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In this issue:

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Residential segregation: its effects on education

It is tempting to leap to a conclusion that some type of conspiracy has been responsible for the exclusion of blacks of all income groups and poor people of any color from thousands of suburban and other types of housing and schools. In fact, I believe some elements of a conspiracy have been involved. However, no matter how much or how justly we condemn the people responsible for residential and educational segregation by income and race for the results of their actions, we will make little headway in counteracting those results unless we understand their legitimate purposes, and devise alternative ways of achieving those purposes which will not have the undesirable effects of residential and educational segregation like that which now exists in most suburbs.

Because middle class Americans regard school as important, choosing a place to live is for them

greatly influenced by the quality of the schools serving different neighborhoods available to them.

Middle class parents generally judge the quality of a school in terms of families whose children are predominant in the classrooms. Those families are usually appraised in terms of their socioeconomic status, ethnic character, and sometimes in terms of their religion. These considerations are usually far more important than the nature of the physical plant, quality of the teachers, or even the per pupil expenditure.

Typical middle class parents want school classmates to support and thereby reinforce the same values and attitudes in their children that they have been teaching and exhibiting in their own homes. They do not want the schools their children attend dominated by children from families with traits they regard as undesirable. I am referring to high crime rates, juvenile delinquency rates, high rates of illegitimate birth and pre-marital sexual activity, use of certain speech patterns repugnant to many middle class parents, and a tendency to be more violent and threatening in interpersonal relations. These so-called "lower-class" traits are actually exhibited by only a relatively small proportion of low-income citizens. Moreover, their underlying causes are rooted in conditions society imposes upon the people that exhibit them. Nevertheless, most middle class parents of every race do not want their children to attend schools in which other children exhibiting these traits predominate. Thus, the widespread desire of middle class parents to establish social homogeneity in their own neighborhoods is a direct result of their value-reinforcing objectives concerning the school experience of their children. In my opinion, this is a proper concern for parents of any race or ethnic background.

Middle class parents also add considerations of race to the push for socioeconomic homogeneity. In the thinking of many whites, ethnic characteristics are often confused with socioeconomic status. Essentially "lower-class" traits are not in any way necessarily associated with race or ethnic background, yet many whites believe they are. Hence, they impute importance to relative racial homogeneity in selecting schools as well as economic homogeneity. In some cases, whites reject mixture with blacks and other minority groups on the basis of pure racial prejudice.

The parents concerned do not necessarily demand total exclusion of students from families which possess traits which they consider undesirable. Rather, their purpose can be achieved if the degree of exclusion is sufficient to insure predominance of the values, attitudes, and behavior pattern they approve of. Thus it is possible for the entry of some low-income and other "undesirable" students to enter the schools serving their neighborhoods without seriously impairing their reaching their educational objectives.

Achieving educational homogeneity in public schools is not the only motive for residential screening and exclusion. In order to achieve educational objectives, we must also take into account these non-educational purposes for such practices. Otherwise, our remedial actions may not touch upon very powerful motives for maintaining these practices, and hence will not be effective in the long run.

The first of these other purposes is to limit increases in local property taxes.

A second objective of exclusionary residential practices is to maintain relatively low crime rates and high predictability of public behavior patterns in certain suburban communities.

The third purpose of residential exclusion is the achievement of dominance within the school system of students from "desirable" households, as discussed above.

The fourth purpose of such exclusion is enhancing the prestige of people living in certain neighborhoods by establishing "social distance" from others considered to be of lower socioeconomic status. Even though this is an extremely strong motive, which must be dealt with, I do not classify it as a legitimate purpose of exclusionary residential practices.

The final major purpose of exclusion stems from the widely-held belief by American homeowners that any sizable entry of low-income households into their neighborhoods will depress the value of their homes.

Some forms of neighborhood residential discrimination are inescapable and probably desirable. As noted above, the efforts of residents to exclude from their neighborhood people whom they regard as "undesirable" are deeply rooted in factors other than the quality of the schools. These efforts arise from the inherently social determination of the quality of life in each individual household by human interactions that take place outside the physical boundaries of its dwelling unit. These interactions include free and safe movement to and from the dwelling, predictable public behavior, desir-

able playmates for one's children, desirable interactions for one's children in school, the manner in which neighborhood property is maintained and utilized, and the safe and convenient use of commonly shared public facilities such as parks, public transportation, stores, churches, and so forth.

These interactions between members of a given household and other people living in the immediate vicinity establish what economists call "external" or "spill-over" effects. They link the quality of life in each household—and hence the economic value of its dwelling unit—to the quality of life in the surrounding households, and to the behavior patterns of people living in the vicinity.

This means that every household is necessarily and rightly concerned with the nature of its neighbors regarding certain aspects of their behavior—particularly their public comportment and the way they maintain and use their property. In order to make that concern effective, people have to have some power to exclude from their neighborhood an influx of people who have traits they consider "undesirable". While making this affirmation, I emphasize that this right exists only regarding those traits which can be legitimately defended as significantly affecting one's neighborhood. It does *not* include the right to discriminate because of race, or of other factors which have no inherent significance in human life, the use of which to discriminate would impose unethical handicaps upon millions of individuals in our society.

My analysis of residential segregation would be incomplete if it merely recognized that certain legitimate objectives of middle class

citizens can be obtained only by some residential exclusion of others from so-called "desirable" neighborhoods. To be fair, the analysis must simultaneously recognize that other equally legitimate objectives of more deprived citizens can be obtained only if some such citizens are able to reside in those same neighborhoods.

There is some significant empirical evidence that major improvement of the conditions and characteristics of the socially, economically, and culturally most deprived households in our society requires their removal from neighborhood environments where certain highly deleterious influences predominate.

Their escape from these environments requires either their moving into areas where other influences similar to those in middle class areas are dominant or society making a massive effort to alter the conditions in their existing neighborhoods. Even such a massive effort will not work if it leaves many households of the type least capable of upgrading themselves clustered together without any significant number of more capable households being present. Hence, it appears that some residential mixing of deprived households with non-deprived households, with the latter exerting the more dominant influence, may be necessary to achieve any significant upgrading of the former.

This case for mixing lower-income households into middle-income suburban neighborhoods is strongly reinforced by recent trends concerning the location of certain vital economic, residential, and educational opportunities. If these deprived households are to be given reasonable access to new employment opportunities, to higher-quality schools and public facilities in the suburban areas, and to better-quality new housing,

then a significant number must reside in the same areas where these advantages exist—that is, in predominantly middle class suburbs.

The only practical way to resolve this apparent conflict of interest is to devise specific arrangements which would allow both groups to achieve most of their legitimate objectives simultaneously. I believe such arrangements are possible for three reasons. First, the right of middle class citizens to assert dominance in their own neighborhoods does not require them to completely exclude members of lower-income groups as residents of those neighborhoods. Most of the objectives of their present exclusionary practices can be achieved with some admission of lower-income households, as long as this does not eliminate middle class dominance in those neighborhoods.

Second, many deprived households seeking to upgrade themselves—and particularly their children—also require a neighborhood environment in which middle class influences are relatively dominant. The only way to offset the negative effects of an environment composed entirely of disadvantaged households is to shift those households into environments where debilitating factors are *not* dominant. Attainment of the basic objectives of many upgrading households is not only consistent with the continued neighborhood dominance by middle class households, but requires this condition.

The third reason I believe it is possible to reconcile the interests of these two groups is the difference in geographical scales of the residential mixtures required to obtain their specific goals. These differences make it possible to achieve most of the main residential objectives of both groups simultaneously by clustering many low-income households within large, predominantly middle class areas, and scattering some individual lower-income households within smaller predominantly middle-income areas. The only fundamental requirement is that each cluster of low-income housing be small enough so that the children living in it would not dominate the schools which they would attend.

For the above reasons, it is at least theoretically possible for society to mix many low-income households within predominantly middle- and higher-income areas through both clustering and "scatteration" in such a way as to obtain the major objectives of both groups as described above.

Each group would have to compromise its objectives somewhat. A small but noticeable degree of compromise by both groups could theoretically produce arrangements which would enable it to obtain most of its fundamental residential objectives.

There are many serious obstacles to the achievement of these theoretically desirable results. These obstacles consist of major changes in existing attitudes, behavior patterns, and institutional structures which would have to be made in order to achieve the desired results. The most important of these would be the attainment of the following: 1) Widespread recognition that certain property and individual rights can be achieved only at the community or neighborhood level. Therefore, the attainment of individual or household rights requires the establishment of certain conditions at the neighborhood or community level. Those conditions in turn can be achieved only if certain individual or household choices and rights are restricted in well-defined ways. This principle is already well established in such practices as zoning and urban renewal, where individual property rights are severely restricted in order to achieve community purposes.

2) Recognition that certain desirable neighborhood conditions can only be achieved by "balanced mixtures" of different kinds of households or individuals, rather than by either the complete exclusion or the complete allowance of those kinds of individuals and households in the area. Existing patterns of *de facto economic* segregation can be ended only if some type of explicit mechanism for obtaining "economic balance" is devised and adopted. The same reasoning may apply to achieving racial integration in housing.

3) Development of altered arrangements for financing public schools which remove most of their costs from the local property tax.

4) Psychological acceptance by both middle-income groups and lower-income groups of a compromise of their "pure" rights as described above. If either or both of these groups insist upon complete attainment of their "pure" rights in these matters, I doubt if any arrangements for simultaneous achievement of their objectives can be devised.

5) Differential treatment of specific suburban neighborhoods by making certain ones targets for early development of low-income mixing strategies such as those described above. It will be necessary to initially focus available resources on certain areas so as to coordinate educational, housing,

and other resources in those areas, rather than dispersing them separately and in an uncoordinated way across the suburban landscape.

6) Development and widespread acceptance of an overall social strategy of achieving gradual or even rapid dispersal of new low-income housing throughout major metropolitan areas. It is not in the grand American tradition to act in a truly strategic manner regarding domestic problems, particularly urban problems. Yet without such a broad strategy we can neither design nor adopt the tools necessary to achieve our major urban growth objectives.

7) Provision of large Federal subsidies for the creation of housing for low- and moderate-income households in suburban areas. Such subsidies are necessary because newly built conventional housing in those areas is too expensive for these households to occupy without help.

8) Development and use of property value guarantees for homeowners in areas where low-income households are deliberately introduced into middle-income neighborhoods. If the pervasive fear and loss of property values could be eliminated by something like FHA guarantee of existing values over a certain time period, one of the major economic obstacles to the entry of low-income households into middle class areas would be eliminated. If accompanied by educational aids to offset rising property taxes, this device would remove the principal economic objections to the dispersal of low-income households that now strongly reinforce more subtle social objections.

