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Black and White people are more alike than they are different, but group-level differences in motivation and world view have led to power imbalance between the two groups. Prototypical White societies, northern-European, developed societies that assigned highest value to mental abilities associated with control over nature and dominance. Prototypical Black societies, Africans, assigned highest value to mental abilities associated with harmony with nature and communality. Consequently, Whites would rise to a position of dominance in the intergroup with Blacks.

Whites, therefore, would also dominate social sciences and would establish themselves as the standards of excellence against which other people would be measured. In the process, they also established a set of rules that would perpetuate their dominant position. The hegemony of positivist philosophy, which is an extension of northern-European values, is buttressed by the myth of objectivity - denial of the inevitable presence of ideology and bias in social science inquiry.

Since the cost of membership in the social science establishment is acceptance of positivist philosophy and blindness to the myth of objectivity, powerful forces discourage full development of a contrary Black-oriented philosophy of social science. Contrary views are labeled as non-scientific and are summarily rejected. The resultant ethnocentric blindness prevents development of a balanced White-Black dialectic that can yield the negotiated perception of truth that is needed to improve the social contract between Black and White people within organizations and within this country.

TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE
FOR BLACK - WHITE STUDIES¹

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August 20, 1984

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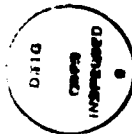
ABSTRACT

This paper explores apparent phenotypical differences between White and Black people at the group level; explains how ethnocentricity in social science leads to inappropriate understanding of the significance of observed differences; and sets forth a way of understanding differences that would be more effective in promoting constructive intergroup relations.

Black and White people are more alike than they are different, but group-level differences in motivation and world view have led to power imbalance between the two groups. Prototypical White societies, northern-European, developed societies that assigned highest value to mental abilities associated with control over nature and dominance. Prototypical Black societies, Africans, assigned highest value to mental abilities associated with harmony with nature and communality. Consequently, Whites would rise to a position of dominance in the intergroup with Blacks.

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Since the cost of membership in the social science establishment is acceptance of positivist philosophy and blindness to the myth of objectivity, powerful forces discourage full development of a contrary Black-oriented philosophy of social science. Contrary views are labeled as non-scientific and are summarily rejected. The resultant ethnocentric blindness prevents development of a balanced White-Black dialectic that can yield the negotiated perception of truth that is needed to improve the social contract between Black and White people within organizations and within this country.



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TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE FOR BLACK-WHITE STUDIES

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the quality and nature of phenotypical differences between Black people and White people at the group level, and to explore the implications of these differences for behavioral science scholarship. This paper sets forth concepts and propositions that may provide epistemological underpinnings for new methodology in studying Black-White relations and studying Black behavior within the context of predominantly White settings.

This paper builds upon a base set by Black scholars such as Nobles (1972), Cedric X. (1973), Jones (1973), and Boykin (1977) on the one hand; and White scholars such as Hegel (1807), von Bertalanffy (1968) and Alderfer (1982) on the other. Thus the style utilized here bridges both positivist and intuitive modes of inquiry. This eclectic style is reflective of the ambivalence of the Black scholar operating in Eurocentric environments which predictably are unfriendly and unsupportive of attempts to escape from the methodological bonds of positivist philosophy. With this constraint in mind, concepts, propositions and hypotheses presented here are drawn equally from empirical data, intuition and dialectic open-systems theory.

I have not permitted myself to be limited by extant rules for inquiry because of my concern that positivist empiricism tends to reproduce itself. This is to suggest that European methodology has an ideology (Habermas, 1975), and this ideology differs from my own. In taking this position I affirm the ineluctable presence of ideology in social science research, and reject the myth of "scientific objectivity" as a guiding force. One of my major goals in this inquiry is to question monolithic European methods, and to open new ways of looking at old problems. I will leave it to the reader to judge the usefulness and validity of this attempt.

Need for a more fully developed Black Philosophy of Social Science

A Black oriented philosophy of social science is needed because it is unrealistic to expect that the dominant group would establish rules that would permit subordinate groups to gain equal advantage (Mannheim, 1936). Instead, we would expect the dominant group to establish rules and philosophy that make it extraordinarily difficult for other interpretations of events, methods of inquiry, or understandings of reality to gain credence or influence. Black people and other racial minorities in the U.S. have been taught to speak, think and understand through the language, rules, images, symbols and cognitive processes of the dominant group -- to the extent that Black people can no longer fully separate their cognitive selves from the dominant group mind.* Even when we (Black people) develop our own images of ourselves we must use "their" symbols in order to communicate what we see.

Black people in America appear to have two basic reference points for understanding events or conceptualizing issues: indirectly through the eyes of White America, or directly through the eyes of Black America encapsulated by White America. Thus when Black people look at Africans (or Indians) they see images not substantially different from the images White America sees. There is an acculturation gap between the Black social position and the Black psyche; and despite Black-White social separation, many parts of the "Black mind" have been encapsulated by the "White mind".

It is almost as though our (Black people's) socialization has led us to see Africans in Africa as being of a different race from ourselves -- as though "they" were a people who were linked to us historically but still different from us in very fundamental ways. So, Black Americans must deal

* Blacks and other minorities have made significant contributions that have modified the group mind, but those contributions are seldom appropriately acknowledged and are often ignored.

with a duality in which they must struggle to integrate their social-psychological realities with their vastly different bio-genetic realities. Blacks are constantly tempted by the compelling possibilities of assimilating within the larger corporate America, but are constantly reminded that they are viewed as being different i.e., that they are viewed as unwelcome resident Africans who should "go back where they came from."

