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SABBATICAL LEAVE REPORT

JOHN T. LONG

1976

1977

Generally 1976-1977 was a year of renewal, contemplation, decision and excitement. Sabbatical leave activities can be divided into several categories: (A) Conference presentations, (B) independent study, (C) research and scholarly honors, (D) travel and (E) publication.

Conference Presentations: The author was invited by several agencies to present papers related to ethnic issues at a number of conferences.

- a) The Child Welfare League of America sponsored the South Pacific Regional Conference of Social Workers. A paper on "Black Identity Formation" was given at this conference in Pasadena, California.
- b) The Black Child Development Institute invited the author to give a presentation on "Child Abuse" to their fourth annual conference in Los Angeles, California.
- c) The paper "Life Styles among Ethnic Minorities" was presented at the T.V. Career Awareness Conference in Los Angeles. This conference focused on combating racism and sexism in the public schools. The net result of this conference was the Childrens Television program "Free Style" to be shown nationwide in 1978.

In addition the author was invited by the Franz Fanon Research and Development Institute, National Institute of Mental Health, to be one of 100 scholars from Africa, the United States and the West Indies to participate in a conference in the Caribbean in February of 1978. The theme of this conference is "The Theory and Practice of the Social Scientist in the Context of Human Development: Developing People and Institutions."

Independent Study: The sabbatical year was also utilized to familiarize the author with books, journals and other materials in the area of ethnic relations. Materials were gathered to be placed on reserve in the college library. By way of comment, one of the trends in ethnic relations is toward a focus on the experience of the White immigrant as an ethnic group.

Several chapters in a textbook on ethnic relations were completed. These chapters are "The Silent Night Rider-Institutional Racism" and "The Faces of Racism:" Cases and Comments.

Support services for ethnic minorities at a number of colleges were surveyed. Comments will be made on the administrative structure, support services and items of significance derived from interviews with various professionals in the area of ethnic relations.

Personal interviews were conducted with the following professionals regarding Support Services for ethnic minorities at their respective schools.

- a) Dr. Donald Cheeks, Counseling Department, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo.
- b) Mr. Louis Clunk, Instructor Minorities Studies, Golden West College, Huntington Beach, California.
- c) Dr. O. W. Wilson, Director, Ethnic Studies Cal State, Dominguez Hills, California.
- d) Dr. Claudia Mitchell-Kernon, Director, Black Studies, U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, California.
- e) Dr. Shirley Thomas, Psychology Department Cal. State University, San Diego, California.

Administratively colleges have structured their departments either as Ethnic Studies Departments or separate departments structured along ethnic lines, such as Black Studies and Chicano Studies departments. An example of the former is the Ethnic Studies Department at Cal Poly, Pomona. Most schools surveyed have chosen to have separate departments for each ethnic group. The Black Studies, Chicano Studies and Native-American Studies departments at U.C.L.A. are an example.

Support Services for students varied from requesting regular faculty members to provide more of their time to minority students (San Diego State) to rather extensive formally structured services. The most dynamic program observed was at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo.

Part of the excitement of this program was the staffing pattern. Highly motivated paraprofessionals and professionals staffed the program.

In addition to financial aid, the Learning Assistance Center was the key element of student support. Enrollment in the Learning Assistance Center is required of Black Studies majors.

A major assumption of the Learning Assistance Center was that Study Skills Centers are ineffective in meeting the needs of Ethnic minorities in general and Black students in particular. Those who operate such centers are often not aware of the problems created by institutional racism. Staff members also tend to not be acquainted with the psychological struggles experienced by Black Students in White Colleges and Universities. Essentially learning models designed for middle-class White students tend to be superimposed on ethnic minorities.

Because the parents of most Black EOP students are not college graduates and most of these students come from ghetto schools, they have few role models and little experience in the White educational system. The lack of educational parental models coupled with dysfunctional learning models in ghetto schools makes the transition to effective learning difficult. Essentially behaviors that lead to success in ghetto schools are found to be dysfunctional at the Community College, State College or State University level.

The learning Assistance Center was designed to take the mystery out of the process of education. In operationalizing

this concept, education is examined as a total system to include styles of instruction, the lecture, the text, examinations, scheduling and psychological and sociological problems. The title of the course at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo is, "Critical Analysis For Creative Thinking: Student Survival." Students are provided with a class information handbook to serve as a guide, a copy of which is attached. The instructors behavior is examined in terms of how best to manage various styles of instruction.

Mini workshops are provided on test taking, note taking, and test anxiety. Groups are provided on self-defeating behaviors, motivation, concentration and alienation. The students total management of time is reviewed and several sessions on scheduling are provided. Consider now other aspects of the authors sabbatical, specifically travel, publication and research and scholarly honors.

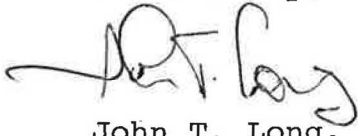
Travel: The author traveled to San Luis Obispo, San Francisco, Santa Rosa and San Diego, California. In addition, the writer traveled to Portland , Oregon and Tulsa, Oklahoma. Further travel was prohibited due to limited funds.

Publication: The paper "Vocational Aspirations of Advantaged and Disadvantaged Children," was accepted for publication in the California Journal of Teaching. This paper will appear in the February, 1978 issue.

Research and Scholarly Honors: During 1976-1977 the author was invited by the Franz Fanon Research and Development Center, National Institute of Mental Health, to serve as a Charter Research Fellow.

Thank you for the sabbatical.

Yours Truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John T. Long".

John T. Long, Ph.D.

CLASS INFORMATION HANDBOOK

INFORMATION I NEED TO KNOW FOR ACADEMIC SUCCESS

Processes for Diagnosing Your Goals & Objectives

There are ~~two~~ ^{several} aspects to consider when diagnosing your objectives, personal and academic. Ideas to consider in establishing your personal objectives are as follows:

- 1) What are my life goals?
- 2) What is the relationship between my life goals and my academic goals?
- 3) What are my needs (intrinsic and instrumental) in regard to my objectives?
- 4) If my primary objectives prove to be unrealistic and/or inappropriate, what alternatives are available to me?
- 5) What steps, procedures or tools are necessary to determine my alternatives and implement my plan of attack?
- 6) Implementation of my plan.

Ideas for diagnosing your academic objectives include knowledge of the following:

- 1) What is my educational background (what kind of school and the quality of that educational system; what kind of personal environment)?
- 2) What skills do I have in my favor?
- 3) What skills do I lack?
- 4) What strategy and/or steps can I take to improve my deficiencies?
- 5) What do I know about the learning process?
- 6) What are my specific objectives in my classes?
- 7) How can I achieve those objectives?
- 8) What do I really want out of my classes?
- 9) What am I willing to do to get what I want?
- 10) What does the teacher want from me, and how can I give it to him/her, while at the same time satisfy my own needs.

What are some of the things that students must know in order to get good grades? In general there are five factors that students should know something about. These factors are:

The Instructor
The Lecture

The Text
The Test

The Scheduling

If the student knows some basic information about these five factors, his chances of success will be greater. The student should ask certain questions about these five factors and then find the answers to those questions. When the student does this, he will know exactly what he needs to do to get good grades in the class.

Test

Knowing certain information about the test will tell the student: what to study, in what detail to study, and when to study. The student needs to know the following:

- 1) How many tests will be given?
- 2) When will the test be given?
- 3) What kind of test will it be?
- 4) How many questions will be in the test?
- 5) How much time will you have to do the test?
- 6) Will the test be based on the textbook?
- 7) Will the test be based on the lectures?
- 8) What are the most important topics to study?
- 9) What is the best way to study for the test?
- 10) How much of my grade in the class depends upon the test?
- 11) If I do poorly on the test, can I have a re-test?

With the above information, you can plan a good schedule to study for your tests. You will know what kind of test you will be having and how to study for it!

Text

The student also needs to know specific information about the textbook:

Structure

- Read the preface! What is the author's purpose for writing this book?
- Is there a glossary to explain new terms?
- Does the author write in a style that you can understand? Does the author use big words that you are not familiar with?
- Are there new concepts and ideas in the book that you are seeing for the first time?
- Does the text have a lot of pictures, maps, and graphs?
- Are there any study aids (chapter summary, chapter outline, examples, study questions)?

Usage

- How does the instructor intend to use the book (as a source for tests)?
- Is the book covered in the lecture? Entirely, in part, or not at all?
- How many pages are you expected to read each week?
- Is the class content based only on the text?
- How important is the text as a source of test questions?
- What kind of test questions will be used to cover the text (essay, multiple choice, etc.) knowing the answers to these questions?
- You can plan an organized schedule for studying the text.

