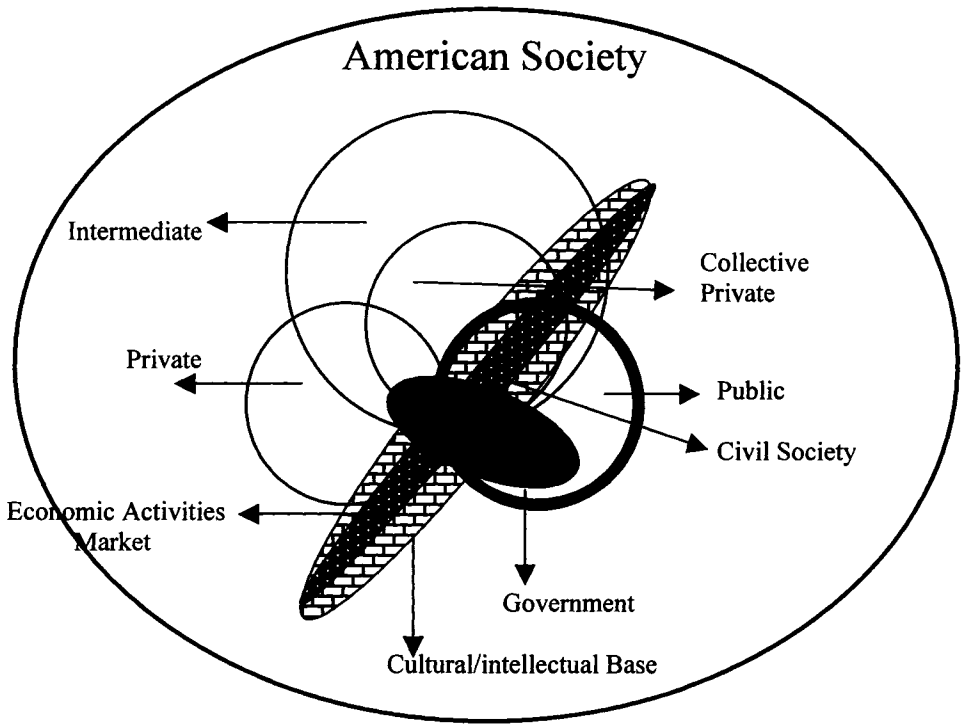
5. Explaining Each Sphere

Now that the location of civil society has become clear, let us move to the second question concerning the compositions of civil society. Let us begin with examining each of the four spheres in the Multicultural model of civil society and both their interactions with each other, and with civil society.

Table 1. Unit of Human Activities and Lifeworld

Sphere	Composition	Characteristics	Numbers
The Private	The Familial Sphere	Family life, reproduction, nurturing, intimacy, home-based small business, relaxation, etc.	Multiple
The Public	The Political Sphere	Participation in politics, voting, town meetings. Based on their common identity as citizens of the United States	Single
The Collective Private	The Social Sphere	Socializing. Safe haven for like-minded people. Based on particular ascriptive statuses or interests. It rises whenever and wherever such people meet. Not a permanent fixture. Flexible existence. Based on intrinsic sociability of human beings.	Multiple
The Intermediate	The Social Sphere	Outside of the familial sphere. Permanent fixture in this model. Just being; existing; doing daily routines; "chilling" without any purposes. Socializing. A source of bifurcated consciousness.	Single
Civil Society	Three Spheres	Can be found in the overlapping parts of the public, the collective private and the intermediary.	Multiple