9) Enlargement of school dis-

trict boundaries within metropolitan areas, perhaps to a metropolitan-wide scale (at least for planning purposes), and use of principles other than that of the neighborhood school principle to determine enrollments at the individual schools within each district.

Most school districts will not voluntarily adopt these arrangements, because they are not anxious to achieve either economic or racial integration. However, their willingness to do so might be greatly enhanced if significant Federal aid were made available (along lines described in 3 above), but were made contingent upon the adoption of metropolitan area-wide planning and cooperation to achieve both racial and economic integration.

Under present political and economic conditions, many of the above suggested requirements for achieving the legitimate aims of both middle-income and lower-income households simultaneously probably cannot be put into practice in the near future. Therefore, I would like to briefly describe a shorter set of specific tactics that could be pursued as a first step toward the long-range results described above. These tactics are:

1) Exercise of much more determination, especially by HUD, in striving for really widespread dispersal of low-income households to these areas.

2) Enforcing a requirement, again by HUD, that suburban communities receiving any Federal financial aid whatsoever, including the location of new Federal facilities, develop and put into practice effective programs creating low- and moderate-income housing.

3) Location of many new low- and moderate-income housing units in suburban areas, both in relatively small clusters and in individual scatteration in middle class neighborhoods, through rent subsidies and public housing rent allowances extended to individual households.

4) Creation of new educational subsidies, or new means of financing local educational costs, that take the financial penalty out of accepting low-income residents in a community. Without some such program, I am convinced that all efforts to create large numbers of low-income housing units in suburban areas are doomed to failure. If possible, these subsidies or aids should be linked to the development of metropolitan-wide plans to achieve racial and economic integration in schools, as described above.

5) The launching of legal attacks on zoning barriers that totally exclude low-income residents from suburban communities.

6) Supporting extensive further research into the practical advantages of spacially mixing middle-income and lower-income households and widely publicizing the results, so as to create a climate of public acceptance for the kind of strategy described above.

Many of the comments and conclusions I have stated above, which were mainly in terms of the relationship between low-income and middle-income households, also apply to the relationship between black or other minority group households and white households. I think the relevant analogies will be readily apparent to those well versed in urban affairs. I have concentrated on income and economic class as segregating and discriminating principles because their ramifications and importance have been less fully explored in the past.

CONCLUSION

Because human aspirations are unlimited, but our resources and capabilities are definitely limited, every society is always faced with the necessity of making difficult choices among several desirable objectives. The genius of politics is to work out compromises that allow most major groups in society to make significant progress toward their objectives simultaneously. The desire to engage in residential discrimination so as to exclude others from one's neighborhood is regarded as immoral, illegitimate, and otherwise bad by many urban planners. I disagree. In fact, I believe that desire is fundamental to human nature, and is rooted in many entirely legitimate purposes. Yet, at the same time, the desire of deprived households to gain access to the benefits from which they are now geographically excluded is equally fundamental, and equally legitimate. I have attempted to show the bases for both legitimacies, and to describe ways in which they can be reconciled, not only concerning education, but also concerning other key human needs and desires tied up with choosing a place to live.

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The second largest minority: A news correspondent's view

Editor's Note:

There is an awakening by the national broadcast media to this Nation's second largest minority. Forgotten, perhaps invisible to some, the Hispanic-centered American, while similar in situation to that of his fellow American who is Negro, is beginning to obtain national identity. The writer of the following 8-part series for radio has lived and traveled in regions of this Nation where the Spanish surnamed American is in the majority. During President Lyndon B. Johnson's term in office, while a White House radio news correspondent, the writer commuted to and from Texas and Washington, D.C. Previous to that and while serving in the U.S. Marine Corps, he learned about conditions facing the Mexican American in California, especially in East Los Angeles. While stationed on the East Coast, he saw the "other" world of such cities as New York and Philadelphia, whose barrios contained the homes of many of his fellow Spanish surnamed Marines. A member of the Nation's largest minority, the writer was born and educated in Chicago, where he first learned Spanish, attended the University of Illinois, and began his initial involvement with the Nation's second largest minority.

Spanish surnamed Americans - The second largest minority "Their problems"

If the United States is a melting pot, the burner has been turned off under most Spanish-speaking Americans. Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Cuban, Central and South American, and others of Spanish origin: they are the Nation's second largest minority. Most of them are the poorest and least educated—with the exception of the American Indian.

In school, their children learn *less*, suffer *most*, and drop out *first* —especially Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Their problems are caused by two basic factors: education systems which do not, cannot, or refuse to deal fully with language and cultural differences; AND, discrimination by society *because* of those differences.

Spanish surnamed Americans are awakening and reacting to society's insensitivity and outright ignorance about their existence. They are laying aside their cultural traits of strict obedience and unquestioning respect for authority because—they feel—America mistakes these qualities as signs of weakness, docility, and lack of pride and courage.

Where are they? Of the more than 565,000 Cubans, one-third live in Florida, in and around the city of Miami.

One and a half million Puerto Ricans reside in the Northeastern United States; more than one million in New York State. Nearly three million still live on the island of Puerto Rico. Mexican Americans totaling more than five million persons live mostly in the Southwestern United States. These three main groups, of which Mexican Americans are the most numerous, live in all 50 States, mostly in urban areas.

Racial and ethnic stereotypes are plenty. These Spanish surnamed Americans resent most of all their fellow Americans regarding them as foreigners, not quite part of the scene.

History tells a different story. In fact, the Spanish heritage in the Western Hemisphere and what is now the United States actually predates the sailing of the Mayflower. New Mexico Senator Joseph Montoya jestingly tells a story not entirely in jest: He says, *When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, the Spanish were there to feed them pinto beans!*

Mexican American war and a legacy of hatred

"Our heritage and life have been systematically destroyed! We are now merely trying to salvage it from the wreckage. I think *that* is probably where we are at this point in history."

The words of Vicente Ximenes, a native Texan and, as a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, one of the highest-ranking Mexican Americans in the Federal Government.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recently said: "The place of Spanish surnamed Americans in the Southwest cannot be understood without a knowledge of *how* that region came to be joined to the Nation and the colonial attitudes that prevailed afterwards."

Mexico once included what is now California, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Wyoming, as well as Texas. Spain was a 16th century super power, planting her language, culture, and religion in the New World. After 300 years of Spanish domination, Mexico fought to independence. To protect and strengthen her northern territories, which bordered on the United States, Mexico invited U.S. citizens and new immigrants to settle on Mexican soil to block American expansion.

Texas, a part of Mexico, broke away to join the United States. So there were border clashes. The United States declared war on Mexico in 1846. American victories led to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and, later, The Gadsden Purchase. These two arrangements bought the United States the entire Southwest region for $25 million.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo — supposedly — guaranteed the property rights, fair treatment, and protection of those Mexicans who became American citizens. But the war hatred between Mexicans and Anglo Americans was not erased by treaties. Even the Mexicans who became American citizens were not spared—not then nor now; ill-feeling still exists in the West and Southwest and in the country at-large.

I feel anguished at the thought and feeling that we are still hated in the United States, says Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi,

Texas. He says, *We are victims of this historical prejudice that is unique in our country, whereas Americans have forgiven* other *people of previous wars—like the Germans and the Japanese.*

"The siesta is over"

Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi, Texas, founded the American GI Forum, a Mexican American family organization for veterans in 28 States.

He says his people's problem is nationwide: in the Southwest the issue is education and discrimination; in big urban areas, it's equal job opportunities and discrimination. "We are not just a laboring or migrant class of people," he says. He is a former Army doctor and the first Mexican American to serve as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations.

Mexican Americans are trying to change their plight and public attitudes about them. The militant Brown Berets; MAYO, the Mexican American Youth Organization; and LULAC (League of United Latin-American Citizens): some of many groups, all marching for "cambio"—change.

Three out of four Mexican Americans live in urban areas; in Los Angeles County there are nearly one million Chicanos, as some like to call themselves. They are majorities in many southwestern cities, and some reside in major midwestern and eastern centers. More then 200,000 are migrant workers, harvesting crops and earning barely $100 a month. The farm workers organization drive, led by Cesar Chavez, is another indicator of change.

Spanish surnamed Americans lag behind educationally, averaging only 8 years of schooling and suffering achievement gaps from 1 year in California to more than 6 years in Texas. Nationwide, less than 4,000 Spanish surnamed Americans graduated from college this year; of their number only 52 were lawyers.

With inadequate education and language difficulties, their unemployment rate exceeds that of whites and blacks. Fewer jobs and less money compel the Chicanos to live in shabby housing.

There has been a price for change. Prominent journalist Rubén Salazar was shot to death by sheriff's deputies in East Los Angeles last August; two other persons were killed in the rioting.

"Puerto Ricans: We are not foreigners"

We're trying to do something to improve the education. We're trying to do something to improve the economic standards. We want to make a contribution to the country. We feel that we have a stake in this country. We are not foreigners here.

The problems confronting Puerto Riquenos are taller than the Caribbean waves rolling onto the island from which many of them came. Over-population and better-paying jobs on the U.S. mainland inspired a migration in the early 40's which steadily increased: a world war had required factory workers and Puerto Rico helped fill the need.

In 1940, 90 percent of all Puerto Rican immigrants settled in New York City. By 1950, there were 245,000 in the city; in 1960, 612,000. New York State, alone, has more than one million Puerto Rican residents. They have moved into New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and California—and, in smaller numbers, they reside in each of the 50 States.

Language and cultural problems, poor education, lack of skills, low pay, and poor housing; these are the tall barriers.

Overcrowding in the barrios and the acid test of "making it" in a not-so-hospitable society have produced a second generation of Puerto Ricans who are demanding change. One group is the Young Lords, founded in Chicago and extended to New York City; their efforts at "getting the community together" have produced friction.

Hector Rodriquez is not from New York. The former Army captain and graduate of Kent State University was born in Puerto Rico and reared in Lorraine, Ohio. A consultant to the Federal Office of Education, Rodriquez says the Young Lords are articulating the needs of Puerto Ricans and are moving against a menace in the barrio:

One of the things they're trying to do is to push out the drug pushers in the communities—things that the police had not done for a long time. Drugs were a part of the scene in East Harlem and in the Bronx, and in the black com-

munity, too. . . for a long time—and nobody *said a darn thing about 'em. All of a sudden the drug problem has moved and is creeping into the suburbs and all of a sudden it has become a national crisis. For a long time the black and Puerto Rican community, and the Mexican American community, has been faced with the drug problem.*

Mrs. Antonia Pantoja, a prominent social worker and organizer, says the Lords have opened up a long-festering sore "to have it smell out," as she put it, "so that everybody knows it's there and you can't ignore it".

"Sharing problems with the nation."