In the past many Black and White people have refused to accept the notion that Black people are substantively different from White people; perhaps because they have readily accepted the related notion that to be different is to be inferior. This paper questions the wisdom and validity of both these positions, and presents a potentially constructive new conceptual approach. Since positive outcomes to conflict require an open mind and a willingness to negotiate fairly, it is hoped that what is presented will be of equal importance to Black and White people.

Propositions

In order to provide a context for understanding the theory and discussion sections of this paper, I have reversed the normal order of presentation. I begin with a delineation of the propositions that are basic to my theoretical position, and then present "evidence" that validates and is validated by the propositions.

1. Black-White interactions can be best understood using an open-systems frame of reference in which truth is derived from a dialectic between polar opposites (Tucker, 1978).*

* For the purposes of this paper other racial groups may be conceptualized as representations of the syntheses derived from the Black-White dialectic. Articulation of this complex set of non-linear relationships goes beyond the scope of this paper. The reader is invited to make appropriate extrapolations.

2. As a result of different developmental histories and extant status differences, there are measurable phenotypical (rather than genetic) differences in mental functioning between Black and White people as groups.* The White group apparently has an advantage in technological areas, and the Black group has an advantage in spiritual areas.**
3. Trait variance in mental functioning among individuals within each group, however, is invariably substantially larger than trait variance between groups. Item two above does little to help us predict the potential of any given Black or White individual. Further, despite displayed (phenotypical) differences, it would not be reasonable to assume that Black and White groups have un-equal potential in cognition, spirituality, or other mental functioning areas (Williams, 1971; Goldsby, 1971).

It is more likely that the inclination or motivation to concentrate on one area more than the other is transmitted culturally through ritual and a complex set of social and cultural reward systems.

* See Scarr, 1981 for data and arguments that support this line of reasoning.

** Spirituality defined:

- a. Sense of connectedness with all people and all life forces in the universe, and a belief that thoughts and actions that are harmonious with those energy forms represent ultimate good and the highest expression of intelligence. (also see Mbiti, 1970 and Pasteur and Toldson, 1982.)
- b. Tendency to seek truth and define reality through intuitive processes.
- c. Cosmic intelligence, rhythm with natural forces, and communality leading to enlightened ecological balance.

4. The origins of mental testing in the United States were associated with racist objectives that had little to do with a desire to seek truth. (Sarason, 1981). Consequently, establishment of differential social practices and social policy based upon assumed Black-White intellectual differences tend to be political rather than intellectual decisions (Spuhler and Lindzey, 1967).
5. Phenotypical differences between groups may be a consequence of differences in motivation developed over time in response to the survival demands of different environments.*
6. These motivational differences have led to a technological gap between Black and White groups, and this gap provides the basic underpinnings for White dominance.
7. As the dominant group, Whites have selected the cognitive style and the methodology by which both Whites and Blacks would understand reality. Anthropologically, this style and this methodology springs from European rather than African experience. Working under a power disadvantage, Black people are forced to compete under White terms and with a White methodology that automatically puts them under a competitive disadvantage. Consequently, the ordering of values in the society provides greatest rewards in areas of White strengths and lesser rewards in areas where Blacks would be in the best position to compete (Jones, 1972). Thus higher value is given to quantitative methods, "standardized" tests, and cognitive process than to qualitative methods, human relations skills, and intuitive processes.

* For our purposes motivation refers to drives that are generated in response to problems and opportunities presented by the physical environment. Over time those drives that are most adaptive, (and associated behaviors), tend to be incorporated into the values system of a given society - and persist as norms even after they have lost much of their original utilitarian value.

8. Theoretically, a separate Black sub-society within the U.S. could eventually equal or exceed a White sub-society in terms of quality and substance. Since it is unlikely that the politics and power distribution in the U.S. will permit this development; however, Black people are compelled to seek rapprochement with White society. Since Black people will never peacefully accept second class citizenship, Whites must also seek rapprochement with Blacks.
9. Black progress in the U.S. will be limited as long as Blacks accept White terms and White values in measuring the differences between groups (e.g., accepting the debate about I.Q. tests as a meaningful argument, rather than a political argument). This is not to suggest that Black students or scholars should ignore or reject out of hand those parts of White science that are almost universally applicable. It is to say, however, that there may be more than one way to reach an understanding or achieve a goal, and that different approaches may work better for different groups of people.

Black people should be aware of the strengths as well as the weaknesses and limitations of European social science. Of course, Whites must also become more willing to acknowledge and validate Black contributions to knowledge and culture.
10. Black progress in the U.S., and human progress in general, will in many ways depend upon Blacks' ability to develop a Black oriented social science and philosophy which is congruent with Black motivation structure and strengths. This will provide the base for seeking a mutually respectful dialectic interaction with Whites, leading to a dialectally derived truth and value system, both of which incorporate the best each group has to offer (Tucker, 1978;).

In this process Blacks must avoid the old style coalitions, such as many of those with labor and White liberals, which tended to break down when White priorities and views of reality were challenged. These must be replaced by new coalitions that are based upon appreciation and respect for differences.

11. We cannot understand Black-White dynamics or make comparisons by studying either group in isolation. Instead, we must attempt to understand the dynamics of the relationship - who and what we are in relationship to each other.
12. Since the seat of White power, and therefore world power, is in the U.S., and since Afro-Americans are rooted in the U.S.; Black Americans are situated in the best position to temper White aggression and modify White thrusts which may eventually lead to destruction of the world through ecological or nuclear disaster. Equally important, since Black people appear to be more highly motivated in the spiritual sphere, Black Americans may be in the best position to initiate the dialectic which may prevent emergence of a racial Armageddon.