Figure 6 Comprehensive Unit



- **The Private Sphere**

Just as multiple civil societies and multiple collective private spheres exist, logically multiple private spheres or households exist in the circle classified as "the private" in Figure 3. The private sphere partially overlaps the collective private sphere because the latter is an extension of the private sphere as seen in the African American concept of community; yet its role as a private sanctuary is protected from the public sphere and a civil society by its special separation from the two, which would satisfy proponents of liberalism who wish to protect the private sphere from what they allege to be state aggression. On other hand, feminist groups may question the separation of the public and private on the grounds of reclaiming its slogan, "personal is political." As discussed in the previous section, as the private is a sanctuary for individuals and

families, the special separation from the public sphere keeps the private essentially intact from political scrutiny. Yet these two spheres stand adjacent to each other and are bridged by the legal system or particular functions of the government. For example, domestic violence, child abuse, and medicinal use of marijuana essentially take place in the private sphere or a private sanctuary, yet they have become political issues of public concern precisely because they are discussed and publicized in the collective private sphere and civil societies with anti-measures legislated in the public sphere. Thus these private activities prohibited by law provide a legitimate reason for law enforcement officers to cross into the private sphere and intervene with private matters. This should not be confused with the invasion of the political into the private sphere, as such alleged invasions are not limitless. When to intervene, what to intervene about, and how much to intervene are types of agendas that have been and will be vigorously discussed in the collective private sphere, civil societies and the public sphere to shape public policy to reflect the popular will. In this sense, the influence of government, not its location, stretches from the public sphere to the private sphere as seen in Figure 6. This model also reflects the reality in which the public sphere and the government/the state are not essentially identical.

- **The Public Sphere**

The public and the collective private overlap in part because collective social activities can be easily transformed into political activities and vice versa as mentioned in the concept of African American community. Differing from the concepts of civil society, private, or collective private, the public sphere in the United States today takes a single form, as it has been so in the liberal model of the public-private dichotomy.

However, what is to be defined as political has been a continuous discussion in the civil society and the public sphere, which indicates the boundary is not permanently fixed. The public sphere is an accessible arena where politics, political discourses and decision-making take place that affect all the U.S. citizens and non-U.S. citizens alike; it is formerly a sphere of citizens, or "people *defined* as citizens," which is why it has been historically been a hierarchical and exclusionary place of the white middle class men that restricted access by certain segments of population at various times. It has gradually changed to be more inclusive, with such a change being attributable to the force of the various social movements in the civil societies of the past. Various collectives in the collective private spheres used a cultural/intellectual base (Figure 6), such as mass communication, to publicize their discourses in the civil society and the public sphere, push the government to be more responsive to their needs, expose national shame, and persuade the white sympathizers to rectify injustice done to the otherized. The rise in educational attainments by women and minorities made it easier for them to gain access to the cultural/intellectual bases such as higher education, think-tanks and mass communication that use symbolic capital to "manufacture" public opinion and discourses. The rise in income level also played a part in purchasing an access to the cultural/intellectual base, especially as mass communication (including commercial spots and broadcasting stations) publicized emancipatory discourses. The rise in Internet access today also makes it even easier for the formerly "otherized people" to convey their discourses, although race/gender-based comparative study of computer access still indicates inequalities. In this sense, this model can explain changes that have been taking place in the civil societies as well as in the public sphere.

Some scholars advocate multiple public spheres and argue that a single public sphere is oppressive or masculinist idea that justifies the hegemonic domination of the whites while neglecting the history of other public spheres such as the omen's public sphere and African American public sphere (Fraser 1992; Ray 1992; Eley 1992; Ryan 1992; the black public sphere collective 1994; Dawson 1994, 2001; Davidoff 1995; Landes 1995). Although it does not intend to justify the domination of the white hegemonic public sphere, this model still sustains a single public sphere concept. This is not a normative idealized model of civil society that one wants for the future or in an ideal world, but this is a model that reflects the reality of the United States in the 21st century in a country still marked by structural and ascriptive inequalities. This model was not created to sanitize the reality but rather to mirror it so that a real location of civil society in the United States today can be found.