Puerto Ricans are moving onto the national level to make the country aware that their problems are not regional and are not special in any one city. While New York; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Philadelphia; Cleveland; Chicago; and Los Angeles are cities of high Puerto Rican concentrations. They are also dispersed nationwide.

Their aim is to create political power for persuasion.

Mrs. Antonia Pantoja founded a group called ASPIRA. . . from the Spanish verb "to aspire". ASPIRA is part of a larger national organization called The Puerto Rican Forum. Collectively they seek to improve life financially and educationally:

We found that the solutions to our problems need national approaches, so we're groping for that soughta thing. Also, remember that we are not immune to what is happening in this country overall; this is the way that many groups have come.

The Chicanos are doing the same thing; the blacks have done it. Many other people in this country, in their struggle for a solution to their situation, have gone national. So that . . . we know it's not *a regional problem so it does not respond to regional approaches.*

Mrs. Pantoja says "education is a terrible problem". Puerto Rican school youngsters suffer sometimes 50 percent dropout rates and lag behind urban whites, and blacks, in verbal and reading abilities, comprehension, and mathematics.

The prime reason is language difficulty. Also, bad housing: "We have inherited the slums," one man says. Mostly unskilled blue collar laborers, Puerto Ricans suffer job and housing discrimination and discrimination of another variety—COLOR. They are a mixed people of all complexions. On the island of Puerto Rico there is not the preoccupation with color that exists on the Mainland. This causes serious psychological problems for some Puerto Ricans who migrate and discover a new fact of social life.

The Cubans: No place to turn

There were the days when Phillipe Martinto was a lawyer in Havana and had pleasant lunches at a famous restaurant that Ernest Hemingway enjoyed:

I used to go to the Flordilita sometimes to get a daiquiri—to have something for lunch—a martini and . . . you know? And I remember seeing Hemingway several times . . . because Hemingway was considered one of the best customers of the Flordilita.

Things have changed considerably for Martinto. Like nearly 400,000 other Cubans, he fled to the United States following Fidel Castro's rise to power. The exodus continues.

Through an "understanding" between Cuba and the United States worked out by the Swiss Embassy in Havana, the Cuban Airlift Program sends out two flights daily, 5 days a week. There are more than 565,000 Cubans here, one-third of them live in the southwest section of Miami. Also, the Refugee Program has relocated Cubans across the country.

Florida officials report low unemployment rates for this group of people that has economic muscle plus! In Dade County [Florida] last year, Cuban heads of families had a gross annual income totaling $400 million. Forty-two percent of the Cuban population in Miami own their homes.

One Federal official said, "These aren't underpriviledged, deprived, uneducated people. They're skilled people." He said, "You've got to remember: these refugees were professionals who helped run a country of eight million people."

Former HEW Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, now a Senator, said President Kennedy had sent him to Miami to "take care of the refugee problem". Ribicoff said he found the place "loaded with doctors, lawyers, accountants, den-

tists, and businessmen". Ribicoff said it was very easy to set up an English course at the University of Miami Medical School for Cuban doctors to pass medical exams.

How Spanish speaking Americans view the nation.

More than anything else, Spanish-speaking Americans are demanding bilingual education systems for themselves and their children. It is the key to overcoming their major handicap.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights said in a report: "Their imperfect grasp of English often seals both their lips and their minds."

Inability to speak adequately and to understand English is the reason for those 50, 60, and 80 percent dropout rates among Puerto Rican and Mexican American students. Studies have shown that if students take the same examinations in Spanish, they equal and sometimes outperform other students.

The object of the bilingual program is to help the child make the transition from Spanish to English gradually, from first grade on. Hector Rodriquez describes one of his school problems:

In the schools there were a lot of differences. I had a lot of fistfights in the schools, I think because the kids didn't understand me and I didn't understand the kids.

I was stubborn because at home, you see, my parents spoke to me in Spanish because they couldn't speak in English and the only means of communication that I had had when I went into the school was Spanish—that's all I knew.

The teacher could not communicate to me in Spanish, I could not communicate to her in English. So, they put me in a special class with other Puerto Rican kids and we had some type of English class. Looking back . . . my sister, for example, was put two grades behind. She never did finish high school!

Spanish-speaking Americans have other complaints. They talk of the insensitivity to their *differences* by fellow Americans who lump them all together. Rather, they insist, Puerto Ricans are as distinct from Mexican Americans as *they* are from Cubans, as *they* are from Central and South Americans, as *they* are from Spaniards.

What the Federal Government is doing.

The Federal Government admits to being insensitive to and sometimes ignorant of Spanish surnamed Americans. President Nixon says a debt is owed them. Vice President Agnew says they are not adequately represented in national Government.

President Nixon appointed Martin Castillo, a Los Angeles attorney, as Chairman of a Cabinet Committee on Opportunity For the Spanish Speaking. Castillo says there is "movement" to create awareness within the Federal Government that there is a large group of Americans—more than ten million—who are not receiving equal benefits.

Some poverty programs are criticized for their apparent weighting in favor of blacks, such as in the Office of Economic Opportunity. Some officials privately tell of opposition from within Government by minority administrators competing for programs. The fight over crumbs at the Federal table doesn't stop there. Puerto Ricans are openly critical of what they regard as the strong influence of Mexican Americans in Federal councils. Puerto Ricans are underrepresented.

The Bilingual Education Act is funded at no more than $22 million dollars. There are 130 programs, two-thirds of them placed in Texas and California.

The Federal Government is criticized for not fully using the talents of Spanish surnamed Americans in the diplomatic field, especially in Latin America. The State Department has only one person holding the rank of ambassador and he is assigned in Washington D.C. to the OAS!

Equal Employment Opportunity Commissioner Vicente Ximenes once wrote: "It has been said that in time of war we are Americans, during election we are Spanish-Americans, and when we ask for a good job we are dirty Mexicans, Indians or Puerto Ricans."

The Federal Government is taking *fledgling* steps to dispel such attitudes, attitudes held by many Americans about their fellow Spanish-speaking Americans.

BERNARD SHAW

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AZTECS

The way beyond bilingual education

Recently I was interviewed by a reporter who asked my opinion of recent developments in Mexican American education. He focused on four issues or, if you will, four movements. These included questions concerning my appraisal of: (1) bilingual education; (2) the use of psychometric tests to track (form ability groups); (3) Mexican American studies; and (4) the "Chicano student movement". While each item has its share of strengths and weaknesses my opinion was that the positive of each far outweighed the negative. However, my overriding conclusion was that all four are principally important, not necessarily for their specific program benefits, but because they are "rocking the school boat"; because they demand significant institutional reform. None of these items is an answer in itself; rather they are steps, important positive steps, in getting the southwestern school off "dead center". They are going to lead to a new kind of school, a school that will serve children in much better, more humane, and more democratic ways.

These movements are causing educators to seriously question some very basic assumptions about themselves, their schools, and American democracy. A first step toward any kind of school reform is the questioning of basic assumptions.

The movement for bilingual education, although misunderstood by many educators, is causing schoolmen to examine their views of America as a "melting pot", as monocultural, and monolingual. The movement is forcing examination of the practices and policies of schools that suppress cultural diversity and attempt to "forcefully acculturate" the culturally different. Advocacy of bilingual education may be slowly but surely wearing away some of the false cultural pride, some of the ethnocentrism and racism, unfortunately so characteristic of our schools and our society. The acceptance, even in principal, of bilingual education represents a tacit admission that schools have failed and indicates a glimmering of a new vision of the Southwest and America.

The questioning of the use of psychometric instruments for tracking or rigid ability grouping purposes has been led by Mexican American parents and students. Law suits to recover damages for misplacement of children in "mentally retarded" classes are being brought; State laws have been changed: major cities no longer employ the group IQ test. On this front, disaffection with tests, testing, and tracking may be forcing educators to examine their basic orientations toward children and society. It may be causing them to seriously question the desirability of rigid ability or homogeneous grouping. It may be causing them to ask and answer the very embarrassing question, why does a teacher want to know any child's IQ? This thrust may be forcing them to objectively analyze the relationship between low teacher expectations, the "self fulfilling prophesy", and abysmally low student performance. The movement is causing educators to honestly examine themselves, their schools, and their influence on the life chances of the young.

Chicano studies encourages schoolmen to admit tacitly that American history and culture as taught in public schools are myths. Any history that omits a realistic portrayal of the Mexican American and Spanish involvement, or any minority for that matter, in past and present society is not only false but dangerous. One principal goal of the American school is to produce adults capable of making rational political and social decisions. One cannot expect adults to cope with the social, political, and economic realities of our times if they have been presented a fairy tale about

our country in school.

A "lilly white" version of history prevents not only the Mexican American from finding his rightful place in the present and past, but it cripples us all in coping intelligently with the multitude of problems our society faces. Minority studies may ultimately encourage inclusion of historical objectivity into school curriculums. It may help change the content of instruction so that it realistically prepares the young to cope with social problems, controversy, social change, and value conflict. Mexican American studies, with black studies, may not only encourage relevancy but may cause us to rewrite American history and culture curriculums to make them objective and reflective of reality. I certainly hope so.

Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the Chicano or Mexican American student movement is forcing educators to redefine both Mexican Americans and democracy. I doubt if many Anglos still stereotype Mexican Americans as passive fatalistic semi-citizens. People who demand recognition and change by "free schools", "teach-ins", strikes, boycotts, and marches are well on their way to full political participation—they are citizens in the best democratic tradition of both the United States and Mexico. By demanding their rightful and legal voice in school affairs the "movement" is encouraging a re-examination of such often belabored but often meaningless concepts as parent involvement, self-determination, and local control of the schools. Lo and behold the downtrodden are causing schoolmen, and all of us, to give real functioning meaning to such lofty ideals as the democratic school. The sustained pressure of Mexican American and other disenchanted groups, including youth, may be successful in making democrats of us all in spite of ourselves.

Let me recapitulate. All four of these areas are important for two reasons; the proposals for change are good for education not only as they affect Mexican Americans but all students, and secondly the total Mexican American education movement is causing educators to examine themselves and their schools. The movement represents a recognition of the absolute need to apply legal, political, economic, and social pressure on the educational establishment in order to gain constructive change. After all these years we are slowly beginning to recognize that rational arguments and appeals to good intentions are not sufficient to cause the highly bureaucratic and conservative school to affect the essential reforms.

Let's return to the title, "The Way Beyond Bilingual Education". What I imply by this is that we are only taking faltering and feeble first steps—that bilingual education is only a beginning. There is real danger that in our eagerness to implement bilingual education in our schools we fail to realize that it is only part of the "solution". There is real danger that because we have a few conferences, receive some Federal support, or a token program/or two that we will be satisfied and diminish the pressure. There is danger that we assume quality publicity equals quality school programs. There is real danger that the means will become ends; that programs will become goals.