These are the basic propositions this paper deals with. I will now present the background of theory, observation, inference, intuition and empirical data which provide the basic underpinnings for these propositions.

Roots of the Intergroup Conflict

When Europeans and Africans met on the West Coast of Africa in the 15th century, it was predictable that this intergroup relationship would eventually result in intractable conflict (Tucker, 1972; Jones 1972). The great African

Nations of Ghana and Mali had moved toward decline and the center of West African civilization had moved eastward to Songhay (Bennet, 1973). Even Songhay had begun a period of decline, and West African civilization in general was suffering from relative isolation from the rest of the world.

The meeting between Africa and Europe at this time was marked by contrasts in military organization and technological development. In the ensuing conflict, one group would emerge as master and the other would emerge as slave. These positions of dominance and subordination in various forms have persisted for more than five centuries.

The basic conflict was the clash between the proclivities and interests of a high-technology, low-spirituality, high-acquisitive culture motivated to gain control over nature; and a low-technology, high-spirituality, gregarious culture which sought harmony with nature (see Figure 1). Having survived in a hostile environment, the former group saw man as the center of the universe. The other, having learned to co-exist with a relatively beneficent environment, saw man as an integral part of a harmonious whole. Thus as a developmental response to the different survival demands of their environments, the two groups would evolve different value and motivation systems.

Consequently, the norms and values of one group would be instrumental, while the norms and values of the other would be expressive. One group would focus on things and competition, while the other group would focus on people and sharing. Intergroup conflict was, therefore, inevitable. In the end the instrumentally-oriented, high-technology group would gain dominance, and that group has maintained that dominant position over the centuries.

FIGURE 1

Group Characteristics Derived From Group Motivation*

Group	European:	African:
Motivation:	Control Over Nature	Harmony With Nature
Qualities:	Dissonance with environment High technology Empiricism/positivism Concrete Physics Value things Hard language (e.g., German) God as extension of man Individualism -Predatory (survival of the fittest) Aggression = quick attack	Rhythm with environment High ecology Intuition Spiritual Meta-physics Value people Soft language (e.g., Swahili) God in all things (Pan-entheism) Communalism-sharing (survival of the tribe) Aggression = threat gesture
Consequences:	Dominant people carve out more than their fair share of the Earth's resources, and as a result there is a shortage for other people and other living things; thus poverty, ecological disruption, environmental pollution and decay, fuel shortages, global war and atomic annihilation -- moving the entire planet toward entropy and disarray. - Lower Life expectancy for the world	Less materialistic standard of living and more naturalistic health care (compared to European standards). Decrement in the technology of communications, and decreased emphasis on development of the natural sciences. Lowered quality of life for privileged groups. - Lower life expectancy for people.

* Extrapolated from Philosophical "Aspects of Cultural Difference;" part of a series of presentations made by Edwin J. Nichols (1973, Washington D. C.) Dr. Nichol's work has not been published in the ordinary European sense, but has been passed on in a powerful way through the African oral tradition - a series of presentations to Black scholars.

Dr. Nichol's original work included a section on Asians that is not included in this dichotomized representation.

The central question that Black and White intellectuals have been struggling with over the centuries is how to account for the differences in development between the two groups. For the European group the answer was quite simple: Africans should be categorized as a different human sub-group - a sub-group inherently inferior to Europeans (Tucker, 1972).

That was the European answer in 1443, and this answer has maintained life over time and across European cultures as the power and technology gap between the races has widened. During the 18th and 19th Century, this notion of White superiority provided powerful foils for the liberal notions flowing out of the French Revolution. Under these liberal notions slavery appeared to be incongruent with democracy. In the end, however, even the most notable egalitarians such as Jefferson and Lincoln, by word or by deed, would make clear their belief that Black and White groups were inherently unequal (Douglass, 1881; Bennett, 1973). Further, even the most enlightened White scholars of this era stumbled in their search for empirical evidence to support their egalitarian politics.

This is a predictable outcome because when intergroup comparisons are made using the terms and values of only one of the groups, the argument will be heavily weighted in favor of the group that sets the rules. Even Europeanized Black intellectuals who tackle the question of Black-White differences often answer only those parts of the question that deal with current potential, do not adequately deal with the most fundamental developmental issues, and state their arguments in positivist terms. A proper answer to the central question would help us understand not only the outcomes and the consequences, but also the causes of these developments over time.

Many traditional Black intellectuals tend to ignore the important developmental issues in favor of deprivation, deficit, or denial models. In my judgment, however, these models do little to dispel prevailing acceptance of White

superiority (for instance see Sowell, 1972, 1981). The problem may be that these Black social scientists are caught up in an intellectual "trick-bag": an infatuation with a dominant European research methodology that often guarantees an outcome favorable to Europeans. Further, the more astute Black intellectuals (and the more open-minded and astute White intellectuals) may ignore the developmental argument because they justifiably assume that their attempt at intellectual openness will be met by negative, politicized White response.

European social science, philosophy and legal systems have a major purpose of providing a framework and a set of rules to govern how the privileged will determine who is right (Mannheim, 1936). There is little reason to expect that European social science or the European legal system will provide equal treatment for lower strata participants. After all, why should Europeans develop a social science and philosophy that doesn't provide advantages for the rule makers.