Second, both Fraser and Dawson begin their respective reasoning with a premise that women and African Americans were excluded from the bourgeois/hegemonic public sphere, yet the history of the United States reveal many incidents in which women and minorities led social movements, such as the civil rights, suffrage and women's club movements. Those incidents are also presented as evidence to support the concept that women's and African American's public spheres have existed in the United States. The problem with this logic is that the argument never clearly defines what the public sphere is supposed to be or what functions are assigned to the bourgeois/hegemonic sphere other than excluding the "others." Are there any particular functions assigned to the public sphere? What makes a public sphere a public sphere and what makes it different from the social sphere and the private sphere? For example, Dawson acknowledges the significant

political roles black churches have beyond doubt historically played, but fails to address the other roles the same churches have taken in the past: the center of socializing, safe haven, and nurturance of children are some of the functions that cannot be classified as simply political (Dawson 2001, 35). There are many minority formal institutions and informal associations that have played multiple functions across many spheres to serve the otherized people. Must they all put into the counterpublic sphere? Did women in the women's club movement only stage protests and discuss politics? Or were their activities more diverse? Did they include socializing? Did the women share recipes for quick dinners after hours spent outside the home engaging in politics?

In addition, this new model rejects the multiple public sphere thesis on the ground that those multiple public spheres depicted in Fraser and Dawson are something similar to the ideas of the multiple collective private spheres in the new model. The collective private spheres in the new model perform some of the same functions attributed to the multiple public sphere in their respective models such as creating alternative discourses, engaging in political activities, using mass media in the cultural/ideological base to publicize their messages, and pushing the government to be more responsive to their particular interests (Fraser 1992; Dawson 1994, 2001). Yet the new model does not call the collective privates sphere as alternative multiple public spheres as the multiple public spheres in their model do not always function publicly or politically. Rather such counterpublic spheres function as a social sphere where for example, like-minded feminists let their hair down and create a comfortable sphere of their own to relax where they do not have to put on their public personas—which is essentially different from engaging in politics or *public activities* in the public sphere. Nancy Fraser argues that

counterpublic spheres "function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment" as well as a training ground for "agitation activities" (1991, 124). However contrary to Fraser's argument, the public sphere cannot be a place for collective withdrawal precisely because it is a *public* sphere where one needs to be visible and articulate to further one's causes. Formerly otherized people in the public sphere do not have the luxury to drop all political acts at once and withdraw into another *public* sphere (counterpublic sphere) and contemplate regrouping. It is not a place of collective withdrawal; the public is a sphere of collective as well as individual contentions and cooperation.

The public sphere is a contention space as power including symbolic capital and financial capital has never been equally distributed among political agents in the United States. One has a choice either to keep one's mouth shut or to act. If one belongs to a privileged group and can afford to be inactive, then sitting silently or withdrawing even momentarily could be a choice. But if one is not a member of the privileged group, then one must keep on fighting against injustice for what he truly believes he deserves. A person does not take a rest in the public sphere, but rather in the collective private sphere or the private sphere. In other words, the public sphere is an Arendtian sphere of actions and politically calculated inactions, but not a sphere of non-actions that are essentially some of the characteristics attributed to the collective private sphere. Therefore, this new model rejects the multiple public sphere thesis: it is not the public sphere but the collective private sphere that is incapable of being counted.

These emancipatory scholars who support multiple public spheres are trying hard to deconstruct the existing liberal framework by adding something innovative at the same time, but they are still unable to escape from the existing dichotomy of the public and the

private, the very foundation of liberalism that had historically rendered women and minorities invisible in political discourses. What restricts human activities in the grand dichotomy? Why not go beyond liberalism to find a more realistic model of human lifeworlds?

- **The Collective Private Sphere**

This section only briefly reviews the characteristics of this sphere as it was discussed extensively in section 3 of this chapter. Just as the collective private sphere partially overlaps the political sphere, it also partly encompasses the private sphere. Family matters such as intimacy, reproduction, planning the future etc. take place in this private sphere, as do social and family gathering that cannot be strictly classified in the private or the social. As there are many groups existing in the Untied States, the collective private sphere takes a plural form. There are many collective spheres, such as those for African Americans, feminists, gun-owners, immigrants, etc.; even within such categories, numerous groups exist that have different takes on sociopolitical and economic issues. Therefore, the collective private sphere can be called a sphere of plurality and spontaneity.