The goal is quality education for *all* southwestern children; *one* excellent means to reach this end is bilingual education. There is also danger that we may not understand all the ramifications or the meaning of bilingual education, assuming naively that it means little more than English as a second language. Once we have programs labeled bilingual, bicultural organization may be forgotten. If this occurs, we may merely translate an inadequate English curriculum, laden with untruths, exaggerations, and nonfunctional values into the Spanish language.

Perhaps I see too much danger, perhaps I'm being too pessimistic when what is called for today is extreme optimism. Regardless, pessimism flavored with a real understanding of the problems confronting educational activists will serve our cause best. In order to look and move forward let's reflect for a moment on the past.

Looking at the history of educational reform we can say advocacy of bilingual education is at a similar state as advocacy of compensatory education was some 10 years ago. Then many pushed for school programs to remedy the school failure of "disadvantaged" or "deprived" kids by providing them the experiences in school that their home environments were assumed not to provide. This was the period of stress on such programs as "Head Start" and ESL (English as a Second Language) to provide study facilities at school, to take "culturally enriching field trips", and to help the child when he wasn't meeting grade norms in reading and math by providing remedial classes. Many of us advocated such remedial and compensatory programs, and Federal agencies supported such programs as panaceas or near panaceas for the "culturally deprived".

One would have had to assume from all this advocacy and support

Photos: Joe Mancias

that: 1) most children needful of such programs were reached; 2) teachers were well prepared in the skills essential to help the kids; and 3) that such efforts were successful. As we know now all three assumptions are false. Yet many of us were lulled into a sense of false hope; we failed to demand a quality or quantity of programs. Educators, in assuming that such programs were panaceas, were tricked by their own enthusiasm and self-generated publicity into doing little to guarantee quality efforts. Excessive enthusiasm and publicity may be a real copout that encourages educators to really do very little, either qualitatively or quantitatively.

Recently I saw some startling unpublished statistics that point up the real gap between what was assumed to be happening and reality. It can be conservatively estimated that 60 percent of Mexican American youngsters could profit from remedial reading instruction, yet only about 10 percent of Mexican Americans in the Southwest were enrolled in such classes a year and a half ago. Yet well over 50 percent of the principals point with real pride to the fact their school offers remedial reading. Similarly, only about 6 percent of all Mexican American children were enrolled in ESL classes. Yet the vast majority of schoolmen I know stress that ESL classes are solving the problem by providing quality language programs to all or most of the children needing them.

The amount of special training for remedial reading and ESL teachers was also found to be appallingly inadequate. What is happening? It must be suggested that the push for given programs leads to financial support, which

unfortunately contributes to self-satisfaction, which in turn lessens the effort to guarantee either the quality or quantity of essential programs. What must be demanded in the present context is: first, real institutional self-examination and self-study; and, second, comprehensive programs that consider the multitude of variables affecting Mexican American children. In effect demands for massive school reform with on-going quality and quantity control must be given top priority. Too much publicity may lead to educator self-satisfaction and little real school reform. In a sense, the publicity may encourage perpetuation of the educational status quo.

Unfortunately there tends to be a corollary result of excessive publicity in that many minority parents accept the pronouncements of educators that everything possible for their children is being accomplished. Accepting this, the parents may also tend to accept the blame for their children's school failure. Thus arguing that if the school is making such a supreme effort, then indeed it must be that their children are intellectually or culturally inferior.

Sometimes Federal money for programs may hurt instead of help—money often supports only token efforts. It can also discourage a school from making changes on its own. If the idea becomes well established that a certain program costs a large amount of money, based on the knowledge that the Federal Government is willing to spend so much, schools often will not attempt it without Federal money. Yet, often schools have the resources, both human and financial, to implement the program without Federal funds. Probably the most comprehensive bilingual program in the Southwest was implemented and sustained for a number of years without outside money. A great deal can be done without Federal financial aid; such money can both help and hinder the starting of programs.

In addition to the "dangers" just outlined, I feel we have another set of problems that only we as educational activists can overcome. The presence of some 400 educators at the Bilingual Education Awareness Institute in Phoenix in mid-October 1970 leads me to assume that there is support for bilingual education. But yet I wonder if we know exactly what we want. Only with a relatively clear picture in our minds can we hope to combat the misinformation rampant among other educators, board members, and laymen. It is essential that attention be directed toward reaching some agreement on what in the world we mean by bilingual education. What is the ideal model we demand.

There is nothing new or untrue in the statement that the Southwest is a bicultural and bilingual region. Mexican Americans tend to speak Spanish and tend to socially interact within their own community. Anglos tend to speak English and interact among their own. The principal problem is that the Mexican Americans don't get their fair share of the economic, political, and social pie. The dominant society, and its institutions, function unconsciously to keep the Mexican American down and the Anglo up. I don't think any of us would disagree that what we desire is the maintenance of two languages and two traditions with equal opportunity to progress within society.

We demand what America has never granted its culturally different or immigrant groups; that is, assimilation, social integration, and equal opportunity without acculturation. The Mexican American minority rightfully desires the "goodies" America offers without sacrificing its language and traditions. To find models of "biculturalism" we must look abroad to such countries as Chile. There, for example, the Germans fully participate in society but remain relatively culturally and linguistically distinct. While such assimilation without acculturation is difficult, it is not impossible to achieve; the battle is going to be long and hard. Ideally, in the new Southwest we envision, Mexican Americans should understand and be able to successfully cope with the Anglo segment of society, and Anglos should have the inverse ability. Understanding for coping implies realistic and objective knowledge of the values, mores, traditions, and history of both groups and ability to speak, read, and write each others language. If these objectives are accepted, a series of questions concerning the appropriate schooling for such a society must be considered.

Can a bicultural southwestern society be encouraged while maintaining segregated schools? The Mexican American is substantially isolated from "sustained equal status interaction" with Anglos and vice versa.

Some 46 percent of Mexican American youngsters in the Southwest attend schools that are 50 or more percent Mexican American; some 22 percent attend "predominantly" Mexican American schools (schools that are 80–100 percent Mexican American). In Texas, where segregation is the most ex-

treme, 40 percent attend predominantly Mexican American schools. Isolation of the Mexican American from school contact with Anglos is more extreme at the elementary than the secondary level; 50 percent of the Mexican American students are in elementary schools that are composed of student bodies 50 percent or more of their own ethnic group. Twenty-five percent of the total are in schools having a Mexican American school population of between 80 and 100 percent. Again, Texas segregates the most having a whopping 70 percent of the States' Mexican American elementary student body in schools with a population of 50 percent or more Mexican American. Segregation by ethnic group is widespread; there is little reason to believe it will soon disappear.

While no figures are available, it is obvious that much segregation exists in "mixed" or "desegregated" schools. The Chicano all too often is in the Z or dumb-bell section, the Anglo in the top ability sections, the Mexican American boys in body and fender, girls in cosmetology. The Anglos are in more educationally respectable curriculums. The existing ethnic cleavage is perpetuated and supported by school practices of rigid ability and curricular tracking. With both *de facto* and in-school segregation and isolation, how can we realistically encourage one ethnic group to learn the language and culture of the other? I know of only one model two-way bilingual organization that has combined both ethnic groups in the same classroom and school; that is the United Consolidated Independent School District in Laredo, Texas. It would be worth the effort to investigate it as a possible model of the benefits of desegregation and bilingual education. To foster cross-cultural learning, both ethnic groups should be mixed, our schools should be desegregated, and tracking should be eliminated or substantially modified. This is part of what I mean by good bilingual education.

Isn't it true that bilingual organization is best accomplished by desegregation? Yet many of our friends in the "educational establishment" argue the inverse—they are overjoyed that the Mexicans and their friends want bilingual education. To the conservative educational establishment this means Spanish language to Spanish speakers, a Spanish to English bridge program, ESL, or Mexican history and traditions for the "poor Mexican kids". These programs are little more than the traditional compensatory education programs that have been demonstrated to be the wrong approach. Nevertheless, many educators understand bilingual education in these terms and argue that such programs are most successful and best implemented by keeping the Mexican Americans away from the Anglos; by maintaining *de facto* segregation or its current euphonism, the "neighborhood school".

Parenthetically, one might suggest that it is isolation from English speakers that discourages Spanish speakers from learning English in the first place. Remember the good old days when separate "Mexican schools" were maintained so youngsters could "catch up" with Anglos and be taught English, while in reality the best way for them to learn English would have been by the mutual association of Spanish- and English-speaking youngsters.

The message is clear. The conservative elements that control the schools want segregation and will use whatever arguments available to justify it as being in the best interest of children. Bilingual education should not be used as such a justification. We must think through the problem asking ourselves what kind of society we want and what kinds of schools best encourage it. Two questions must be asked and answered; both are crucial. First, is bilingual education merely another compensatory program for "culturally deprived" Mexican Americans or is it high quality education for all southwestern youngsters? Second, should bilingual schools be ethnically mixed, desegregated schools. The major issue is, can the schools help build a society that offers equal social and economic opportunity by denying equal educational opportunity to children? Can segregated schools build a truly bicultural Southwest?

As educators we are constantly concerned with curriculum; we study curriculum in teachers college. Some of us consider ourselves curriculum specialists. What do we really mean by curriculum ? just what are we talking about? what is curriculum? Perhaps the old Latin interpretation comes closest to its present meaning. To the Romans it meant *race track or race course.* Many school age youngsters would agree with the Romans. But must it be so, must the curriculum be merely something to "race through"? We cannot discuss bilingual education without concerning ourselves with the curriculum—what is taught, when it is taught, and how it is taught.

A bilingual education program at its worse means only that we translate the present bad curriculum into good Spanish. If this is

all that is accomplished, students will only be slightly less turned off, turned off and dropped out, than they presently are. If what we desire is a bilingual as well as a bicultural curriculum, then we must address ourselves both to the content, method, and sequence of the Spanish instructional segment and to those same elements in the English sequence. A bicultural school means its curriculum reflects two cultures.

Curriculum is *culture* as found in schools. Culture and its carrier language are the basic components of education in whatever society. In "simple" societies culture is passed from generation to generation informally without schools. In most "complex" societies, such as ours, formal social institutions develop to augment the essential function of cultural transmission. Regardless of the nature of the society the sole ingredient of all education is culture. The patterned behavior and belief system, or culture, appropriate to a given society must be relearned with each succeeding batch of the young. Little formal structuring or arranging of the multitude of cultural items is required in the "school-less" societies. More complex societies convert culture into the instructional content, method, and sequence. Thus the curriculum is culture as distilled, arranged, and presented to the young by the school.