By the same logic, one would wonder why Black people have not yet developed a social science and philosophy that would serve Blacks' interest better. Extrapolations from open-systems theory may provide a plausible explanation: Within stable social systems groups at the bottom tend to remain at the bottom, and the more stable the social system the more effectively it prevents development of understandings or mechanisms that would change the extant distribution of power (Mannheim 1936, Tucker, 1978). Consequently, we do not yet have a well formulated, widely accepted Black philosophy of social science to counter the prevailing European model. *We, therefore, do not have an adequate base for initiating a dialectic search for truth.

* Work is underway on this task, and this paper builds upon that work. The next step is to introduce this work to non-Black audiences.

This is a crucial deficit because the key question for the social scientist who is committed to fairness is how does one develop a truth that is broadly applicable and acceptable across groups and across belief systems (Habermas, 1975). The thesis of this paper is that truth is elusive -- a construct with no counterpart in reality. In an intergroup relationship for instance, depending upon how one chooses to define the terms and view reality, one can demonstrate that either of the groups is superior or inferior to the other - or that the groups are equal. What apparently happens in reality, however, is that we make political decisions on how we will search for truth and what we will label science, and this decision powerfully effects what we ultimately label as truth.

So, whenever I hear myself drill students on the virtue and value of objectivity or empiricism, I always feel a little foolish: Foolish because it may be self-destructive for Black people to fully accept a social science and a philosophy developed by and for Europeans, foolish because that philosophy may be based upon terms and premises which guarantee European dominance, and foolish because we cannot expect Whites to reciprocate by accepting the development of conflicting Black theory that would threaten White dominance. Up to this time too much of the dialogue between Blacks and Whites has been conducted strictly on White terms, but increasingly the more thoughtful and intellectually liberated Black social scientists are refusing to continue the game with the stacked deck (Nobles, 1972; Cedric X, 1972; Jones, 1979).

The most important point here, however, is that at the present time we have no widely accepted pedagogy which permits fruitful dialogue between Black and White people on the nature and quality of differences between groups. I hope this discussion will begin a process that will spur development of the conditions needed for a healthy dialogue.

Dialectic Open-Systems Model: Development of the Current Dialectic

In the Black-White dialectic one finds racial supremacists on each end of the continuum. The middle-groups, including the social science establishment, reject both extreme groups as proponents of emotion-based and a-priori notions of truth - as extremists who practice a flawed science or no science at all. They chastise the extreme groups for their use of biased premises that guarantee that the outcomes of investigation will be congruent with the investigators' politics. In other words, both extreme groups are accused of adopting political positions rather than displaying "dispassionate objectivity." Further, the extreme groups are accused of disguising political statements as scientifically derived outcomes.

Examples of this, on the White side are Jensen (1969) and Shockley (1971) who based much of their theory on the work of Sir Cyril Burt (1956, 1957). Burt was important to Jensen and Shockley because he offered fabricated empirical evidence that Whites were innately intellectually superior to Blacks. It was only after Sir Cyril was knighted by the Queen of England, extensively honored by the psychology establishment, and widely quoted for more than twenty years, that evidence would be presented that Sir Cyril's data were fraudulent and manufactured (Hearnshaw, 1979). Jensen and Shockley, however, saw this expose as a minor inconvenience that would not dissuade them from preaching their version of the truth about Black-White differences. (Jensen, 1981)

On the Black side, one can look at the teachings of Elijah Muhammad who taught that White people were "devils," created as the cloned, de-melanized offspring of Yacub, the mad and big-headed Black scientist (Malcolm X, 1965). This view of the White man and similar notions, have, of course, been rejected by Islamic scholars (including Elijah Muhammad's own son) who point out that

these assertions were political fabrications with no basis in Islamic history or literature.

Despite these apparant flaws, however, Burt and Muhammad (both of whom are now dead) continue to provide inspiration for modern Black and White intellectuals who operate on the extreme ends of the Black-White continuum. This inspiration is the wellspring for development of the current defective White-Black dialectic. For our purposes, the modern polar opposites in the Black-White change dialectic are the more radical Africanist psychologists (including the Black Supremacist psychiatrist, Frances Cress Welsing), and the White supremacist psychologists led by Jensen and by Shockley, who is a Nobel Prize Winning Physicist, but a behavioral science novice.

The view of Black-White intellectual differences that these White scientists present appears to be a regurgitation and modernization of the antebellum rhetoric of George Fitzhugh (1857) and the slavery apologists. Heavily influenced by Sir Cyril Burt, the White supremacist group insists that Blacks as a group are innately intellectually inferior to Whites as a group; and offer differential I.Q. test performance as the major criterion for judgment. The Africanist group, on the other hand, insists that the sub-rosa purpose of the White superiority myth is to mask covert feelings of inferiority among Whites. This argument is buttressed by observed White deficits in human relations, intuition, and spirituality; and by observations on White dislike for White skin -- evidenced by the popularity of sunbathing among Whites despite the risk of cancer. Each group assesses the other on the basis of ethnocentric value systems consonant with their own developmental experience. Neither acknowledges the inherent flaws in their positions, which emerge as products of their ethnocentric stances; consequently, there is no basis for negotiation or agreement.

There is, of course, more substance and greater subtlety in both the White and Black argument, but since the details of these opposing arguments are not essential for our discussion, I will not deal with them here. Instead, I will describe the roles of other players on the Black-White intellectual continuum.