- **The Intermediate Sphere**

Contrary to the collective private sphere, the intermediate sphere takes a single form as it exists and absorbs all in the United States regardless of race, gender, class, age, immigration status, or other social, political or ideological cleavages. It is a sphere within which activities take place that cannot be simply classified as either political or private. It is a sphere of the social that bridges the collective private sphere and the

familial sphere. The intermediate sphere can be construed as a "mainstream society," as in "the mainstream society vs. an African American concept of society." In other words, the intermediate sphere was formerly a sphere of the social as well as the collective private sphere for the hegemonic whites as in the public sphere, and that is why residual inequalities still exist as a form of societal prejudice and discrimination that permeates many spheres. Factors to explain the emancipatory changes that took place in the public sphere are also applicable to the intermediate sphere.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has answered the three fundamental issues raised in Chapters I and III, namely by setting forth the utilities of bringing in new perspectives to mainstream political science from formerly under-researched subjects, namely the African American politics tradition, as well as by discussing the location and compositions of civil society in the United States in the 21st century. The product of such an endeavor has led us to a new concept of civil society that is more realistic and pays attention to the multidimensionality of human identities and human lifeworlds in a uniquely American social, cultural and political context. The new model is composed of a unit consisting of four spheres, one of which is called a collective private sphere that is based on the African American concept of community to better reflect the fluidity of human actions and intrinsic human nature and desire to belong together with other human beings of similar ascriptive characteristics and interests. Bringing in just a single concept from the other's vantage point has forced the existing concept of civil society to change dramatically to accommodate a new perspective. This is what the multiculturalism utility

thesis is all about, as something that is both useful to existing studies and creates something new by combining many different perspectives. It goes far beyond just adding and sprinkling "difference variables" in research, or just examining political behavior and social movements in different ascriptive groups and juxtaposing them with those of white middle class men. The objectives of introducing new perspectives lie in combining different vantage points; synthesizing new ideas, and *sharing* such new ideas with those who are not yet exposed to decentered perspectives. That is an example of what bringing in multicultural perspectives in American political science in the 21st century can be.

Chapter VII
Conclusion
Declaration of Epistemological Independence

1. A Brief Summery

This dissertation began with two simple inquiries in the introductory chapter: why does political science lag behind in accommodating studies of race in its field, and why is it necessary to embrace it? It is convenient, yet too simplistic to blame everything on racism as the source of marginalization of African Americans in political science literature. Instead, this research turned its attention to the world of epistemology and examined who defines what is legitimate or appropriate to study in political science; who controls and maintains the process of knowledge production; what kinds of power or resources are used to legitimize or subjugate particular knowledge; how political science as a discipline has developed into what it is with respect to its ideological and scholastic orientations; how African Americans are defined in "the (legitimate) knowledge;" and how African American political scientists have approached their dual marginalization in the discipline as both political scientists and research subjects. Ultimately, it all came down to an issue of power and control in the realm of epistemology, in which mainstream symbolic capitalists have historically enjoyed an exclusive right to reject particular political issues, research agendas, and particular segments of population as non-issues.

Through such multidimensional studies, this research found it is not racism but *epistemological racism* that manifested itself in excluding African Americans

from the scope of political inquiry. Political science as a discipline in the United States was born in the late 19th century and consolidated its status as an independent and legitimate discipline in the early 20th century by the establishment of the American Political Science Association in 1903 and the publication of its flagship journal, *American Political Science Review*, in 1906. Through such outlets, "the Founding Fathers" of the discipline sent "suggestions" to their peers concerning desirable political science curricula, textbooks, Ph.D. requirements, and official subfields and defined the boundary of political science as they saw fit. Industrialist-philanthropists were more than eager to extend their financial assistance to the discipline as the young nation encountered unprecedented political problems (such as the Reconstruction, rise of the labor movement, and influx of immigrants to urban areas) that threatened the existing political and economic structure of the society. Thus, "the tradition of political science" concerning the academic and ideological boundaries was created and passed on to the next generation as a given. By the time Ralph Bunche, the first African American political scientist, entered the professional field of political science, the rules of the game were already set, with African Americans already being defined as problems and issues who were rendered invisible and apolitical in studies of political science. African American pioneers –or the disciplinary latecomers—found themselves in an uphill battle not only to survive in white-dominated academia, but also to reshape the disciplinary boundary to be more inclusive. Without comparable symbolic capital of their own, the minority forebears were not in any position to help redress epistemological racism or change the scope of political inquiry immediately to make African

American politics (or empowering African Americans and their community) a part of political science in the United States.