In relatively homogeneous and slowly changing societies, curriculum supplements and adds to the on-going socialization provided by parents and others. When the school deals with culturally diverse groups or cross-culturally, such as with some Mexican American groups, the curriculum can be drawn from either the culture of the dominant society or from that of the learner's subsociety. Ideally the curriculum should be from both cultures as is the case in true bicultural schools. I believe it should reflect both cultures and that this is what we are proposing and perhaps demanding for the schools of the future Southwest.

The formal curriculum exerts profound influence on the learner in many but poorly-defined ways. However, little negative reaction is encountered if the youngsters are carriers of a culture similar to the curriculum, or in other words if the curriculum is relevant. If the formal curriculum supplements learning outside the school few problems arise. Little conflict is apparent; children want to learn

and do internalize and practice what they are taught in school. However, in the contemporary world schools stress what is important *to teach* whether children desire *to learn* it or not. The question for us to resolve is do we wish to continue this lamentable situation or do we want to develop curriculums based on what youngsters desire to know—based on real group experience.

When the school attempts to instill or teach a culture different from that of its students, real and grievous problems are predictable. Culturally and linguistically different children rarely incorporate or practice the culture the school carries in its curriculum. Seeing little need of the items taught, seeing them as irrelevant or in conflict to what the home teaches, the "foreign learner" profits little from the experience. In the process he often rejects the school, the culture it teaches, and the society it represents. The mere use of Spanish in teaching will not automatically make the curriculum relevant nor learning intrinsically rewarding or useful. For example, there is little reason to believe that Mexican American kids are going to be more "turned on" by traditionally taught classes on Cervantes than they are about traditionally taught classes on Shakespeare. Rote and repetitious reading lessons in Spanish are little different than dull ones in English; absolute Mexican moral values may be just as irrelevant to modern living as absolute Puritan ones.

If we are not thoughtful we can construct a curriculum carried in Spanish that may be so idealized, unreal, irrelevant, and conflictive that, in the eyes of students, it will be as bad as the one they are accustomed to in English. Is the curriculum you envision geared to modify the life-style of Mexican American children or is it geared to supplement and enrich their lives, making them able to cope with social reality? Be careful you don't present a phony Hispanic or American culture to the young of either ethnic group. Do not try to remake this generation into carriers of your brand of Mexican American culture or what you would like it to be. Don't force your myths, values, and mores on the young, rather help them discover truth and make values, thus giving them tools essential to cope with a rapidly changing Southwest, America, and world.

The student generation of all ethnic groups pounds our ears with demands for "curricular relevancy". It must be determined what is relevant to this generation even though you may not be part of it, even though you may not accept what the young believe or the culture they are developing.

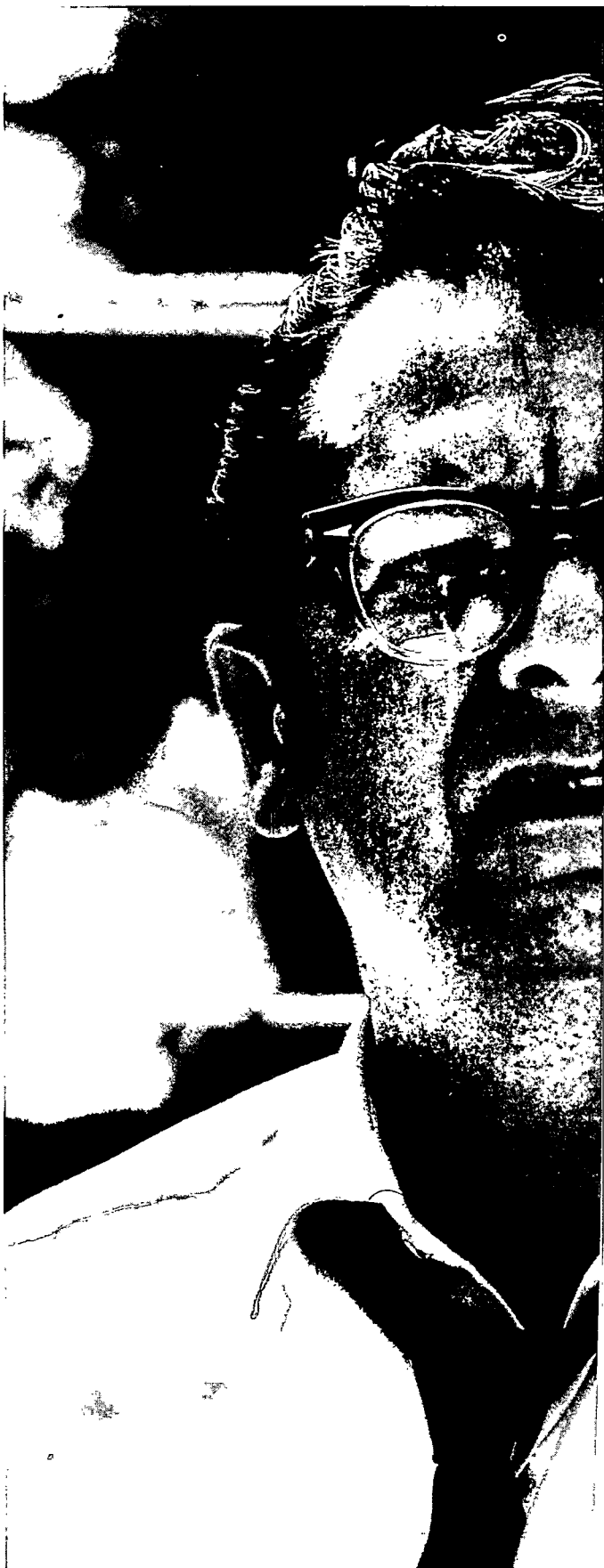
The curriculum for our new bicultural school must be relevant to the Mexican American and informative to the Anglo and, naturally, vice versa. When culture conflict is produced in either group, mechanisms must be established to ameliorate it. To neither group can we imply that this is the TRUTH, this is the moral, this is the good or the beautiful. Yet both groups must learn that what is good, true, and beautiful for them may not be for others. This is no mean task. An implicit objective of bicultural schooling is to foster the concept of cultural relativism, a belief that each cultural group is good and beautiful within itself. Since few of us are cultural relativists, can we ever hope to develop this in children? Can children be taught to intelligently operate within two cultures and one national society? I think they can, but it's going to take a lot of hard thinking to determine how to accomplish it.

Let's not sell bilingual education short! If it is understood by educators as merely another compensatory program for the "culturally deprived", 10 years from now we and they will look back and say, well it didn't work. If this happens the educational establishment will reaffirm its conviction that Mexican Americans do poorly in school because they are so obviously inferior; they are inferior because they are so obviously Mexican. I challenge you to preclude this copout by forcing schoolmen to change the nature of the curriculum, to change the social climates of their schools, to change the behavior of teachers. I challenge you to demand desegregation as an essential component of the new bicultural school. I challenge you to use bilingual, bicultural organization as a lever to gain a high quality of education for all children.

THOMAS P. CARTER

This article is based on a keynote address given by Thomas P. Carter at the Bilingual Education Awareness Institute in Phoenix, Arizona in mid-October 1970 to some 400 educators. The meeting was sponsored by the Arizona Mexican American Educators Association and the Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory. Dr. Carter is the first Scholar in Residence to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. A professor of sociology and education at the University of Texas in El Paso, he is recognized as an authority on problems of Mexican American education and is the author of numerous publications, the most recent, a book entitled "Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect".

Photos: Joe Mancias



Go talk to the principal!

"When the militants are knocking on the door, it is too late to start considering curricular offerings for minority group students"—begins a 1969 introduction to a curriculum for Mexican American high school students at Abraham Lincoln High in Los Angeles, California.

"A curriculum which fits the needs of such students must be created, planned, and implemented before the school falls helplessly behind society in general and the great awakening of minority groups in particular. Experimentation and innovation are acutely necessary in order for the schools to meet the challenge of a changing American society and to insure the survival of the right of minorities to a complete education."

Lincoln High with its 1,950 students is an unusual school, partly due to the fact that 92 percent of its enrollment consists of Mexican American students and partly because as a school with that ethnicity it marks two firsts, a Mexican American Principal and Boys' Vice Principal. [In California, 1.8 percent of the total principals are Mexican American, although 14.4 percent of the State's population is Mexican American, according to an August 1970 Commission report, "Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in the Public Schools of the Southwest".]

Extremely concerned Mexican American high school students are very volatile when they have an issue and want you to feel it. Without really knowing it, a school administrator may easily make a student body's attitude become sullen, perhaps extremely self-conscious, or lead members to take other steps to be heard.

The Mexican American students of Lincoln High School bring with them a great many thoughts which affect their education and our administration. Thoughts of where they fit into a dominant Anglo Saxon society; of student strikes; of teacher strikes; of dope; of machismo [manliness]; of brown power; of peace moratoriums; of fellow students in further East Los Angeles involved in violence; of La Raza [the race]. The school has had more than its fair share of student, teacher, and community unrest. From these experiences, many new ideas and points of view have developed, not the least of which include a new system of curricular offerings; faculty sensitization of the Mexican American; and parent participation.

The educational needs of Mexican American students generally center around their bilingual and cultural background, reading difficulties because they do not know English, and a lack of experiences that has

not enabled them to relate meaningfully to their other-than-immediate environment.

It is unfortunate that a majority of teachers and administrators, in predominantly Spanish-speaking schools, have for years been unaware of a need to cope with the world the Mexican American brings to school. The administrator of a Mexican American student body, if he is to educate, must sensitize his faculty with whom he is dealing as well as himself. Take, for example, the language factor. I have known people who have taught in predominantly Mexican American schools for 20 or more years and to this day can only say *Buenos Diás* [good morning] and *Adiós* [goodbye]. Advocates of "speaking English only" have negated norms accepted elsewhere throughout the world marking an individual possessing two or more languages as being highly educated. Unfortunately, the issue of "English versus Spanish" could have been avoided and not currently present a major problem in the educational process for these students. The issue, now in the courts, and in some cases on the verge of moving into the streets, could have been resolved in allowing students to speak Spanish and slowly transcend into English without psychological damage. [In 1870 a statute was enacted in California which provided that "all schools shall be taught in the English language". In 1929 this statute was repealed. In 1943 it was reenacted and is still in force today. However, California Education Code Section 71 (West's Annotated Calif. Code) 1967 provides that Bilingual Education is authorized to the extent that it does not interfere with the systematic, sequential, and regular instruction of all pupils in the English language.]

An experiment was conducted for several years at a school, where I was then a classroom teacher, where we developed a positive approach through the use of Spanish with the students and parents. The results were rewarding. From inferiority to proficiency. Spanish-speaking students struggled and acquired a language which became interesting and complemented the initial language taught by their parents.

At Lincoln we are utilizing both languages in transcending the language and communications barriers. Of a school staff of 96, 32 speak Spanish. Incidentally, only 14 of these teachers and administrators have Spanish surnames.