In the middle place of this particular dialectic we find the uncommitted Blacks and Whites, who are most ambivalent about the arguments made by those on the extremes. The Black-oriented activist intellectuals are found to the left of center, and the White-oriented activist intellectuals are found to the right of the center. Then, of course, there are the Black and White moderates who flip-flop about in the middle range of positions. Together the three, more or less, moderate groups comprise the intellectual establishment. One of the major tasks of those who occupy positions to the left and right of center is to modify the strong, ethnocentric positions taken by those on the extremes (Tucker, 1978). This involves translating the statements made by the extreme groups into language and terms that the system can deal with; and involves negotiating acceptance of these modified ideas into the system. It should be noted, however, that despite the fact that this negotiating process may appear to be equitable, it is weighted in favor of Whites. It gives Whites an advantage because Whites provide the terms, the methodology, and the rules of evidence that govern processes within the intergroup relationship.

Consequently, this dialectic is defective and regressive, and leads to unresolved intergroup conflict and hostility rather than to social growth. The task before us is to find ways and means by which we can set up an effective dialectic. For now, I will simply point out that since the "natural" development of African learning modes and African institutions was greatly disrupted by colonialism, we have no well-developed models for inquiry which will permit Blacks to escape encapsulation in the monolithic European model which prevails.

It is, therefore, essential that Blacks develop a model that will permit us to achieve this goal. It is also important that this model incorporate those parts of European science and philosophy that are universally applicable. This inclusion may have a moderating effect on the development of a Black philosophy of social science, but this effect would be at worst acceptable and, at best, essential. After all, a modest move to the right would provide a space to the left in which the more radical Black intellectuals could operate. This is important because generation of radical ideas is required for helpful change and growth. (Tucker, 1978)

Having set the stage for heuristics on the nature of phenotypical Black-White differences, we can discuss the logic of the environmental argument.

Environmental Determinants of Cultural Differences

On all the major land masses around the world, human groups have developed societies that are remarkably similar. Virtually all have developed similar basic social institutions for ordering human relations and enhancing their chances for survival. Over time, however, these societies have developed unevenly with some far surpassing others in terms of technology. For reasons that we will explain presently, European groups eventually emerged as the dominant group, and as such seized disproportionate control over other people and the Earth's resources. Consequently, in modern history most of the non-European countries of the world have been colonized or subjugated by one or more European countries (Martin and O'Meara, 1977), while, with the exception of brief Moorish conquests in Spain and Italy, few or no European countries have been colonized or subjugated by non-European countries. Therefore, the central question is not whether Europeans are dominant, but why they are dominant.

The simplest way to explain European dominance is to assume that it is the logical consequence of European superiority over other peoples of the world. If control over people and resources is the more compelling criterion for measuring superiority, the logic of this argument is inescapable; but, if one gives equal or greater weight to a group's ability to live in harmony with the Earth and with other people, European inferiority is demonstrable. Evidence for this argument is the ongoing rape of the land, the pollution of the environment, and the ever-present threat of nuclear destruction of the Earth which has emerged as the logical consequence of unbridled European technology.

One would assume that the ultimate act of intelligence would be to develop systems and structures that would achieve the reverse. So, depending upon one's values and how one defines the term, one can make equally cogent arguments for European superiority or inferiority. What one can say with reasonable certainty, however, is that there are rather clear phenotypical differences between European groups and African groups in terms of the types of societies they have developed over time; and that as a result of these differences, Europeans have developed a superior material technology that has permitted them to gain dominance.

This leads to the next question which has two parts: 1) Are the observable differences between African and European groups innate or are they products of experience? 2) Can these differences be correctly interpreted as evidence that one group is superior or inferior to the other? In this presentation, I take the environmental position with a new wrinkle, and argue that within the context of this intergroup relationship, with no commonly acceptable criteria for judgment, superiority and inferiority are meaningless terms. In further discussion of these questions, I will call the first position the motivation argument and the second the status argument.

The Motivation Argument

If we accept the premise that the characteristics of a given society are determined by the specific survival needs of that society, we would expect marked differences between European and African societies. This is because the developmental demands of the environment were quite different for each group. Consequently, one would expect the two groups to develop different character structures and different social structures (Gerth and Mills, 1965), both of which would lead to development of different technology and a different view of self in relationship to the world. Thus, the key to differences between groups may have been in the motivation systems developed in response to different environmental demands.

European groups emerged in either hostile, sub-artic climates or in more temperate climates having distinct changes in seasons. In either case, European groups were constantly or periodically faced with a hostile environment, a scarcity of fertile land for agriculture, and limited open land for pastoral grazing. Native American Indian groups of the north operated under comparable climatic conditions but as a consequence of low population density faced little or no scarcity of fertile land. Confrontation with scarcity would motivate the people to compete for valuable resources. Competition would lead to advances in technology required for warfare, and the poor quality of the land would stimulate rapid development of agricultural technology to maximize the yield from the land. Thus the need to compete, coupled with the need to maximize the scarce yield from the land, would lead to an emphasis on technological development, which would permit greater efficiency in warfare, defense and food production. So, to the extent that "necessity is the mother of invention," Europeans were highly motivated to

develop the cognitive skills needed for technological innovations which would increase their ability to compete with other European sub-groups. They were highly motivated to be competitive with other sub-groups because under conditions of scarcity, they had to compete in order to survive.