The second question in this dissertation examined why it is important to embrace different perspectives (i.e., African American perspectives) in political science. Is it to redress injustice in the past so that minority scholars feel included and welcomed in the discipline? Is it an issue of fairness? Or is it to enforce political correctness so that the discipline of political science can cast itself as a vanguard force to enlighten citizens about being more tolerant in multicultural America? Such arguments have pushed people into "multiculturalism fatigue" in that both proponents and opponents of multiculturalism have not yet find a common ground to initiate a rational, constructive and mutually beneficial discussion on the fundamental significance of embracing different perspectives. Is a new approach therefore needed to go beyond the conventional approach to redress past injustice or enforce political correctness? What could be a mutually beneficial "common ground" that is less controversial and could satisfy *both* the opponents and proponents of multiculturalism?

The final part of this dissertation presented an answer to the riddle: bringing in different perspectives is desirable because of its utility in potentially being able to answer questions the existing framework of study is unable to address. In other words, multiculturalism is useful and beneficial to researchers regardless of race, gender, or sexual orientation as it introduces new perspectives that can help them synthesize new concepts, new models, new theories and ultimately new solutions and public policies that no other scholars have previously formulated. If a

conventional liberal conception of man being a rational utility-maximizer holds true, taking advantage of utilities for their own sake can be a strong incentive for researchers. Regardless of motivations, new solutions and new public policies that researchers would create by combining their own and "different perspectives" would have far-reaching effects on a wider population outside the discipline and academia.

To prove this point, this dissertation used social capital/civil society studies as an example and demonstrated how bringing in such a simple idea as the "African American concept of 'community' in their bifurcated consciousness" can change the existing framework of social capita/civil society and better reflect the reality in 21st century America. Instead of an archaic and one-dimensional civil society, the real civil society that is based on a newly synthesized model consists of multiple civil societies that people can crisscross freely. Human beings are liberated from the suffocatingly old-fashioned public and private dichotomy and now (as in reality) live in multiple spheres, including the collective private sphere born out of human sociability and in part irreducible personal/groups identities. The new model liberated political science and human beings from "the political" as it better reflects the multidimensional nature of humans and the ambiguous nature of the spheres of human activities that cannot be strictly defined as political or private. This "African American perspectives and social capital/civil society studies" is purely an academic exercise demonstrating to the community of political scientists a new multicultural/multidisciplinary approach to political science. Yet there are many combinations of perspectives and issues still left to be explored, which would

immediately affect public policy making, bringing perspectives from American Muslims in analyzing security and liberty in the United States; perspectives from gays and lesbians in revising a "mainstream" concept of marriage; and perspectives from the economic underclass in envisioning new public policies on disaster relief. In this way, different perspectives grounded on different identities, vantage points and experiences can make a vital contribution to mainstream political science that is otherwise slow to recognize the significance of such aspects or the differences existing between mainstream and the "different traditions" within political science, such as between white middle-class men and the rest.