Lecture

The lecture is also an important part of a course. The student should have some basic information about the lecture.

- Is the lecture organized so that I can take notes easily?

- Does the teacher use big words that I don't understand?
- Does the lecture follow the textbook? Or is the information new to you?
- How important is it to take notes for this class? Will any test questions come from the lecture?
- Will the instructor allow me to tape his lectures?
- Where does the teacher get his lecture information from?

Instructor

The teacher is a very important part of your grade in a class! The student needs to know as much as he can about the instructor.

- Is the instructor warm and human? Does he really care about his students?
- Is he understanding of your problems? Does he answer your questions patiently? Does he get upset when you ask questions?
- If you do poorly in a test will he give you a chance to make up the grade?
- Does he encourage you to express your own opinions?
- Does he get uptight when you disagree with his viewpoint?
- Does he encourage students to see him during office hours?
- What does he expect from students?
- What is his grading system?

Knowing the information for the five factors (instructor, scheduling, lecture, text, test) you will know exactly what you have to do to get the best grade you can in any class

SCHEDULING

What are the advantages of scheduling your time?

- Proper planning prevents poor performance.
- A schedule will help you to get all studying and class assignments on time.
- A schedule will save you time by increasing study efficiency.
- A schedule enables you to enjoy your free time without worrying about feeling behind in your classes.
- A schedule motivates students to complete their work.
- Organize your time so you may buy free time later.

What kinds of schedules are there? There are long term schedules, weekly schedules, and daily schedules.

Long term schedules: For this type of schedule you would use a master calendar which would contain all your activities, commitments, and responsibilities throughout the quarter.

Weekly Schedules: This schedule contains a list of tasks and assignments that have to be accomplished in each class for a specific week. The weekly schedule is probably the most useful for students attending colleges.

Daily schedules: These schedules are worked out by dividing up the tasks for the week into daily chunks.

IMPORTANT! When making any kind of schedule, remember:

Be realistic! Always include relaxation time in your schedule. Break up long periods of study into smaller sections. It is suggested that no student study intensely for more than 30 minutes without taking a 5 to 10 minute break, to get up and stretch and release tension that builds up from intense concentration.

SUGGESTIONS FOR MAKING A WEEKLY SCHEDULE

1. Build your schedule around fixed time commitments, such as classes, labs, and jobs.
2. Plan adequate study time to prepare for each subject. You must find out what is expected of you in class in order to determine the amount of time you will need each week to keep up. This will vary from class to class and week to week.
3. Study at a regular time and place, if possible. You should include specific courses. Avoid generalization in your schedule such as "study".
4. Schedule weekly review time for each course:
 - A. For lecture courses, (history, philosophy, sociology, etc.) the best time to review, revise and expand notes is right after class.
 - B. For participation course, (speech, foreign language, etc.) the best time to review notes is just before class.
5. Distribute your study time. Short daily study periods for each course are more effective than one long session for each course.
6. Schedule recreation time and activities which are essential to daily living, (traveling, watching TV, relaxing, pool, bowling, cards, etc.).
7. All schedules should be flexible, with time allowed for those unforeseen incidents that all of us seem to have.

This information was prepared by Don Cheek, Locksley Geoghagen and Walter Harris of California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, adapted from experiences, a Goal Analysis Model and ideas from the 4T's model by Dr. Sue Johnson.

Cal Poly San Luis
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Learning Assistance Center

1977-1982 Objectives

To implement the philosophy of the Learning Assistance Center (LAC), the following five year objectives are proposed:

STUDENTS

1. to have adequate facilities to meet student learning needs wherever they exist, e.g. residents' halls, classrooms
2. to continue assessing students needs and develop appropriate programs
3. to develop procedures and resources to assess and meet faculty needs
4. to further learning skills research and develop learning skills and material resources
5. to develop a framework that will lend itself to the effective interfacing of the Counseling Center, Audio Visual Services, Library, the Computer Center, LAC and the academic departments

STAFF

1. to be more adequately staffed by professionals and paraprofessionals
2. to identify student to student resources (e.g., tutoring) and provide a framework for voluntary mutual sharing of personnel, training and other resources
3. to have a framework to utilize campus and community volunteer resources
- *4. to establish a training program which will provide experienced personnel to service the LAC and establish a foundation for a learning specialist program at the master's level in cooperation with existing campus programs and courses
5. to establish a framework to investigate and utilize state and national resources for learning assistance and to determine how the Cal Poly LAC can most effectively share in and with these resources

FINANCE AND PLANNING

- *1. to obtain formal budget recognition as a cost center in the state support budget
- *2. to obtain adequate facilities to house staff and meet student program needs

PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. to exemplify a person to person oriented approach to learning assistance
2. to utilize appropriate resources to make the community aware of the activities of the LAC

EVALUATION

1. to develop and carry out procedures for the continuous evaluation of the effectiveness of the LAC

*Revised Objectives May 12, 1977

SURVEY AT RANDOM ETHNIC STUDY COURSES

CAL POLY, POMONA

Black Studies

- 355 Culture and Personality
- 412 History of Minorities in American Life
- 100 Survey of Black Thought
- 320 Ethnic Relations in America
- 401 Urban Sociology
- 432 Economics of Social Welfare
- 497 Economics of Minority Groups
- 210 The Black Man in America
- 322 Race Relations and the Law
- 323 Sociology of Poverty
- 324 Sociology of Minority Communities
- 401 Teaching Minority Group Children

Chicano Studies

- 201 Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- 205 Multicultural Identity
- 211 The American Indian
- 475 Ethnic Studies for Teachers

CAL POLY, SAN LUIS OBISPO

Ethnic Studies

- 105 Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- 114 Racism in American Culture
- 210 Cultural Heritage

Child Development

- 310 Afro-American Pre-School Children
- 312 Mexican-American Pre-School Children

Sociology

- 313 Urban Sociology
- 315 Race Relations
- 316 American Minorities
- 323 Social Stratification
- 344 Sociology of Poverty

Education

- 315 Contemporary Education of the Afro-American
- 402 Minority Student Counseling and Guidance
- 416 Contemporary Education of the Chicano
- 521 Teaching the Culturally Different

History

- 325 Ethnic Groups in American History
- 331 Afro-American History
- 332 Recent Afro-American History

Political Science

- 303 Minority Group Politics

MERRITT COLLEGE
12500 Campus Drive, Oakland, CA 94619

Afro-American Studies

- 5,6 Black Cultural Philosophy
- 9 Psychology of Afro-Americans
- 10 Sociology of Afro-Americans

UCLA

Psychiatry

- 230 Mental Health and the Black Community
- 231 Mental Health of the Mexican-American
- 232 Mental Health and Ethnic Identity - Asian American
and American Indian
- 240 Socio-Cultural Factors in the Diagnosis and
Treatment of Black Families (A,B,C sections)
- 456 Concepts of Mental Health Consultation (A,B sections)
- 458 Problems in Culture and Mental Health

Psychology

- 133D Psychological Development of the Minority Child
- 175 Community Psychology
- 229 Issues in the Social Development of the Minority Child (A,B sections)
- 409 Minority Peer Counseling

Public Health

- 249A Socio-Cultural Aspects of Health and Illness
- 272 Child Health in Disadvantaged Areas
- 452 Community Mental Health (A,B sections)

Sociology

- 129 White Racism
- 124 Ethnic and Status Groups
- 155 Intergroup Conflict and Prejudice
- 238 Field Work in Minority Communities
- 261 Ethnic Minorities

History

- 176 Afro-American History (A,B sections)
- 183 Racial Attitudes in America

Education

- 204 Minority Education in Cross-Cultural Perspective
- 216 Counseling in the Urban School and Community
- 102 The Mexican-American and the Schools
- 100 Cultural Foundations of Education

Philosophy

- 4 Visceral Racism
- 5 Philosophical Themes in Black Literature

Economics

- 109 Economics of Poverty

UC BERKELEY

Afro-American Studies

- 5 Black Life and Culture in the U.S.
- 109 Black Economic History (A,B sections)
- 110 Black Community Development
- 111 Minority Groups in American Economy
- 113 Selected Topics and Issues in Black Life and Culture
- 115 Black Social Institutions
- 117 Black People and Psychology (A,B sections)
- 118 Issues in Domination: Race & Sex
- 119 Black Political Socialization
- 120 Mental Health in the Black Community
- 159 Black Folk Culture in the New World
- 166 Slavery: A Comparative Analysis
- 176 Race and Social Institutions
- 178 The Black Child
- 179 Political Development and Socialization of Black Children
- 181 Health Status and Health Delivery Systems: The Minority Family
- 186 Politico-Economic Development in the Black World (A,B sections)
- 187 Race, Ideology, and Economics: A Comparative Approach

CAL STATE L.A.