The efforts to transcend the language barrier are by no means a one man project, nor could they be.

Upon arriving at Lincoln in 1969, as the first Mexican American Boys' Vice Principal, I found the problems which had been developing over the years. For example, administrators and teachers besieged my office throughout a school day alerting me to "suspicious individuals in the halls up to something". Keeping in mind that youths are youths—no matter where in the world one is—I would seek out these individuals, shake their hand, introduce myself, partly in English—partly in Spanish. Simple as it might sound, two parties, one labeled "suspicious" the other, the dreaded "Boys' Vice Principal", were communicating. While the knowledge of Spanish was helpful, I suspect had those teachers and administrators reporting the "suspicious characters" done the same, they, too, would have gotten the same reaction. I regret the lack of sensitivity by individuals who do not relate to those other than their Anglo Saxon counterparts and consequently find themselves alienated in the midst of "suspicious characters".

To overcome this alienation between students and faculty, sensitivity sessions were started on a "voluntary" basis last year. The goals or aims of these weekly meetings, led by staff members, were left to the participants. Perhaps the aims are best described in reflecting on four statements heard often from the participants: "I would like to know to what extent some of my feelings are shared by other faculty members; I would like to explore my own feelings about some of the problems I am expected to deal with at school; I would like to explore ways of dealing more effectively with the emotional components of the classroom scene; I would like to be part of a group whose members are engaged in a serious effort to understand one another and to become more aware of their own feelings."

Getting the faculty sensitized was only part of closing the communications gap and pursuing the task of educating the students of Lincoln High. Having "rap sessions" for the students was a complementing endeavor. "Rap" or group counseling sessions were initiated for students at all grade levels. Held daily, the sessions were considered part of the school's mental health program and were conducted by volunteer help from the faculty members who dispensed with their conference periods once a week to meet with the students. Normally there were 8 to 12 students in each group with two faculty members, preferably one male and one female, as group leaders.

This year, twice as many teachers volunteered to work in the program. Teachers who work with these groups meet once a week with a psychologist from the East Los Angeles Mental Health Department, who is the school's consultant, or with one of the school coun-

selors. This allows the teachers an opportunity to obtain guidance in special problem situations presented by the students. The goals of the program are to help students who have problems and hopefully prevent further problems from developing. The groups afford an open forum for whatever is on a student's mind, such as getting along with other students and teachers, difficulties of attendance, classwork, and sometimes drugs. The program also brought teachers closer to the students, and vice versa, in helping them be more aware of the concerns and problems of their students, some of which were universal and some special.

In order to maintain attendance in a positive and socially acceptable manner, students were invited rather than directed to the sessions and thus we ran less risk of implying that students who attended the "rap sessions" were abnormal. While some students whose problems found their way into my office were invited, the "typical" student with normal growing up pains was also invited. They also want a chance to talk things over with someone who understands. Keeping the emphasis in these groups on what the student wishes to discuss, complain about, or seek help on versus what the teacher might like to discuss has proved an immeasurable aid in bridging the communications and cultural gaps, particularly to a predominantly Mexican American student body.

A traumatic situation arose for the faculty in a dramatic exhibition which accented the need for transcending student-teacher relations. Directly after a nutrition or snack break during mid-morning, a student leader yelled out "Don't go to class—sit down". About 50 students did just that. The rest of the students, somewhat confused, went to class. The apparent cause of the sitdown, or student strike, was sympathy with another local high school which had received notoriety in its problems of teacher-student relations. The emotions of the students had been fueled through hearsay and gossip in the neighborhood. As the tension quickened, the administrators milled in among the students to talk. In addition, concerned parents began to appear on campus. For me, it was more than anything I had imagined, and the atmosphere was electrifying. Our immediate reaction was, what now? We exhorted the students to go to class and talked until the school day was over. However, their cause was not. On the second day, the sitdown was repeated. However, we decided to offer them a platform through which they could be heard and opened the auditorium for them to express their cause. Those who gathered inside the auditorium were again asked to return to classes. Some did, but the majority stayed. Without question, the students who remained were concerned, but didn't know what they should be doing to show their concern for their fellow students at the neighboring school.

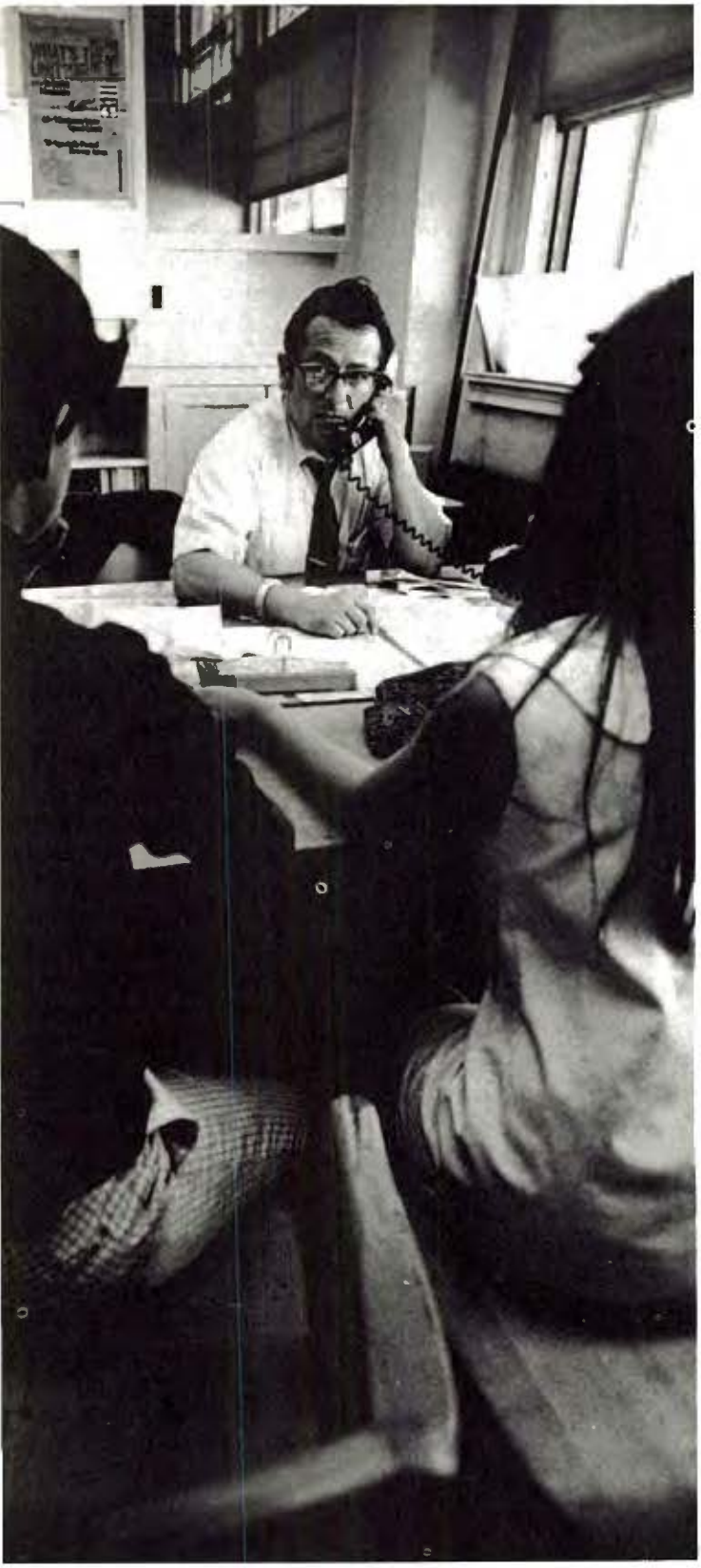
At this, we collected our composure and began a "rap session". What do you want?, we asked. What can we do to make you see that classes are important for your future? We began to solidify what their concerns were. Notwithstanding the catalyst of being concerned for their fellow students' school, the "student strikers" responded that they wanted more bilingual teachers, a cleaner school, more trash cans, and more dictionaries.

That evening we called parents into a special meeting and relayed the student's concerns. In addition, the students were asked to come where adults outside the faculty would hear them. What the parents heard threw them into shock. They had expected "worse things". The youngsters talked, and the administrators talked. From the confrontation immediate steps were taken and within a week the changes were effected. On the third day of this affair the students went to class. However, there was a peaceful march three blocks away from the school with several parents participating, after which all of the marching students went home.

During the 3 days of agitations, we had individuals from outside the school population urging students to "walk out". The students jeered and chanted back, "if that's the way college students look [the outside promoters of the walkout were bearded young men and "mod" looking girls], we don't want to go".

While these programs of sensitizing faculty and "rapping" with students facilitated two-way communications, we still had to provide the curriculum. As a beginning, 9th grade American History classes in Spanish-Mexican American Studies were again reemphasized for both students and faculty. The classes were designed to develop an appreciation for and understanding of the role of the Mexican American in the history of the United States. The course had been also planned to consider current issues and problems of Mexican Americans in the Southwest today.

An outgrowth of a successful extra curricular activity resulted in the *Ballet Folklorico Estudiantil* [student folk dances] class involving the learning of Mexican folk dances and giving performances for the student body and community. This class was substituted for physical education class and we felt that it aided the student's learning and appreciation of his Mexican heritage through music and the performing arts.



Of special attention has been "English as a Second Language" (ESL) classes in the development of this language skill with students possessing an environmental background in Spanish. Through this program students were able to learn English and other subject matter including math, American history, and geography concurrently.

These efforts, while they may seem rudimentary to some, and in the initial stages, must be placed in perspective with the past, in that the present school generation grew up under threat of punishment by educators if they spoke Spanish. While existing statutes have been modified, the practice nevertheless of obliterating Spanish and everything associated with it still lingers. Educators' reason for prohibiting the use of Spanish is, of course, that the students must learn English quickly. But this has not been realized and the Mexican American student has had to pay the price.

In completing the circle in educating the student body the parents had to be included in our efforts at Lincoln. To do this, cultural values of the majority of the parents were considered the key. For a moment place yourself, as many teachers find themselves, in a world that knows no Spanish and little more about the cultural patterns of a Mexican American family. In an invitation, we sent the following:

Apreciables Padres:

Durante el jueves de esta semana los maestros y los alumnos de la escuela superior Lincoln (High School) les invita a ustedes a participar en actividades culturales México-Americanas como parte de una fiesta que se celebrará durante toda la semana.

Ustedes podrá visitar los salones de sus hijos, y otras oficinas de administrativas y tambien comer con sus hijos.