2. The State of the Discipline

How should we assess the state of the discipline and its future with respect to the progress made by the formerly otherized? It is true their struggles as a numerical and epistemological minority in the APSA and their underrepresentation in mainstream political science journals still continue as the 100-year-old national organization serves as a virtual national clearance house for all matters concerning political science. For example, in the last 15 years, only 5.75% of articles in the seven mainstream journals carried articles on African American politics, and only 4% of the 2004 US APSA members identified themselves as being African American. Furthermore, the African American Ph.D and ABD are less likely to secure academic positions than their counterparts of different colors. However, it is important to remember only one generation has passed since African American

political scientists declared independence from the national organization and began building a new academic infrastructure catered for their needs. As they rode the wave of the civil rights movement, frustrated African American political scientists revolted against the APSA establishment and founded the NCOBPS (National Conference of Black Political Scientists), their own national organization for mutual assistance. They sought not just a physical independence from the national organization, but also epistemological independence from the tradition of political science that tacitly encouraged them to alienate themselves from their own knowledge. It was this declaration of epistemological independence that would enable them to reject the consciousness imposed on them and define themselves as they should be defined, thereby allowing them to talk back to the elite discourse in the mainstream that subjugated their vantage points.

What lessons can political scientists in general and the other "otherized" learn from this experience? First of all, political scientists should not imprison themselves in "the tradition of political science" or the concept of "the political," but rather should be curious and playful in venturing out into unchartered territories. "The tradition" in political science is not a mythical creation but a human creation: the rules of the game were artificially drafted and passed on to the next generation as given through Bourdieuan "pedagogic action" or "symbolic violence," which is why it is always possible to construct a new tradition to go beyond the existing boundary. For the sake of accuracy, what researchers need is a commitment to see American society not from the center alone, but also from what the center sees as peripheral. It does not matter if they are white or male or heterosexual as they can

always acquire different perspectives by reading literature, engaging in conversations with the formerly marginalized people, and visiting with curiosity their collective private spheres. Likewise, researchers do not have to be African American to study African American politics, nor do they have to be female to study women and politics. In fact, African American political scientists who study African American politics alone or female political scientists who study women and politics alone may only be seeing a partial picture of the United States just as white political scientists do in seeing from the center alone. Until researchers can make a commitment to liberate themselves from the old boundary of political science and learn to acquire different vantage points, from their partial vantage points they can only see a partial picture of American society inhabited by a partial population of the United States. It is time mainstream political scientists stopped using the white middle class male experience as the American experience and classifying others as an anomaly when their white middle class male perspectives fail to explain the experiences of the formerly otherized.

Second, those outsiders-within also need to make a commitment to further bring their different perspectives in political science, present them to the wider world, and be aware of their responsibility as vanguards coming from the formerly marginalized groups. Even if they may refuse to recognize the otherness in themselves, they cannot escape from the fact their worldviews are partially shaped by their experiences as the formerly marginalized. Just as the African American pioneers bore the burden of creating an academic infrastructure and environment in which the next generation can prosper, the still outnumbered outsiders-within in

political science are collectively responsible for engaging in a "PR" (public relations) campaign—publicizing utilities of multiculturalism by using their scholastic works—to make certain other researchers in academia recognize utilities of different perspectives, and thereby put to rest the idea that multiculturalism means merely correcting past injustice or enforcing political correctness.

"There is an old proverbial tale about a son who asked his father why it was that in all the stories he has read about lion and men fighting in the jungles, the lion always loses. The father replied, 'Son, it will always be that way until the lion learns how to write" (Smithermann-Donaldson and van Dijk 1988, 145). As far as political science is concerned, the lions have learned how to write, and established various new journals for the formerly marginalized and the rest, such as *Women and Politics; National Political Science Review; Du Boise Review; Journal of Gender, Race and Justice;* and *New Political Science,* to name only some. However, often-used library databases including JSTOR do not carry these journals, and their visibility remains still quite limited in the mainstream. Yet those formerly otherized have succeeded in creating their own collective private spheres and scholastic outlets through which to generate symbolic capital and publicize their own discourses. Smart lions have even learned how to conduct consciousness-raising or make a coalition, if necessary, with like-minded lions who felt isolated and defeated. They began to roar collectively and will keep roaring until it will become a natural feature of the jungle. Best of all, they can now deconstruct "the tradition" and "the political" and define themselves in any way they wish in political science. "The Declaration of Epistemological Independence" is thus proclaimed.

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