Education

- 503 Sociological Factors in Counseling

Anthropology

- 403 Black Culture of the New World
- 407 Indians of North America

Chicano Studies

- 101 Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and the Chicano
- 111 Introduction to Chicano Culture
- 105 Economic and Political Power of the Chicano
- 311 Chicano Cultural History
- 410 Psychology of the Chicano

History

- 473 The U.S.: Civil War and Reconstruction
- 476 Economic History of U.S.
- 480 Ethnic Groups in American History

Pan-African Studies

- 251 Afro-American History

Sociology

- 430 Urban Sociology

PREFACE

Racism is a major public health problem. Issues in public health are partially determined by the number of people affected. There is no way to exist in America and the world without being touched in some way by racism, either as recipient, perpetrator, or observer.

The life opportunities and life-styles of millions of Americans of color are restricted in education, economic opportunities, employment, housing, and the job market by racist practices. There is also a tremendous toll in self-esteem and feelings of NOKness among the recipients of racism. In addition, white racism is sometimes returned in kind in the form of black and brown racism.

The perpetrators of racism, too, pay a price, for insensitivity, callousness, and the smug arrogance of assumed racial superiority diminishes what it means to be a human being. Racism builds barriers to experiencing the cultural richness of minority groups and blocks genuine encounters with ethnic minorities. Minority groups, too, build barriers and often do not come to realize that there is more to caucasian people than racism.

Did racism always exist? How did it develop? How does it affect those who are victims of racism and those who are

racist? And what can be done about alleviating racism? These are some of the questions addressed in this book.

John T. Long, Ph.D.

Eduardo Lopez, M.A.

CHAPTER 1

THE DYNAMICS OF RACISM: CASES AND COMMENTS

The media has drawn the attention of the American public to the indignities of racial discrimination. Books such as "Roots" (and certainly its subsequent television dramatization) powerfully illustrate the depth of inhumanity occasioned by the African slave trade and subsequently slavery.

Part of the danger of such presentations, however, is that American as well as international communities will conclude that racism is a thing of the past, and therefore, we only need concern ourselves with the "Black Problem."

Racism did not disappear with the cessation of the African Slave Trade nor the Emancipation Proclamation. Racism is a virulent strain of social pathology which has, in amoebic-like fashion transformed itself to accommodate legislative and moralistic attacks.

Traditionally "people of color" have been the systematically exploited recipients of racism; Chicanos and certainly native Americans too have been the victims of racist behaviors. Experiences such as "Roots" then, may be considered "the tip of the iceberg."

Most Americans live in communities that are ethnically isolated and are consequently often bewildered when charges of

racism are directed at them. Contemporary Americans look around their communities for examples of racism and conclude that discrimination does not exist in the communities in which they reside, and therefore if minorities who live in ghettos are poverty stricken or have an inadequate education it is because they are lazy. Because most people see the world in terms of their own experiences, many also assume that if racism does not exist in their home communities, it does not exist on a broader scale. Does racism exist? Just what is racism? Where are the data?

To comprehend contemporary racial strife, it is necessary to examine the historical sweep of racist behaviors. In accomplishing this objective random samples were selected from several publications. The literature of a society reflects the attitudes, values, and behavioral norms sanctioned by law, as well as the general consensus. A survey of the literature yielded the following incidents:

Moultrie, GA, July 15, 1921

From . . . [the] scene of the recent burning of a negro named John Henry Williams, the Eagle has obtained the following account by an eyewitness:

"Williams was brought from Moultrie on Friday night by sheriffs from fifty counties. Saturday court was called. Not a single colored person was allowed nearer than a block of the courthouse. The trial took half an hour. Then Williams, surrounded by fifty sheriffs armed with machine guns, started out of the courthouse down toward the jail.

"Immediately, a cracker by the name of Ken Murphy gave the confederate yell: 'Whoo - whoo - let's get the nigger!' Simultaneously, 500 poor pecks rushed the armed sheriffs, who made no resistance whatsoever. They tore the negro's clothing off before he was placed in a waiting automobile. This was done in broad daylight. The negro was unsexed, as usual, and made to eat a portion of his anatomy which had been cut away. Another portion was sent by parcel post to Governor Dorsey, whom the people of this section hate bitterly.

"The negro was taken to a grove, where each one of more than 500 people, in Ku Klux Klan ceremonial, had placed a pine knot around a stump, making a pyramid to the height of ten feet. The negro was chained to the stump and asked if he had anything to say. Castrated and in indescribable torture, the negro asked for a cigarette, lit it, and blew the smoke in the face of his tormentors.

"The pyre was lit and a hundred men and women, old and young, grandmothers among them, joined hands and danced around the negro while he burned and began to sing 'Nearer My God to Thee.'"

-Reported in the Washington Eagle (July 16, 1921)¹

What forces made these people behave this way? What went on inside the man who said "Let's lynch him"? Why did the rest of the crowd go along with him? Why did the mob cut off his genitals and not his ear or finger? Not far away in Georgia, another drama was being enacted.

Milledgeville, GA, February 16, 1923

Fingers and ears of two negroes who were lynched near this city last week are now on display in a large bottle filled with alcohol on the corner of the town drug store. An inscription near the bottle says:

¹Melvin Steinfield, Cracks in the Melting Pot. Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1970, pp. 33-35.

"Lindsay B. Gilmore, a white grocer, was shot when he took after two negroes, unidentified, who were caught stealing cheese and cash from Gilmore's store. A number of witnesses have stated that in the chase Gilmore was shot by a local officer whose aim was faulty."

-Reported in the Chicago Defender (February 17, 1932)²

Ethnic groups other than Blacks have been victimized by racism. Racism has resulted in native Americans being subjected to some of the most vicious behavior in American history. In the historical novel Centennial Michener (1974: 492, 493) relates his version of the Rattlesnake Butte Colorado Indian Massacre. We join the narrative the night before the attack.

Colonel Skimmerhorn summoned his officers to the ridge where the cannon waited. In solemn tones he told them, 'Gentlemen, we are engaged in a great venture. Much is at stake. If we can win this victory, our glorious nation will be safe for generations yet to be born. God rides with you. Courage.'

In the motley camp below were 1,483 Arapaho and Cheyenne, distributed as follows: Chiefs 14, other braves of fighting age 389, mature women past the age of sixteen 427, children 653. They were supposed to have no guns, but they did have a few. They also had some four hundred bows, many not strung because deer sinews were growing scarce, and nearly two thousand arrows, a good many of which were not instantly accessible.

The camp mounted no guards that night for none were needed. The Indians had moved into this cul-de-sac at the ex-

²Ibid., p. 35.

press command of the United States Government and here they were supposed to be fed and protected. At last they were at peace.

At five minutes after six, just as light was beginning to appear in the east there was a shattering explosion from the ridge between the buttes, and five cannonballs ricocheted through the camp, killing four sleeping Indians and maiming seven.

The Indian who reacted to this surprise assault with greatest self-control was Lost Eagle. He was certain that some terrible mistake had been made - some mix-up of commands - and it was his responsibility to straighten things out. No American soldier would fire a cannon into an undefended... Crash! A second salvo tore through the camp.

At this moment the central body of troops, under Colonel Skimmerhorn, swept down the slope leading from the buttes and charged headlong into the mass of teepees. Sabers flashed. Pistols fired. One man with a revolver fired six times at six different women, killing four of them. Horses ran over children, and soldiers with curling braids began to fire the teepees.

Down from the eastern bank roared Abel Tanner, followed by his trusted Indian fighter. Young girls, babies in arms, old women too feeble to run, braves trying to defend themselves - Tanner's men sabered them all.

Three hundred and eighty-seven Indians were slain: 7 chiefs, 108 braves, 123 women and 149 children; all but sixteen were scalped, even the children for the men sought trophies to prove their victory. All gloried in the order: "Take no prisoners." A militiaman named Gropper rummaged through piles of dead, performing atrocious mutilation on the corpses, shouting as he did so. 'That'll teach 'em to kill white women.' Other militiamen, officers and men alike, un-sheathed their knives and hacked away at corpses until regular soldiers made them stop.