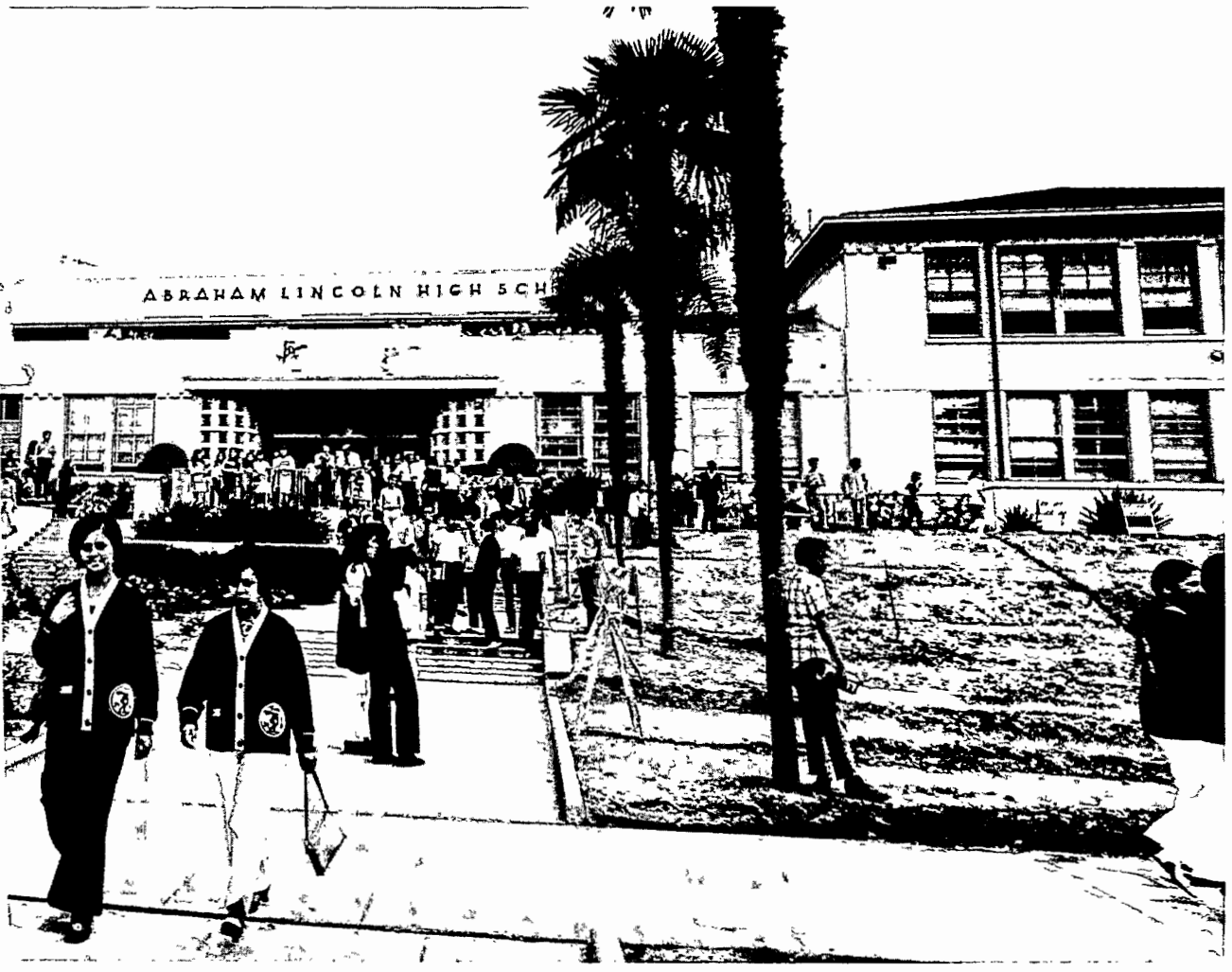
(translation)

Dear Parent:

On Thursday of this week the faculty and pupils of Lincoln High are inviting the parents to participate in part of the week long Mexican-American Culture Week experiences.

During the day you may visit the classes your youngster(s) attends, visit counseling and other school facilities and eat lunch with your youngster.

Simple, but yet never done before in Spanish and English at Lincoln school. Why should parents attend a school function if there will be no one who can talk to them in Spanish nor have an appreciation of their heritage. Again this is just a beginning at coping with a predominately Mexican American student body which historically has had a poor attendance record and high drop-out rate, generation after generation.



In recognizing this we sent letters to parents of students whose grades indicated, in perspective to past patterns, that they were on their way to dropping out. Again, keep in mind the bilingual message. It's difficult for some parents to keep abreast of their children in school when they, nor the school, can communicate.

Dear Parents:

We are most sympathetic with the problems our children have faced this school year, and problems they will face. May we suggest that you help us in several ways:

1. Give him (your son or daughter) quiet time to study at home and hold him to it.

2. Encourage him to take individual tutoring, available before and after school in all subject areas. We are here to help these children properly pass in their classes, if they will do their part.

3. Discuss the possibility of summer school. Summer school will be the only chance to make up work without falling far behind.

There is no guarantee that all of this experimentation and innovation will meet the challenge of a changing American society in insuring the rights of minorities to a complete education. But I feel it's a start, although it's far from being enough.

In the school's ninth edition of a publication containing poems, essays, short-short stories, and plays, by students, aimed at developing their creative talents and understanding in reading the works of others, appeared a piece from Mario Rivers, a 10th grade student:

Times are changing, and times have always been changing. As time changes, people change. It used to be that women were not allowed to vote. Today they have almost as many rights as the men do. When the Civil Rights Bill passed, it not only included a non-racial restrictive clause, but one that removed all sex discrimination in jobs and other areas. How men fought (verbally, that is) when women jockeys demanded the right to ride at our major race tracks!

As times change people change, I repeat. Even though prejudice exists still, there has been a breakthrough. Color background may no longer be used against a person. Minority groups are being accepted more readily, and their attainments and skills are a challenge to all.

Although this breakthrough is moving slowly, it is moving, therefore, times are truly changing . . . for the better.

PETER H. PATIÑO

PRINCIPAL'S EPILOGUE

Peter H. Patiño is the first Mexican American to serve as a Boys' Vice Principal at Abraham Lincoln High School in Los Angeles. In this article, he describes his role and the means he is using to provide a maximum educational experience for his students, their parents, and the teachers.

The background against which he focuses his efforts and speaks is, as is usual to the person himself, routine. It is therefore described in detail as an editorial epilogue.

Within minutes of his arrival on campus at 7:30 in the morning, Mr. Patiño's day erupts into harried activity, which for him marks a normal school day. The telephone begins to ring almost simultaneously with the arrival of teachers, counselors, and students at his office door. Unruffled by it all, at that crisp hour of the morning, Mr. Patiño begins making the countless mini-midi-maxi decisions that are needed for a school with special needs because of a predominate ethnic student body. Telephone calls spaced in between brief conversations with those at his door average 3 to 5 minutes. Telephone conversations seem one-sided when you sit in Mr. Patiño's office—he listens. Towards the end of his seemingly programed attention afforded telephone calls, he responds with his views, followed by recommendations or a decision. A cheerful note; a reminder about a faculty meeting; an observation of outstanding performance; or identification of a student with a problem ends a call. The door of his wooden floored office of pre-1940's, with bare walls, one filing cabinet, a desk of standard issue, and three chairs, remains locked throughout the day—regardless

of whether he is in it or not. Little of value is kept in the office. Nevertheless, Mr. Patiño has an "open door" policy in meeting with students.

Mr. Patiño is one of few Mexican American principals who grew up in the midst of similar problems facing the students at Lincoln; problems reflecting a history of poor attendance, a high dropout rate, and incidents of running afoul of the law. A Mexican American student body, for example, which sees little value in school—after all what did it do for its parents whose formal education normally ranges between 7 and 10 years; a student body that sees schools as institutions organized to stop the speaking of Spanish and recognition of the cultural heritage that goes with it rather than enhancing bilingual education. And where Indo-Hispanic heritage is condemned and the geographic nomenclature is anglicized.

Peter Patiño has a Mexican American heritage that he is using to help ebb the tide against the Mexican American students in terms and language which teachers and students can understand.

As his day progresses, it is regimented by the class bell. Leaving his office every time it rings, he begins an involvement which might startle the layman in the duties of a Boys' Vice Principal. At a quick gait he journeys through the corridors of his school making his presence known, stopping briefly now and then for a word or two to students and faculty alike. As he wades through the students, he knows who has been arrested via reports from police and probation departments in the area; who is under suspicion for assorted violations including possession of narcotics and, on the basis of past performance, is likely to be a troublemaker. For those in trouble or on the verge of getting into trouble he wants to talk and reason together. As he catches sight of these individuals he is likely to say candidly but somewhat sympathetically, "Hey Juan, I understand you got busted last night? How's about us talking about it at 3 [p.m.]? How about it?"

During the short minutes between classes, students shuffle and shuffle. For those in groups who have but a minute or less before being tardy Mr. Patiño stops—stares— looks at his watch—shakes his head—and in a firm exchange gets students on their way. Attendance and tardiness are a constant problem and a reflection of a student body which questions the need for education.

The "tardy bell" rings and outside the building he goes, for it is those students or ex-students outside the classroom which worry Mr. Patiño the most. Across the street from the campus usually are found students who have dropped out of school to work and whose employment has often come to an untimely end. They have nowhere to go—except to the last place where they had friends. Unfortunately, these dropouts entice more to join them instead of serving as examples to others to continue their education. The dropouts lingering near the school aid in perpetuating a stereotype of Mexican American students for the dominate society.

In the brief period Mr. Patiño has been away from his office, he finds on return a waiting line of students who have been sent from their classes for a variety of reasons. On a good day he sees more than 50 students. Some he already knows by name; others he fears he will eventually see often. His secretary, serving somewhat like a sergeant-at-arms for the line of students, hands Mr. Patino messages left by the faculty or telephone calls he has received.

As the first Mexican American student is ushered in, he begins to speak in Spanish as does his visitor. Mr. Patiño listens—in this case the student has been away from school for 3 days and has brought a note from home, written in Spanish. The student's mother begins by writing, "Because I have not come with José does not mean that I am not concerned with my son's education. But for me to come to see you would mean being away from my job a half-day and it would not sit well with the boss my being off the job. I have talked to José, who has promised me that his absence from school will not happen again. I want to thank you for the concern you have in José. He is a good boy who is having a difficult time in school."

Having read the letter aloud and in Spanish, Mr. Patiño looks at the young student and says *you know your mother has promised that you will be attending classes regularly—don't let me or her down. If you have any more difficulties with your classes, come see me before you decide to miss school and we'll see what we can do.* As the student leaves, Mr. Patiño says *buena suerte y adiós* [good luck and good bye].