Further, since there was so little arable land, there was fierce competition for control over territory. Since the scarce good land, which was the object of the competition, was necessary for survival, it was inevitable that Europeans would develop the concept of private property and that high-order technology would be needed to seize and hold onto prized property. In Africa, on the other hand, the land yielded nourishment more easily and there was adequate food and space for all. So, survival was not dependent upon technological development, and it was less likely that the idea of private property would occur to Africans. In West Africa families might have exclusive use of small plots of land as long as they actually used that land, but they could not own the land in the European sense of the world. As Tollman (1942) and Maslow (1943, 1970) have observed in modern societies, when lower-order needs are taken care of one is freed to concentrate on higher-order needs. Thus Africans were relatively more free to concentrate on social relations and communication with the world of the spirit. African groups, therefore, were motivated to live in harmony with the land as part of an ecological balance.

In that connection it is also interesting to note that over time Africans and Europeans developed very different views of themselves in terms of their relationship with the universe. In order to survive, European character structure had to emphasize self-reliance - they had to believe that they could conquer the inhospitable forces of nature. Africans, on the other hand, had a

more beneficent view of nature and would be inclined to see themselves as part of a symbiotic system - they viewed themselves as part of a harmonious whole (Mbiti, 1970; Messenger, 1975). Thus European religion would eventually characterize their gods as being like people, while Africans would see God in all living things.

These important differences in experience and survival needs would lead Blacks and Whites, as groups, to develop motivation systems that differed in many respects. Thus even in the absence of cultural bias, we might hypothesize that motivational differences alone would lead to measured Black-White differences in scores on "intelligence" tests designed by Europeans. This is explained by the fact that these tests center on measurement of those mental abilities that Whites value most. (Jones, 1979) This bias makes necessary the development of a counter Black social science with different norms and values that will permit Black people to compete on more favorable terms.* To do so would represent taking a political/philosophical position, but it might be masochistic for Blacks to do anything less.

In the absence of absolute measures of truth, it would be foolish to adopt a philosophy that puts one's own group under a disadvantage. Thus it might be wise for Black philosophy of social science to continue to clarify what the basic Black values are and then build upon those understandings, rather than build upon anti-White posturings or a modified White philosophy. Action, however, should be based upon a realistic assessment of what is needed to survive and grow strong within a Eurocentric society.

* One would expect Black values to be more humanistic, more concerned with interpersonal relations and more respectful of diversity.

The Status Argument

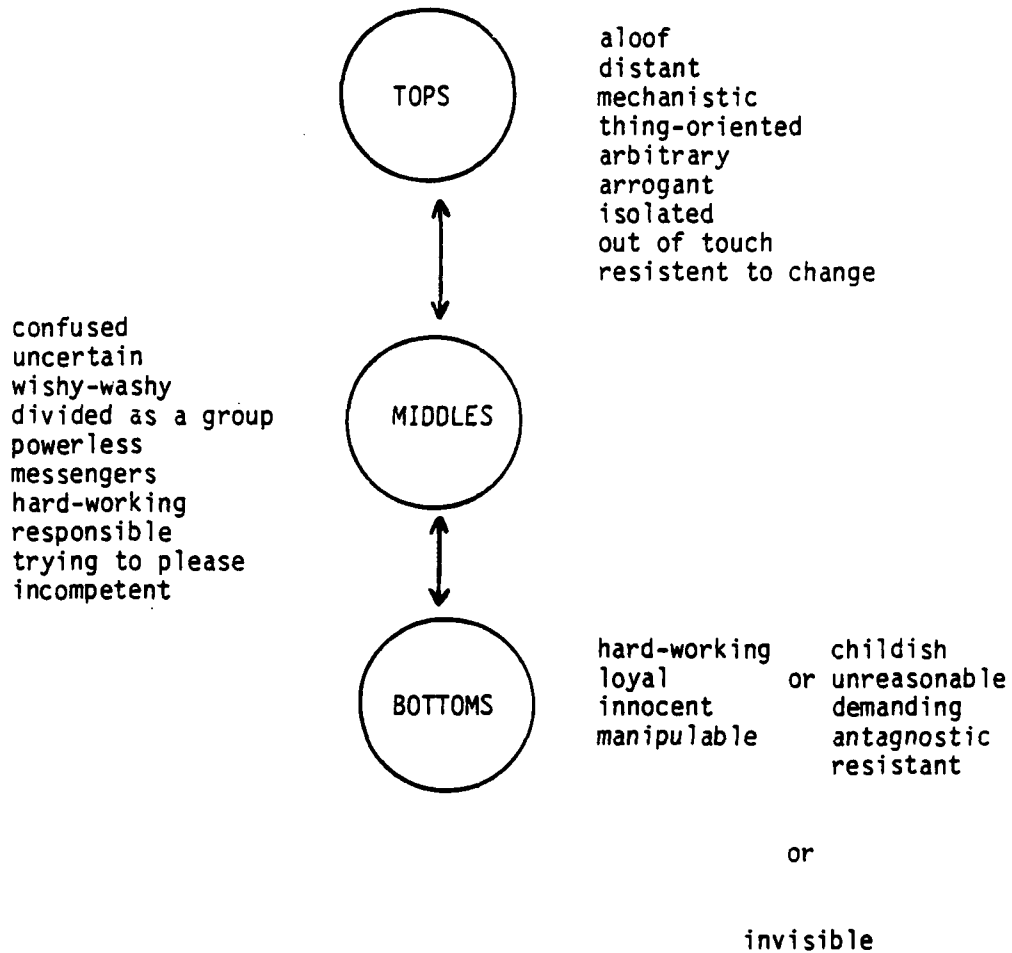
In a recent study (Alderfer, Tucker, et al, 1980) of the attitudes and opinions of management personnel at a major U.S. corporation, evidence was found that group membership is a powerful determinant of how one will understand Black-White intergroup events. For instance, in analyzing and interpreting the same data, 80% of White respondents believed that Blacks had a promotional advantage within the corporation; while 92% of Blacks believed that Whites had a promotional advantage. So, group membership apparently creates pre-conditions that powerfully effect how one will be disposed to interpret and understand an intergroup event. Consequently, there is no common basis for defining "truth" in these cases. Each group bases its understandings on a different set of premises.