Old men and women who tried to escape the flaming teepees were thrust back in and four who volunteered to surrender were stabbed through the neck.

Castrations, burnings and massacres as methods of dealing with domestic interracial conflict are no longer employed. Examine now some contemporary forms of racism.

Racism generates a form of aggression that is diffuse in nature. Chicanos, too, have been subjected to racist abuse.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights in December of 1968 held hearings on the treatment of Mexican Americans by law enforcement officials in San Antonio, Texas.

Alfred Figueroa, a businessman and a life time resident of Blythe, California (population about 20 percent Mexican American) told the Commission's California State Advisory Committee of being beaten by the local police in 1963. According to Figueroa, he was having a soft drink in a bar when three police officers told him to come outside to talk to them. At that time, Figueroa said there were many migrant farm workers in town. Believing he was being mistaken for one of them, he told the policemen that "they were barking up the wrong tree." When Figueroa refused to leave the bar, he stated one of the policemen said that he was "just another smart Mexican," threw him on the floor, kicked him and handcuffed him. Figueroa claimed that he made no move to resist the arrest, yet the officers threw him in a car and when he could not get in because of the narrowness of the door, slugged him and kicked him inside. By this time, according to Figueroa, a great crowd had gathered because he was well-known in town.

Figueroa gave the following account of the incident to the committee: In the process of trying to get me in they kicked me and kicked me and kicked me and kicked me and I would get up and I said why are you doing this to me . . . and they would say: 'Get in there, you damn Mexican.' Figueroa stated that he and his brothers have been subjected to constant harassment at the hands of the local police.

Some whites who have challenged the system of racism have found themselves the target of racial hatred. The following example illustrates.

Broken Lance

William L. Moore, a husky (white) 35 year old ex-marine had been obsessed for years by a utopian dream. He wanted to save the world. Armed with cardboard placards and picket signs, he tilted with equal fervor against the threats to peace from abroad and to liberty at home. Just last week Moore mounted his most quixotic crusade. He set out alone to persuade Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett that segregation is wrong.

It would be a long (350 mile) walk and, as friends reminded Moore, it could be a dangerous one. Along the way he would wear a two-sided sandwich sign bearing anti-segregation messages: "Equal rights for all (Mississippi or bust)" and "Eat at Joe's - Both Black and White." Even before he left Chattanooga, a negro ripped a fragment--the part bearing the word "black"--from his placard. "(he) said the word should be 'colored,'" Moore wrote. . . . Moore also noted that a white woman working in a milkshake stand wished him luck. "She said, 'I hope you make it,'" Moore wrote. "I said, 'I hope so too if the niggers don't get me.' She said, 'No, I think the whites will get you.'"

A warm place: "I have always had a warm place in my heart for Mississippi," Moore wrote in the letter he hoped to deliver to Barnett, "I dislike the reputation this state has . . . as . . . the most backward and most bigoted in the land. Those who truly love Mississippi must work to change this image."

Occasionally Moore ran up against overt demonstrations of hostility. Some Georgians yelled "nigger lover" at him from a passing car. Some Alabamans threw rocks from a distance. But he also met friendliness. At Rising Fawn, Ga., an elderly lady--noticing the two-wheel wire grocery cart in which he hauled his belongings--asked, "What's that you're selling?" "Integration," Moore replied.

Increasingly, the hike was becoming the act of a saint or a madman--and Moore had some credentials for both roles. He had spent two years in Binghamton State Hospital for a mental disorder shortly after his 1952 graduation in economics from Harpun College near Binghamton. The stay produced his book, The Mind in Chains -- The Autobiography of a Schizophrenic, in which Moore asserted his compelling wish to "save the world." It closed with his appeal to be heeded: "Whether I go forward as Don Quixote chasing his windmill or as a pilgrim progressing must be left for you to decide I can only give my life."

William Moore had barely walked out of the hamlet of Keever, Ala. . . . when he did just that. At 9:00 P.M., a mile south, a southbound motorist spotted his body sprawled on the shoulder of the two-lane blacktop highway. Blood still flowed from .22 caliber bullet wounds, one in his head, another in his neck. Police found \$50.15 in his pockets. . . .³

Why was this man killed? What threat did his message of peace and equality hold for the people of Mississippi? Was Moore killed by a white man or a black man? Why?

Black Americans have served in the armed forces of this nation since their inception. Even though the armed forces have led institutions such as our schools in the equal treatment of Blacks, this effort is sometimes undermined by individuals acting singly or in groups. In this next excerpt Sammy Davis, Jr. narrates his experiences while in the armed forces.

The Military Ordeal of Sammy Davis, Jr.

A PFC was sitting on the steps of a barrack,

³"Broken Lance," Newsweek (May 6, 1963), p. 29.

sewing an emblem onto a shirt. I walked over to them. "Excuse me, buddy. I'm a little lost. Can you tell me where 202 is?"

He jerked his head, indicating around the corner. "Two buildings down. And I'm not your buddy, you black bastard!" He turned back to his sewing. . . .

Sergeant Williams walked out of the mess hall with me. "I was looking over the service records and I see that you were in show business. We have shows at the service club every Friday. If you'd care to help out I'm sure it would be appreciated and perhaps you might enjoy doing that."

After the show, I was standing backstage with one of the musicians, a guy from another company, and I suggested we go out front and have a coke.

He said, "Maybe we better go over to the colored service club. You don't want trouble, do you?"

"Trouble? I just entertained them for an hour. They cheered me. Hey, look, God knows I don't want trouble but there's gotta be a point where you draw the line. Now I don't know about you, but I'm thirsty and I'm going in for a coke."

A few of the guys who'd seen the show saw us walking in and pulled chairs up to their table, making room for us. Jennings was at a table with four of his buddies. They looked over at me and smiled or smirked, I couldn't be sure which. I sat with a group from our barracks and it was the happiest hour I'd spent in the Army. I luxuriated in it. I had earned their respect; they were offering their friendship and I was grabbing for it.

After an hour or so I said good night and headed for the door. As I passed Jennings' table he stood up. "Hey Davis, c'mon over here and let's get acquainted." He was smiling, holding out his hand. It would have been satisfying to brush him off, but if he was trying to be friendly, it seemed better to accept it and keep peace. "Well, I was going to the barracks"

"Hell, you got time for one little drink with us." He pulled out a chair for me. "Man, where'd you learn t' dance like that? I swear I never saw a man's feet move so fast. By the way, you notice I ain't calling you 'boy.'"

"Have a beer, Davis." One of the guys pushed a bottle toward me. "Here y'are," Jennings said, "here's one nobody touched."

"If you don't mind I'd rather have a coke."

"Hey, Old Buddy, you're in the Army. It's time you got over that kid stuff. You gotta learn to drink like a man. Try it. You're gonna like it."

The others were watching me. One of them grinned. "Yeah, you oughta learn to drink if you're gonna be a soldier."

Jennings said, "Listen, you're gonna insult me in a minute. Any man who won't drink with me"

"Okay, I'll try it."

"That's better. Now I'll tell you how to drink beer. It can't be sipped like whiskey or a coke. To really get the taste of beer you gotta take a good long slug."

The others nodded and raised their bottles. Jennings said, "Here's to you." I picked up my bottle to return their toast. I had it halfway to my mouth when I realized it wasn't cold. It was warm. As it came close to my nose I got a good whiff of it. It wasn't beer.

"Hell, don't smell it man! Drink it!"

I took another smell and all at once I understood the smiles, the handshakes, the friendliness from Jennings. Somebody had taken the bottle empty into the men's room and come back with it filled.

Jennings was saying, "Come on, drink up, boy. . . ."

I put the bottle on the table. The faces in front of me zoomed in like a movie close-up and I could see every line, every bead of perspiration, every blink of their eyes. The noise in the room was growing loud then low, loud then low. Suddenly I snapped out of it.

"Drink it yourself you dirty louse."

Jennings roared with laughter. "Hell, he even curses like a coke drinker, don't he?"

I tried to stand up, but my chair wouldn't move. Jennings had his foot behind a leg of it, trapping me. The old hate was back in his face.

"You wanta live with us and you wanta eat with us and now you come in here and you wanta drink with us. I kinda thought you loved us so much you'd wanta. . . ."

I felt a warm wetness creeping over the side of my shirt and pants. While he had been talking he had turned the bottle upside down and let it run out on me. I stared at the dark stain spreading over the khaki cloth, stared at it in unbelieving horror, cringing from it, trying to lean away from my wet shirt and wet pants. My pocket was so soaked I couldn't put my hands in for my handkerchief.

Jennings jumped up, pointing to me, yelling loudly "Silly niggers can't control themselves. This little fella got so excited sittin' with white men--look what he did to himself."

I was out of the chair and on top of him. I had my hands on his throat with every intention of killing him. I loved seeing the sneer fall from his face and be replaced by dumb shock as I squeezed tighter and tighter, my⁸ thumbs against his windpipe. He was gasping for breath.

Racism pierces the veil of institutional affiliation and status. Ethnic minorities who are rich and poor, whose status is high and low are subjected to abuses generated by the system of racism.

Time passes quickly. Sammy Davis, Jr. is now a successful entertainer and millionaire. What other type behaviors exemplify racism today? Fortunately, all racial conflict does not end in death. Examine how other behaviors correspond with racial attitudes.

Taft, Little Town That Chased Blacks Out, Is Confused, Upset

Taft (California), June 13, 1975--Bands of vigilantes once more or less ruled this small oil town on the edge of the San Joaquin Valley. . . .

For three weeks now, no black person has walked down the city's sidewalks or crossed its borders. They have not done so because the entire population of 13 blacks--all students at Taft Junior College--were run out of town by gangs of young whites, and they have not returned.

Their expulsion is a bizarre story of violence and misunderstanding. At its conclusion, one white youth had been seriously wounded by a shotgun blast, and the police department had been cast in the role

⁸ Ebony, December 1965, pp. 151-156.

of accomplice by escorting the black students out of the city.

"It came down to this," said Walter McKee, Chief of Taft's eight-man police force. "The young bucks got liquored up and persuaded themselves that one of the black kids had knocked up a white girl in town."

Thus persuaded, the whites began to cruise the streets surrounding Taft Junior College, which since 1961 has enrolled small numbers of black students, mostly athletes under scholarships.

As a group, the 13 students constituted the sole black presence in Taft. Because they are athletes and receiving educations that most of the white youths of Taft would never attain, some here believe the resentment is not confined to their alleged sexual dalliance with white girls.

"The town rednecks sweat all day in the fields and come home to see these black kids playing football and getting free educations. They were outclassed in their own town and they couldn't take it," said an official at Taft College.

The cruising whites soon discovered 21 year-old Joe W. Rhone, a Taft linebacker, walking on a street near the college toward his off-campus apartment. He was cornered and a fight ensued.

"We got there in five minutes and broke it up," said Chief McKee. "I thought it was all over."

It wasn't. Rhone returned to his apartment and waited for an hour. When he felt it was safe, he began walking toward the campus in the company of two friends.

Once again the whites cornered Rhone and his friends. But this time Rhone carried a 12-gauge shotgun in a pool cue case.

As the whites closed in, according to witnesses who described the scene to police, Rhone began to wave the gun in an effort to ward them off. Suddenly, the gun fired, hitting Doug Henry, 22, in the neck and shoulder. Rhone, who claimed the shooting was accidental, was arrested. Henry was placed in the intensive care unit at Kern Medical Center in Bakersfield.

Tensions mounted at Taft College. Groups of whites cruised by dormitories, throwing rocks through windows and challenging the blacks to a confrontation.

At one point, a black student emerged from the dormitory to plead for a halt to the harassment. He was beaten and forced to scramble back inside the dormitory.

Seeking refuge. . .the blacks fled to the police station. Within an hour they were escorted from town under police guard, eventually stopping in Bakersfield where Rhone was held on charges and the others released to fend for themselves.

No whites were arrested as a result of the night's activities. McKee's police. . . claimed "reasonable cause had not been established."

No public apologies or other gestures have been made toward the departed students, and Police Chief McKee says he is relieved that there is no longer a problem here.⁹

Taft is a central California community approximately an hour and a half north of Los Angeles. The Taft incident occurred in 1975. When contrasted with the Moultrie, Georgia incident of 1923, the geographical and temporal pervasiveness of racism is apparent.

Several questions are raised by the Taft incident. What are some of the inputs that went into formulating the attitudes of those whites who attacked the black students? Why did the community pillars not intervene? What set of circumstances led the law enforcement officials to in fact aid in the expulsion of the blacks?

Behavior is the end product of perception. We are born "ethnically neutral," and it is literally true we must be taught to hate. We also learn to hate based on experiences we perceive as negative. What then are some of the intervening variables between birth and the behaviors cited in the above examples?

⁹Robert A. Jones, Taft, Little Town That Chased Blacks Out, Is Confused, Upset, Los Angeles Times, June 13, 1975, part 1, p. 1.

In the next chapter and throughout this book the authors present modal samples of racist thinking which have led to behaviors such as those cited in this chapter.

The chapter "Do Black People Have Black Blood?" focuses on the concept of race, a primary plank in the racist platform. Armed with racist ideology, racists have systematically exploited Third World peoples.

The chapter on Native Americans (Ch.) and the section on Capitalism and Racism (Section) provide the background for understanding how racist behaviors directed at the Indians have eventuated in modern day native American-Anglo relations.

Institutional Racism (Ch.) is the framework for the incident involving businessman Figueroa; specifically, Institutional Racism and the Law. Some effects of modern day racism on Chicanos are presented in Chapter .

As the incident with Mr. William L. Moore illustrates, whites are also victimized by racism. The manner in which racism effects whites is presented in Chapter .

"Would You Want Your Daughter To Marry One?" (Ch. 14) and "Fears of Miscegenation" (Ch.) provide a cognitive framework for understanding the behavior of the vigilantes in Moultrie, Georgia and Taft, California. Beyond these examples, other issues are raised such as Intelligence and Race.

The debit side of the racist ledger is presented in the chapter, "The Costs of Racism." The position of the authors

is that the socioeconomic system is instrumental in the role assigned ethnic minorities. The relationship between the economic system and racism is presented in the section, "The Faces of Capitalism." We begin our inquiry with the chapter "Do Black People Have Black Blood?"

CHAPTER

THE SILENT NIGHT RIDER

Institutional Racism

Contemporary racism tends to lack the dramatic flair of the examples cited in Chapter 1. Modern-day racism tends to be more subtle and silent; yet, in many ways the destructive quality remains. In this chapter, we will examine the role of American institutions in denying ethnic minorities equal access to the goods and services of American society.

Institutions are systematized procedures and practices for meeting collective needs that occur on a regular basis. In our society, we have a need to educate people, to uphold the law, to provide forms of worship, etc. Thus, we have an educational system, a system of justice, churches, etc.

Institutions also serve as a form of social control, a means of ensuring things are done the "right" way by the "right" people. Conventionally, "Third World Peoples" - Blacks, Browns, Asians, Indians, etc. - have not been included in the definition of the "right" people. Systematically, peoples of color, as well as women, have been excluded from seats of social power and prestige. In some ways, minorities have contributed to this

discrimination by playing the victim. Here, however, we are dealing with the socio-political aspects of discrimination.

Institutional racism can be defined as those established laws, customs, and practices which systematically reflect and produce social inequalities in American society. If racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs, or practices, the institution is racist, "Whether or not the individuals maintaining these practices have racist intentions." (Jones, 1972: 131).

This definition indicates that whether by design or default the end product of institutional racism is the same; the exclusion of ethnic minorities from full participation in American institutions. This emphasis on behavioral outcomes; i.e., exclusion, is essential for many institutions that practice racism are not staffed by "bad" people who sit around plotting to keep minorities out. The normal order of business, however, excludes ethnic minorities. For example, entrance and ability tests which do not take into account the cultures of ethnic minorities are racist in that they are culturally biased in the direction of the white middle class. Not sharing in white middle class culture, minorities tend to not do well on tests standardized on white middle-class populations.

Because institutional practices are systematized, they are taken for granted. Thus, a lack of awareness often exists about the effect of such practices on ethnic minorities. For

example, Poxley (1971) began gathering statistics on the representation of minorities in clinical psychology. The data revealed that only two percent of clinical psychologists are Black. Ethnic minorities need assistance with mental health problems, too. Standardized institutional procedures eliminate many minorities before they have an opportunity to demonstrate their abilities and motivations. As a result, ethnic minorities are not provided adequate mental health care from professionals with similar ethnic backgrounds.

To illustrate the widespread nature of institutional racism, racial discrimination as practiced in three American institutions will be presented. Our focus will be on racism in residential segregation, in education, and in the criminal justice system.