Observational studies by Oshry and Oshry (1980) and by Smith (1982) on hierarchical relationships within laboratory settings provide additional support for the status argument. Though race is never explicitly mentioned in the Oshry report, there are interesting and clear parallels between the hierarchical relationships studied and real-world relationships between Black and Whites.

In the Oshry and Oshry laboratory experience, individual participants were assigned to one of three hierarchical groups, Tops, Middles and Bottoms. The goal was to study the quality of relationships among groups. The Tops controlled the social system; the Middles mediated between and provided services for the other groups; and the Bottoms did the functional work of the system without having control over any of the valuable resources within the system. At the conclusion of the laboratory experience participants were asked to describe their "images" of each other. These descriptions are presented in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2

Images of Tops, Middles, and Bottoms



This laboratory experience provides corroborative evidence that a given group's understanding of intergroup events is largely determined by that group's status; within the larger system. The associated dynamics add credence to the notion that group behavior itself is significantly affected by group status (Smith 1982). Further, the findings of this study show again that antagonistic groups tend to assign positive characteristics to their own group and negative characteristics to the other group (also see Sherif and Sherif, 1969). With this as additional background, we will continue discussion of the more relevant data from the writer's own work.

The work referred to here was a diagnostic study of race relations among managers of a large industrial corporation which enjoyed a comparatively good reputation in the area of race relations (Alderfer, Tucker et al, 1980). An organic questionnaire on attitudes and opinions was developed and administered to a total of 679 managers: 546 White and 140 Blacks. Among the more interesting findings for our purposes were the following:

1. 88% of Whites believed that race relations were good within the corporation, while only 50% of Blacks believed relations were good.
 2. Only 48% of Whites discussed racial issues with other Whites, while over 83% of Blacks discussed racial issues with other Blacks.
 3. 66% of Blacks believed that White supervisors gave Blacks assignments with the expectations that they would fail, while less than 7% of Whites agreed.
- 60% of Blacks believed that Black managers were never fairly evaluated by White supervisors, while only 9% of Whites agreed.

5. 90% of Whites believed that White management shared vital growth and career-related information with Black subordinates, but only 42% of Blacks agreed.
6. 77% of Blacks believed that Whites could not "deal" with competent Blacks, but only 10% of Whites agreed.
7. Almost 80% of Whites believed that White males were unjustly penalized by Affirmative Action programs, while only 25% of Blacks agreed.

These data provide additional evidence that the way one understands intergroup events is related to group membership. Whites and Blacks tend to structure their thinking about events in ways that they believe serve their best interests.

Perhaps even more revealing of the influence status has on perceptions, the data show that compared to lower-level managers top managers are:

- a) Less likely to think Blacks expect or demand too much;
- b) More likely to see the corporation as a racist organization;
- c) More likely to say they have regular discussions on race relations;
- d) Less likely to think the corporation has done enough on race relations;
- e) More likely to think that Affirmative Action programs are helpful;
- f) Less likely to think Blacks have a promotion advantage; and
- g) More likely to think Whites have a promotion advantage.

It is important to note that there were no Blacks in the ranks of top management. Thus, as Whites move out of the arena of competition with Blacks, their "blindness" to race dynamics seems somewhat reduced. This provides further evidence that status is a powerful determinant of perception in intergroup conflict, and that intra-group status differentials can moderate the effects of group membership.

Discussion

We have examined statistical data that reveal major differences in the ways Blacks and Whites structure their thinking on racial issues; and we have looked at descriptive data that show how group membership determines how hierarchical groups will characterize each other. Together these data suggest that the way one understands intergroup events is largely determined by one's group membership, and that the way one's group understands events is greatly influenced by the hierarchical position of one's group. These data also suggests that when given a choice between many explanations that would help one understand an intergroup event, human beings, including social scientists, tend to select the explanation that casts their own group in the most favorable light.

In the absence of convincing evidence that there are innate biologically determined mental differences between Black and White people, and with consideration of the evidence presented here one might posit the notion that phenotypical Black-White differences may be largely a product of status and motivation differences between the groups. Further, this logic would suggest that within U.S. society, group-level differences in motivation lead to variation in group status and vice-versa; and that the two feed upon one another to create a perpetual cycle.

To the extent that Whites are motivated by the will to power, they will display phenotypical traits associated with dominance and control. By the same token, if Blacks are motivated by a desire for harmony, they will display phenotypical traits that will lead to a position of subordination in their interface with Whites. Consequently, under the current dialectic, any "integrated" society of Black and White people will inevitably be marked by power imbalance. This seems inevitable unless Black people resolve to make major changes in their own motivation systems, develop effective strategy for humanizing White systems, or do both in order to enter into a more balanced dialectic with Whites.

This is not to suggest that Blacks should develop institutions completely separate from Whites, but is to suggest that Blacks must develop a separate set of cogent and compelling arguments that will profoundly effect or eventually supplant certain White ways of understanding reality. This will be a long-term process, but the processes that led to White dominance also took a long time. Under this philosophy, Blacks would compete in the areas in which their motivation structure would be most effective, and would utilize understandings that are more accessible to those who occupy low-power positions.