Institutional Racism and Residential Segregation: Segregation is the manifestation of the white belief in the inferiority of Blacks (Davis and Donaldson, 1975:176).

A thorough study of the extent of racial segregation, using 1960 census data, on more than 200 cities showed that more than half of these cities had segregation indices of more than 85 (Forman, 1975:61). The study, by Karl and Alma Taeuber (1964), showed a substantial number of cities in the 90 and high 80 categories. The segregation index tells the percentage of nonwhites in a city who would have to relocate in order for

each block to have the same proportion of Blacks and whites as the city as a whole. The high index numbers point to a near-complete separation of races. A U. S. Bureau of the Census (1974) study of segregation changes between 1960 and 1970, using census data from 19 metropolitan areas, concludes that, "in general, there was an increase in the spatial concentration of blacks and all nonwhites over the decade." Segregation was more complete in 1970 than in 1960.

Residential segregation is correlated with a variety of social and economic problems, to include access to jobs, access to quality education, the quality of law enforcement rendered a community, municipal services, access to health-care facilities such as hospitals and medica-dental clinics, access to recreation facilities, etc. Consider the first three of this cluster of problems.

The extent of Black concentration in central cities, and the dispersal of whites and jobs to the suburbs, are increasing (Rabin, 1975). This process has resulted, and continues to result, in reduced access to growing employment opportunities in the suburbs for inner-city Blacks.

Collura and Schuster (1971) conducted a study of the Philadelphia area to examine accessibility of suburban employment by public transportation and found that only 11 percent of the trips from low-income, inner-city residential zones to

suburban industrial parks can be made in less than 49 minutes, and that 42 percent would take between 70 and 89 minutes. In addition, 63 percent of all trips had weekly costs between \$3.50 and \$8.37. The remaining 37 percent ranged in cost from \$10.20 to \$16.00 per week. Because the rate of automobile ownership in inner-city residential zones was 11.4 percent, most residents were dependent on other means of transportation. The conclusion was reached that, "...people who reside in low-income residential areas of Philadelphia are virtually trapped because of lack of mobility in reaching regional industrial parks." A similar situation exists in many cities around the nation.

The impact of residential segregation in human terms is illustrated by the following:

Ford Workers Battle N. J. Town Zoning

Mahwah, N. J. - (NEA) - John Ligon, a short, slim black man, one of 5,000 employees of a local division of the Ford Motor Co., ...is not very happy. He says the citizens of Mahwah will allow him to work here, but not live here. The town's concept of home rule (which gives it exclusive control over homesite planning and land use) has discriminatorily zoned its residential neighborhoods out of his economic reach.

(Home 90 Miles Away)

As a result: "For the last nine years, I've had to keep my family in a home in Philadelphia - 90 miles away. During the week, in order to be close to my job, I am forced to live by myself in a cheap apartment not far from Mahwah (Mahwah has no cheap apartments). I only see my wife and kids on weekends."

Ligon says he has tried everything to find a home here. But this is a large lot community - one acre minimum, often two or three.... John Ligon, a working man, can't afford it.

(Ford, Union Agree)

Ligon, backed by the U.A.W. and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, has joined with several case-workers to test the legality of Mahwah's zoning law. It is a complicated and thus far out-of-court test. But briefly Ligon and the rest want the town to change its zoning laws to allow construction of small, low-moderate income housing.

(Common Man Excluded)

"We aren't asking the town to suddenly start building high-rise after high-rise," says Ligon. "We haven't the slightest intention of spoiling the quiet atmosphere here. What we are fighting for is a principle - that suburban zoning laws in effect exclude the common working man. And that is wrong. We should have the right to live in decent, affordable places too...."

Since more and more of the nation's jobs are offered in the nation's suburbs (the estimate is that of a million jobs created between 1959 and 1967 in the New York Metropolitan area, 75 percent were outside the city), the current cry is loud and getting louder: "As Americans, we demand the right to live where we work."

"Living in Mahwah," says one city official, is a privilege, not a right. If a man can afford it, we don't care whether he is black, white or polkadotted."

Yet the challengers have strong points. In Mahwah, the Ford plant accounts for 27 percent of the town's taxes, so says the U.A.W., "Residents owe something to the workers who make the tax break possible."

The answers eventually will be decided, in or out of court. Meanwhile, John Ligon will work 90 miles away from his home. And some of his peers will spend as much time traveling to and from the job as they do on the job. (Progress Bulletin, 1971:1A-7).

Consider now the issue from the perspective of the homeowners:

The Opposition Replies
Money, Not Racism, Issue

Mahwah, N. J. - (NEA) - Bernadette Callahan can't quite get over the shock. She keeps reading in the newspaper that she is a sick, discriminating racist.

And so, according to the accusations, is everyone else in this town.

Mahwah has been declared the front line in the escalating war against suburban home rule.... This town, like so many others in the nation, decides its own zoning laws, building codes, future planning, etc. That right is being heavily challenged by civil rights advocates.

(Advocate of Home Rule)

Bernadette Callahan...says with emphasis, "I am not, repeat not, a racist."

She is, however, an advocate of home rule, and thus is temporary chairman of a 500 member group called Citizens for Mahwah, which has been hastily formed....

"But this doesn't mean I want to keep the black man in the ghettos or anything. There are blacks in Mahwah and have been for 200 years. I don't know how many. Nobody ever cared to count. They are just part of the population. Some are teachers, some are working people, some are unemployed. But here they are just human beings like everybody else in this town."

The fear is that if local zoning ordinances are altered to permit some low income housing, a historic pact with the residents will be broken. Residents buy here expecting peace, quiet and tranquility. "So why should we," says citizen Joan Murray, "suddenly find high-rise apartment buildings in our back yards, our schools sinking under the crowds, our streets jammed with additional traffic....?"

(Change Resisted)

In Mahwah, everybody seems to be against change, everybody seems to be worried red in the face, but nobody, as some concede, really knows what in hell's going on!

Mrs. Callahan admits her citizens group has not ever seen a copy of the Ford worker's complaint of discrimination. One long-time city official says he doesn't know if single portions or all of the zoning charters are being challenged....

Bernadette Callahan and most of Mahwah believe in social responsibility: "We just have got to stop shouting at each other and start listening. I don't think they are justified in thinking our zoning laws are above reproach." In other words she suggests, both sides are going to have to give a little. (Progress Bulletin, 1971:A-7).

The issues illustrated in these articles - the right to live close to one's place of work, exclusionary zoning, community deterioration - are being reenacted in a variety of communities across the nation. Consider now racism in American education.

Institutional Racism in American Education: America has prided itself on being the land of opportunity. Yet to some degree, opportunity is based on competence, and competence, to a large degree, is influenced by the quality of education received.

Racial segregation is an integral part of the sociospatial structure of American education. It is as much a part of the system as the three Rs. It has, in fact, been the fourth R (Davis and Donaldson, 1975:174).

Racism in education is evident in (a) providing ghetto education for minority youths, (b) curriculum development, and (c) teacher training and placement.

To a large extent, the quality of education any child in America receives depends on where he or she happens to reside (Davis and Donaldson, 1975:170). This fact is even more important for Black children because in their case the question is not where they "happen" to live, but where they are forced to live.

Children and youths in the ghettos and barrios generally receive an education that is inferior to that obtained by their middle-class peers (Coleman, 1966).

Among the factors associated with residence and schools that have become important in the geography of schools is gerrymandering.

The process of gerrymandering has been prevalent as a way of segregating Black children in school. Racial gerrymandering involves the manipulation of boundaries, in this case school attendance boundaries, by which whites seek to isolate and segregate Blacks, with the result that white children have better access to the educational resources of a community (Davis and Donaldson, 1975:175). This manipulation of space can involve both the site of a school and the attendance boundaries of a particular school or district.

Throughout its history, the American educational system in all regions has perpetuated the subordination of "racial" minorities and the poor and has failed to provide all children with relevant education of a high quality (Green, 1974:290). White, middle-class administrators and government officials are responsible for the inequities in public education. They have deliberately established school boundaries along racial and class lines. In Detroit, Michigan, U. S. District Judge Stephan J. Roth recently ruled that the city's schools were illegally segregated and that government action was responsible for the residential segregation in the city. Judge Roth also said that the school board, attempting to relieve overcrowding, had admitted that Black students were bused past or away from

nearby white schools with available classroom space to Black schools that were overcrowded. In Benton Harbor, Michigan, evidence was presented in a suit against the school district which showed that Black youngsters were being bused from Black neighborhoods to white schools, isolated in all-Black classrooms for the day, and then returned to the Black neighborhood in the afternoon.

Where a school is located may be the most important factor in a decision to segregate children (Davis and Donaldson, 1975: 175). The central issue in site location cases is that schools are built in the center of Black residential areas and white children are then bused out. In these cases, it is interesting to note that white parents do not argue against busing. The building of schools within all-Black residential areas put the Black parents in a cruel dilemma. On the one hand, the school is close by and may be physically newer, yet it remains segregated, which has traditionally meant an inferior education. Indianapolis, Pontiac (Michigan), New Orleans, San Francisco, Cleveland, Sweetwater (Tennessee), Englewood (New Jersey), Mt. Vernon (New York), and Danville (Illinois) have been involved in court cases because of discriminatory school sites.

There have been numerous attempts by whites to control and alter school attendance boundaries in an attempt to maintain or initiate segregation (Davis and Donaldson, 1975:176). During the two years 1962 and 1963, the NAACP filed suits against 69 communities, ranging from large cities to small towns, charging gerry-

mandering of interdistrict boundary lines. Gerrymandering of school district boundaries for racial reasons has occurred in Malvonne, Baldwin and Hempstead, New York; Chicago, Illinois; Durham, North Carolina; Johnson County, Kansas; New Rochelle, New York; Jackson and Memphis, Tennessee; Hillsboro, Ohio; Ramapo, New York; Savannah, Georgia; and Englewood, New Jersey.

Another form that institutional racism in education takes is in the differential in amounts spent on minority and majority pupils.

Expenditure Differences Among Schools: Black children and youths are more likely to live in poorly financed school districts than white children (Jenks, 1972:27, 28). This is because more Black children than white children live in the South. Blacks suffer from living in the South, but also suffer from being in schools that get slightly less money than the average for their district. America spends about 15-20 percent more per year on the average white school child than on the average Black school child. Such disparities are probably declining, however, because Blacks are moving out of the South, because Blacks in the South are moving into the same schools as whites, and because some northern cities are allocating more funds to Black schools in order to head off pressure for busing.

The assignment of teachers is another dimension of institutional racism.

Institutional racism exists in faculty staffing patterns and teacher training curricula. By design, minority faculty members tend to be concentrated in jobs dealing with ethnic minorities and excluded from positions dealing with the general student body. Thus, minority faculty members are clustered in Ethnic Studies Departments, Special Programs, etc., and kept outside the general power structure of the institutions. In addition, minority teachers tend to be assigned to all-minority schools.

Teacher training also reflects racism. Traditionally, core curricula for teachers have ignored training in the cultures of ethnic minorities. The assumption, as evidenced in teacher training programs, has been that preparation for middle-class educational settings was sufficient. Graduating from this educational tradition, many middle-class teachers have had a rude awakening when confronted with ghetto youths about whom they know very little.

California has started to address the problem of teacher training with the passage of Section 3.3 of the State Education Code. Those teachers in school districts containing 25% or more minorities are currently required to take in-service training in the cultures of their students. This is certainly a progressive beginning, but racism also exists in educational programs.

During the 1960s, equal opportunity programs were developed

on campuses throughout the nation. These politically-motivated programs were designed for failure. They were based on a white middle-class definition of equal opportunity. Within this context, equal opportunity meant admitting ethnic minorities to programs, regardless of background or training.

It is well documented (Coleman, 1966; Jenks, 1972) that ghetto education is inferior education. Yet youths with inadequate preparation and without additional training or preparation were placed in programs and asked to compete with white middle-class youths, who for most of their lives received the best educational training available.

Due to the surprisingly high rate of failure, institutions then felt justified in cutting back support and funding for ethnic minorities. There was very little opportunity in such programs.

The manner in which institutional racism has denied quality education to ethnic minorities is apparent in examining the educational experience of Chicanos.

Numerous factors play a role in the educational experience of a child (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973). Factors such as the quality of school facilities, the types of textbooks, and the training and experience of teachers affect the quality of schooling because they provide the setting for learning. But the heart of the educational process is in the interaction between

teacher and student.

The teacher's skills in instructing, guiding, and encouraging students are demonstrated by what the teacher does and says in the classroom. The extent to which students are actively involved in the learning process is shown by their participation in the classroom activities. The way teachers and students feel about each other is evidenced by the way teacher and student react to one another.

In a 1973 report, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights focused on differences in the way teachers interact with Mexican-American and Anglo students in the classroom.

On the basis of a decade of classroom interaction research, some forms of behavior have been identified which appear to have a positive affect on pupil attitudes and achievement (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973:9). They are behaviors which involve the acceptance and use of student ideas, some forms of praise, or expressions of appreciation of a student's contribution, and behaviors which involve questioning of students. These forms of behavior do not invariably increase student achievement or favorably affect attitudes, but the evidence suggests that they generally do.

For example, one study (Morrison, 1966) found that the students who showed the greatest improvement on standardized tests of verbal and quantitative skills were in classrooms where

the teachers used a great deal of praise and encouragement and accepted and used the students' ideas.

In the last two decades, an objective approach to observing and evaluating teaching has been developed which is known as international analysis. This methodology involves systematically observing classroom behavior and relating this behavior to characteristics of teachers, students, and schools, or to the achievement level of students. Classroom observation is conducted by coding the behavior of teachers and students according to a system of categories designed with a specific orientation on focus. This information is then systematically compiled to obtain a picture of the actual teacher-learning process.

The Commission chose the Flanders System of Interaction Analysis because this system focuses on forms of teacher behavior which are most directly related to encouraging and involving the student in the learning process. The Flanders system codes the predominant classroom behavior once every three seconds according to the most appropriate of the following ten categories:

- 1) teacher accepts student's feelings;
- 2) teacher praises student;
- 3) teacher accepts or uses student's ideas;
- 4) teacher asks a question;
- 5) teacher lectures;
- 6) teacher gives directions;
- 7) teacher criticizes student;
- 8) student speaks in response to teacher's questions or directions;
- 9) student speaks on his own initiative;
- (10) no one is speaking, or confusion prevails.

Classroom observation was conducted in schools in California, New Mexico, and Texas. Within each state, geographical areas were selected that included rural, urban, and suburban schools in which large numbers of Mexican-American students were enrolled. Fifty-two schools were randomly selected from the eligible schools of the selected regions. Four hundred ninety-four classes in which English was being taught at fourth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades were observed. Teachers were notified beforehand that their classrooms were to be observed by staff members of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Interaction data which were adequate for analysis were available from 429 of the visited classrooms.

The Commission found that Mexican-American pupils in the survey area receive considerably less of some of the most educationally-beneficial forms of teacher behavior than do Anglos in the same classroom. Mexican-Americans received 36% less praise and encouragement than their Anglo peers. This disparity in praise very likely has adverse affects on the motivation and academic performance of Chicano pupils. In addition, the disparity may damage the academic self-esteem and motivation of Chicano pupils because students tend to evaluate themselves on the basis of the teacher's treatment of them in comparison with other students.

Ideas expressed by Chicano students are used less frequently than those offered by Anglo students. The average Anglo pupil in the survey hears the teacher repeat, or refer

to, an idea he or she has expressed about 40 percent more than does the average Chicano pupil. Of all types of teacher approval none is as strongly and consistently related to higher pupil achievement than the use of student ideas. When a teacher makes statements acknowledging or incorporating a student's contribution, he is, in effect, saying the student's contribution is sufficiently worthwhile to be taken note of by the entire class and indicating to the student that he took the time to listen and try to understand what he was saying.

Teachers also spent significantly less time in asking questions of Chicano pupils than of Anglo pupils. The average Anglo pupil receives about 21 percent more questioning from the teacher than does the average Chicano pupil.

On the composite measure of positive response from the teacher, which includes acceptance of student feelings, praise or encouragement, and acceptance of student ideas, Mexican-Americans received 40 percent less positive responses than Anglos. Further, teachers address 23 percent more of their non-criticizing talk to Anglo pupils than to Chicanos.

Closely related to the differences in teacher behavior with students of each ethnic group is the finding that Mexican-American students speak significantly less in class than do Anglos. The average Anglo student spends about 27 percent more time speaking in the classroom than the average Chicano student.

In total, the six statistically-significant disparities in classroom interaction all favor Anglo pupils over Chicano pupils. The six categories in which the disparities are not statistically significant are: acceptance of students' feelings, lecturing, giving directions, criticizing or justifying authority, student talk-response, and student talk-initiation.