Black and White people have no choice but to live together in America and in the world, so a way must be found to resolve conflict and utilize the intergroup as a base for growth. Differences in physical characteristics and motivation generate philosophical differences, and these differences can provide the base for mutually beneficial change and growth. The corrective mechanism will be a dialectic process which yields syntheses which borrow the best from each of the opposing positions.

Initiation of this dialectic awaits identification, delineation and further development of a philosophy of social science that springs from Black ontology. At the same time Black social scientists must carefully and critically examine European social science to determine which parts should be incorporated into the emerging Black model. This model will permit Black people to compete under conditions and terms where Black motivation systems would be most effective, rather than under conditions and terms where White motivation systems will be most effective. Within the dialectic, this model will provide the base of bargaining power that is needed to achieve an equitable dialectically derived conception of truth that would effectively govern the Black-White intergroup relationship.

Even though Black and White groups may have equal potential in the various areas of mental functioning, certain phenotypical differences emerge as a consequence of different motivation systems and are reinforced by resultant status differences. Differences in motivations are caused by different developmental responses to different environments. These differences lead to conflicting value systems, conflicting views on the nature of existence, and conflicting views on man's relationship with the world. In a balanced dialectic process these conflicts may provide the fuel for generating better understanding of Black-White relations, human behavior in general, and the nature of multiple realities. Development of a mutually respectful dialectic is crucial if we are to avoid racial warfare in the U.S. The first step in this process is further development of a sound philosophy of social science for Black people.

Implications for Organizations

In the absence of a well formulated and broadly accepted Black philosophy of social science, we must still seek ways to improve the functioning of interracial organizations. From this paper we can derive at least four basic propositions that may help us better understand and effectively respond to Black-White conflict within organizations. These propositions include the following:

1. Black and White sub-groups tend to interpret inter-group events in ways that support their sub-group needs and goals.
2. Black-White sub-groups tend to differ in the areas of technical and interpersonal skills. These differences are largely a product of variation in motivational structure, heirarchical position, and life experience.
3. Sub-group "superiority" and "inferiority" are defined by the dominant group working on its own behalf, and is operative only as long as both groups actively or passively accept the definition.
4. Within an organizational context the goal of "color blindness" is not only elusive, but is also not desirable. Intergroup differences should not and cannot be ignored. Instead differences should be acknowledged and utilized in service of organization improvement.

Black-White conflicts within organizations stem from differences. The two groups are socially and legally defined as different on the basis of physical characteristics. Combined with developmental and experiential differences, physical differences between Blacks and Whites create expectations and perceptions that cannot be ignored. As a consequence, "color blindness"

within organizations is a noble goal that cannot be achieved. Color is a trigger that releases stereotypes that simplify our intellectual and emotional response to people and help us predict behavior. We are not color blind, and at both a conscious and unconscious level we tend to place positive or negative values on individuals based upon their racial group - regardless of our conscious beliefs.

Our tendency to stereotype, however, often runs counter to certain Judeo-Christian ethics that underly American ideals: the belief that each "man" should be judged as an individual. The resultant cognitive dissonance between this wish and the reality of racial dynamics is often resolved through the process of denial. In this process dominant group members either deny that they differentiate, or deny that the groups are really different in any significant way. Thus Blacks often hear the gratuitous disclaimer, "I didn't even notice you were Black."

To the more beneficent members of the dominant group, the goal of color blindness represents a commitment to equity and fairness. There are many Black individuals who would agree. Consequently, to suggest that this goal is not only unattainable but also undesirable is to dumfound significant numbers of White and Black observers. This often leads to the traditional response, "I give up!. What do you people want?"

Apparently what Black people want is to be treated fairly rather than equally; to be validated as a socially defined group rather than as an aberration of the dominant group; and to be viewed as a group within which there is as much if not more variety as within the dominant group. Black people do not want to eliminate Black-White differences, Blacks want the differences to be recognized and valued. Black people do not want to be assimilated or absorbed, they want to be accepted, respected and included - as Black people.

Black people are not White people with Black skin. Like White individuals, Blacks are products of the interaction of genes, their environment and their experiences. Equal treatment does not suddenly make up for three hundred years of negative unequal treatment. Both Affirmative Action and a change in the values system are required to move Black and White groups to equal starting points, where both groups can compete under fair terms. A new values system is needed in which we would give equal weight and equal credence to spiritual/intuitive and cognitive contributions to social progress. At that point, Black and White individuals will have equal opportunity to succeed or fail.

Until then we must squarely face the fact that Blacks, Whites, and other racial groups form distinct groups who disagree on many issues, but who must learn to work together in service of developing unified, effective organizations and a united country. White people are not the norm; they are but one group in a multi-group interaction. An effective dialectic recognizes and utilizes group and individual differences to develop change that serves the interests of all.

When we reach the point as a society when we can fully appreciate the value of diversity, we will be prepared to assign appropriate value to people (Black and White) who make important contributions in both cognitive and spiritual areas. At that point we will also be more aware of the limitations of cognitive processes in managing human affairs. Then we will be more willing to alter reward systems in such a way that there will be more balanced and equitable pay-off for intuitive/spiritual as opposed to cognitive contributions.

At that point Black, White, Brown and Asian people will feel free to contribute what they do best as individuals rather than as representatives of their groups - rather than in response or reaction to what is expected of their group. This will help us make more efficient and effective use of all our human resources.

What I am describing is not a dream, but a vision. We need to identify and agree upon a target mind-set that will help us improve the social contract between the various races of people in the world. This would be the epitome of intelligence.

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