The total picture of classroom interaction patterns presented by 12 disparities is that of a teaching process which is failing to involve Mexican-American students to the same extent as the Anglo pupils, both in terms of quantity and quality of interaction.

In another study, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974:67) attempted to identify specific conditions and practices that bear on the failure of schools in the Southwest to provide equal educational opportunity to Mexican-American students. The specific areas selected for inquiry were: curriculum, school policies on grade retention, ability grouping, placement in classes for educable mentally retarded, teacher training, and counseling. In each of these areas, the Commission documented the inadequacies of the schools and their lack of concern for Mexican-American children, who represent nearly 20 percent of the school enrollment in the Southwest.

The curriculum which the schools offer seldom includes items of particular relevance to Chicano children, and often damages the perception which Chicanos have gained of their

culture and heritage. The curriculum consists of textbooks and courses which ignore the Mexican-American background and heritage, and is developed by agencies and institutions from which Mexican-Americans are almost entirely excluded. Chicanos are instructed in a language other than the one with which they are most familiar.

The Commission found that Chicano children are retained in grade at more than twice the rate for Anglos in the Southwest. In the State of Texas, the rate of grade retention for Mexican-American first-grade children is more than three times the rate for Anglo children; the rates are 22 percent and seven percent, respectively. In the Southwest as a whole, 16 percent of Mexican-American students, but only six percent of Anglos, are retained in first grade. At the fourth grade level, where the overall grade retention rate is only two percent, the rate for Chicanos is 3.4 percent, compared with only 1.6 percent for Anglos.

An analysis of schools which practice some form of ability grouping shows that Chicano students are grossly overrepresented in low ability-group classes and correspondingly underrepresented in high ability-group classes. Thus, in schools where Chicanos are less than 25 percent of the enrollment, they constitute 35 percent of the low ability-group classes, but only eight percent of the high ability-group classes. In schools 25 to 50 percent Mexican-American, the figures are 57 percent for low groups and 19 percent for high. In schools with more than 50 percent Mexican-

American enrollment, more than three of every four students in low ability-group classes are Chicano.

Texas and California enroll more than 80 percent of the total number of Mexican-American students in the Southwest and are the only two of the five southwestern states which collect information by ethnicity on the number of students in EMR classes. In Texas, Chicanos are two times as likely to be placed in EMR classes as are Anglo pupils; in California, Chicanos are almost two and one-half times as likely as Anglos to be placed in such classes.

Chicanos are usually taught by teachers whose own culture and background are different and whose training leaves them ignorant and insensitive to the educational needs of Chicano students. In the fall of 1968, only 3.6 percent of the approximately 325,000 teachers in the southwest were Spanish surnamed. By the fall of 1972, this percentage had increased, but only to 4.8 percent of approximately 350,000 teachers. The corresponding 1968 and 1972 percentages for each of the states were 3.5 and 4.9 percent for Arizona; 2.2 and 2.9 percent for California; 2.3 and 2.9 percent for Colorado; 16.2 and 18.0 percent for New Mexico, and 6.5 percent for Texas.

The disproportionately-low representation of Mexican-Americans on the staffs of teacher-education institutions and other agencies that control or influence teacher education has several negative affects. It limits the opportunity for a

Chicano perspective to be forcefully presented in the development of programs and policies of the educational institutions, it tends to lower the priority given to the educational problems encountered by Chicanos, and it makes it difficult for teacher-education institutions to relate to the Chicano community and respond to its needs.

The lack of Chicano teachers denies Mexican-American students an important educational resource - teachers who can relate to them effectively. Chicano teachers have a better understanding of the Chicano culture and life experience than most Anglo teachers. More Chicanos than Anglos are bilingual and better equipped to deal with the English language difficulties of Mexican American students. In addition, Chicanos can provide more effective role models for Chicano youth than persons of other ethnic groups.

When Chicano pupils seek guidance from counselors, they can rarely obtain it, and even more rarely from a Mexican-American counselor. In schools in the Southwest that are 10 percent or more Mexican-American, only 184 of the 3,388 counselors (5.4 percent) are Chicanos. Only in New Mexico does the percentage of Chicano counselors reach as much as half the percentage of the Chicano enrollment. In California, by contrast, where one in every five pupils in the survey is Mexican-American, fewer than one of every 30 counselors is of that ethnic origin.

Having established the conditions that assure failure, the schools then judge the performance of Chicano children. Here, also, the test is generally not a fair one.

Many Mexican-Americans give up the unfair competition and drop out of school before graduation. Of those who remain, most cannot perform at grade level. In effect, the schools have predicted failure and then, by their own actions, assured that this prediction comes true.

Racism is apparent not only in our educational system, but in our system of justice as well. The words inscribed over the entrance to the Supreme Court building in Washington are, "Equal Justice Under Law." (Wright, 1975:425). In practice, too often this slogan becomes a saying without substance.

Institutional Racism and the Criminal Justice System:

Rather than transcend the racism of the society, the law, like other institutions, often reflects it (Burns, 1971:122). In fact, the law has been the vehicle by which the generalized racism in the society has been made particular.

Nonwhites make up a disproportionate number of the prison population - In California, over 40%, in New York, more than 20% (Burns, 1971:120). Thus, the burdens of an oppressive prison system - inadequate facilities, inequitable bail, unfair administrative procedures, physical and psychological brutality - are disproportionately borne by nonwhites.

A disproportionate number of the poor are nonwhite and are sentenced by their poverty to long terms in jail awaiting trial although convicted of no crime. This is because they cannot raise the money for bail (Burns, 1971:120).

The system of bail in the Southwest frequently is used more severely against Mexican-Americans than against Anglos as a form of discrimination (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975 422). In certain cases, Mexican-American defendants are faced with excessive bail. Defendants, in other cases, are held without any opportunity to put up bail or are purposely confused by local officials about the bail hearing so that they unknowingly forfeit their bail.

The following case is illustrative of the abuses of bail (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975:422). A Mexican-American school teacher in Los Angeles, arrested with 12 others on a felony charge of conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor in connection with a school walkout by Mexican-American high school students, complained that the timing of the arrest late on a Friday night and the setting of excessive bail were designed to keep him and the other defendants in jail over the weekend. Bail was set at \$1,200 each. Unable to raise bail in this amount, they had to wait until Monday morning for a hearing on a petition for reduction of bail. On Monday, the court reduced the bail to \$500 each; subsequently this was lowered to \$250, and eventually to release on their own recognizance.

Those who administer the prison system, who are responsible for the custody, care, and rehabilitation of inmates, are disproportionately white (Burns, 1971:120). In New York, for example, despite the fact that close to 3/4 of the prisoners are nonwhite, some 98% of the corrections officials who supervise them are white.

Complete racial segregation within prison systems is less widespread than it used to be, but reports of systematic discrimination persist, especially with regard to exclusion of Blacks from certain preferred prison work, assignments, and programs.

Police forces tend to be overwhelmingly white, and arrests tend to be discriminatory.

A study was undertaken at California State University at Los Angeles to determine whether some students who were members of the Black Panther Party were actually experiencing police harassment or reacting in a paranoid fashion to their encounters with the police.

Recruitment advertising for subjects to participate in the research elicited 45 possible subjects from the student body. Careful screening thinned the ranks to 15 - five Black, five white, and five of Mexican descent. Each group included three males and two females.

All participants in the study had exemplary driving records attested to by a sworn statement that each driver had received no "moving traffic violations" in the preceding twelve months.

A fund of \$500 was obtained from a private source to pay fines for any citations received by the driving pool and student were briefed on the purposes of the study.

Bumper stickers in lurid day-glo orange and black, depicting a menacing panther with large Black Panther lettering were attached to the rear bumper of each subject car, and the study began. The first student received a ticket for making an "incorrect lane change" on the freeway less than two hours after heading home in the rush hour traffic. Five more tickets were received by others on the second day for "following too closely," "failing to yield the right of way," "driving too slowly in the high-speed lane of the freeway," "failure to make a proper signal before turning right at an intersection," and "failure to observe proper safety of pedestrians using a crosswalk." On day three, students were cited for "excessive speed," making unsafe lane changes," and "driving erratically." And so it went every day.

One student was forced to drop out of the study by day four, because he already had received three citations. Three others reached what had been agreed was the maximum limit - three citations - within the first week. Altogether, the participants received 33 citations in 17 days, and the violations fund was exhausted. Students received citations equally, regardless of race, sex, ethnicity, or personal appearance.