Two hours into his day, this scene was to repeat itself. Mr. Patiño's perspective and unquenchable hope for the future shared by the faculty at Lincoln exemplified itself as an inner strength in stemming the tide which has kept Mexican Americans confined to somewhere between 7 and 10 years of formal education. Mr. Patiño's article offers his reflections on a massive problem of our time.

EDITOR

BLACK STUDIES: The case for and against

For years black persons have fought for the same opportunities enjoyed by the white majority. The civil rights movement started with a demand for an end to discrimination and segregation in all forms, for many believed that integration was the answer to the "black problem". It was felt that bringing the two races together would miraculously produce racial harmony, equal opportunity, and mutual respect. This of course has not materialized, and, although numerous laws have been passed prohibiting discriminatory practices, blacks have been forced continually to demand their rights.

During this struggle, black persons—and others—have come to realize that economic power is one of the most effective means of obtaining their rightful place in American society. (Approximately 11 percent of the population in the United States is black. Of that percentage, only 2 percent occupy top professional or industrial positions; 4 percent are in middle level professions.) They also realize that this economic power can only be gained through equal job opportunities and quality education, with emphasis on the latter. Therefore, the drive for getting more black youth into institutions of higher learning has intensified. Under these pressures, many colleges and universities have admitted additional black students and have implemented programs to recruit and retain black and disadvantaged youths.

Although their numbers are not at the level* they should be, inroads have been made in this area, and more and more black faces are seen on previously all-white or predominantly white campuses than ever before.

Coupled with this increased mobility in educational and professional circles, however, has been a growing movement for black identity and pride. Generations of black persons, as well as white, have been taught that the black man is inferior to the white man and in order to excel he must emulate white ways. Blacks have had it drummed into their minds that they must talk, act, and even think white before they can earn the same status as whites. Blacks no longer believe this. Not too long ago "Negro" Americans resented being referred to as black or being associated with anything African. Today, the reverse is true. Black Americans are becoming aware of their individuality and the fact that theirs is a unique heritage.

This self-awareness, or the search for it, has been evidenced in several ways—Afro hair styles, African dress, "Black is beautiful" slogans, formation of black groups and political organizations, and the demand for *black studies programs.* Each of these has had an impact on various aspects of American life but few have been as far reaching as the demand for black, or Afro-American, studies.

The "black studies fad" has touched many colleges and universities across the country, spilled over into the elementary and secondary school levels, and has become one of the most controversial issues among educators, black and white leaders, and the educational establishment as a whole. In most instances to avoid confrontations, college administrators have yielded to the demands of black students (and white) and have established, or are attempting to establish, black studies programs. The views, pro and con, as to whether they should be implemented and, if so, how they should be structured, who should control and teach them, and who they should be taught to are inumerable. Moreover, many of these programs have been hastily thrown together and may range anywhere from a single course in black history to a separate black studies center or institute.

Many persons are of the opinion, and rightfully so, that the history of the black man in America has been either distorted or completely ignored. Whites and blacks alike know very little of the true story of the African heritage of American blacks or the acts performed by or to them as Afro-Americans. White and black citizens have been brainwashed into believing

* According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* in April 1968, the Office for Civil Rights of HEW reported that just under 2 percent of the total enrollment of college and university students at predominantly white schools was black.

that the "omission" of black history and culture from textbooks and teaching is because black persons contributed nothing of significance to the progress of this country and mankind. Nor have many, except those dedicated white and black historians, bothered to acquaint themselves with the deeds of past or contemporary blacks. This situation is said to have damaged the self-image of blacks and caused them to remain inferior in the eyes of white persons, thus contributing to racist attitudes in our society.

Whether black studies, particularly at the college level, will enhance the self-esteem of blacks is debatable. Some have argued that teachings about black Americans should begin at the elementary levels to have any impact on inferior feelings among black youth. Others have said that it is an individual thing and that once a black man attains skills equal to whites, he automatically enhances his image. Still another viewpoint is that blacks have been limited in their achievements because of servitude, discrimination, and lack of education. Therefore, their "heroes" will be in limited numbers as opposed to those of whites. As C. Vann Woodward, Sterling Professor of History at Yale, put it: "The Father Divines and Daddy Graces will outnumber the Martin Luther Kings."

In the final analysis, blacks are an integral part of this country's past and to treat their sufferings and deeds superficially makes American history as it is taught today lacking in both substance and veracity.

Advocates of "soul" courses believe that they are a means of putting the black man and his relationship to this country in the right perspective. Carter Woodson, the noted black historian, once said:

If a race has no history, if it has no worthwhile tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world. . . .

Developing pride and eliminating the myths about black persons are not the only reasons behind demands for black studies. Young black students at some predominantly white institutions claim that the traditional courses are not "relevant" to blacks. They want courses which will provide them with the tools to become leaders in alleviating the injustices their black brothers and sisters still in poverty endure.

In addition to history, literature, art, and music courses, many desire such elements as present social, political, and economic conditions of black Americans, as well as involvement in the black community, as part of black studies programs. A report issued by the American Council on Education in November 1969 indicated that Harvard, Yale, Stanford, and Cornell Universities have proposed inclusion of such "concentrations" in their curriculums. Last fall, Thomas Sowell, then Visiting Associate Professor of Economics at the University of California, Los Angeles, viewed the relevancy question in another way: "Actually some of the most relevant studies for dealing with ghetto needs would be medicine, law and business administration." He went on to say that after acquiring these skills, black persons should apply them to the needs of their people, for "there is no black mathematics, black chemistry or black economics": but this is not to say that these subject areas are not relevant to black persons.

On the other hand, Nathan Hare, author and publisher of a monthly journal, *The Black Scholar*, has been quoted as advocating courses in economics, science, and mathematics, emphasizing the "black perspective". "Black mathematics would not be saturated with middle class referents such as stocks and bonds", and a course in "black biochemistry" might study such areas as rat control.

One fear is that the purpose of black studies programs would be to promote the ends of militant youths. The theory here is that black studies courses should be used to train revolutionary blacks to lead and organize other blacks in the ghettos of America into civil disobedience and other revolutionary activities. Some activist students may be so motivated; how-

ever, the idea examined closely seems unrealistic. Once educated, many blacks lose touch with the ghetto black —they talk a different language, live differently, and have different aspirations. This is not to say that these individuals are not concerned or active in assisting the disadvantaged. It is to say, however, that once educated the middle class black man is more likely to choose less radical means.

The most startling aspect of the black studies movement is that black students on some college campuses are also demanding separate facilities—separate black dormitories, student unions, study halls, theaters—and black studies administered and taught by blacks only.

Not only must the instructors be black, but the students are insisting upon screening and hiring them. In addition, to be acceptable, instructors must demonstrate a certain degree of blackness by talking like a "soul brother" and espousing the theories these students are aligned with. In the first place, it is unlikely that the average college student is qualified to choose a competent teacher, black or white. There is a danger here of unqualified personnel becoming a part of the educational establishments which allow this practice.

Secondly, there are not enough qualified black instructors to fill this requirement, nor is it a proven fact that only blacks can teach black studies. Of course one theory here is that blacks can best rectify the misconceptions in education as far as blacks are concerned and better relate the black experience. Afro-Americans no longer will tolerate the white version of black history and culture which has been forced upon them for so many years. Based on this, they may have a valid point in reasoning that whites are actually not capable of portraying the black "story" objectively.

It is a fact that more black teachers are needed in the predominantly white colleges and universities but it is also a fact that the "cream of the crop" among black educators is already being lured away from the black colleges. To meet the demand for nothing but black instructors in Afro-American studies courses would further drain these institutions.

The practice of blacks separating themselves within an integrated institution has caused the most fervor over Afro-American studies because it is seen as a method of driving the white and black races further apart. Using the color of a person's skin as criterion for entering a particular course or department is the same discriminatory practice used against blacks and other minorities over the years. Therefore, it is a mystery to some as to why they would employ this tactic. Roy Wilkins has called it "Black Jim Crow". Others counter with the statement that blacks and whites are separated already and that they have a right to assert their own independence. Given the mistrust many young blacks have for any part of "the establishment" or "power structure", this is not surprising. Advocates of the separate route doubt if white professors understand the black experience or that white students will promote open and frank discussion. In short, they are suspicious of their motives.

Sidney F. Walton, Jr., principal of the Martin Luther King School in Sausalito, California, concluded that separation may be the *only* solution to blacks attaining the decision-making power long experienced by whites.

The Federal Government has also had something to say about separate facilities for Afro-American studies. In March 1969, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued a statement warning colleges and universities of possible violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The statement said that, while that office "encouraged" and "supported" recruitment and enrollment of minority and "high risk" students, certain actions being taken by some institutions constitute noncompliance. The actions were cited as follows:

1. *Separate Housing for Students Based on Race*—All housing which is owned, operated, or supported by the institution or a public agency must be available to all students without regard to race, color, or national origin and assignment to such housing must be made in a nondiscriminatory manner.
2. *Separate Social Activity Space*—Where the institution donates or otherwise makes available institution-owned facilities or land for student use of activities or where it provides funds or other financial assistance to acquire or operate facilities for such activities, it must be assured that the activities are to be operated without discrimination based on race, color, or national origin.
3. *Separate Colleges, Schools, or Institutes*—Every service and benefit offered by the institution to students must be open and available to all students without regard to race, color, or national origin.

A well-known case involving alleged violation of the 1964 act was that of Antioch College. Last year, the Federal Government repeatedly warned Antioch that if provisions were not made to include whites in its Afro-American Studies Institute and all-black dormitory, the school was in danger of losing approximately $1.5 million in Federal Funds. After much controversy, black students agreed to admit whites and other

minorities but not before Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a member of the board of trustees, resigned in protest of the institute's segregationist policies.

In his letter of resignation, Professor Clark said that in his opinion whites need a black studies program more than blacks and that:

> *To encourage or endorse a separate black program . . . is to reinforce the Negro's inability to compete with whites for the real power of the real world. It's no excuse to justify the deed by citing the demand.*

Professor Melvin Drimmer of Spelman College, Atlanta University Center, in the Fall 1969 issue of "The Journal of Negro Education", sees black history as central to American history and a means of revolutionizing "a whole generation of white American kids".

To segregate the black experience from whites would be an injustice to blacks and to whites for the various reasons stated but also because white Americans need to see themselves as they really were and are. It is interesting to note that in African universities with African studies departments white students are busily taking such courses, whereas the African student does not have time to bother with such endeavors. He is too busy getting the tools necessary for him to attain high paying jobs.

Preoccupation with black studies in segregated facilities could conceivably take the black student away from acquiring the skills and knowledge needed to compete with the white man on his own terms. Realistically, this must be priority for all black students and black studies should come second. Bayard Rustin questioned whether these courses will be of *any* use in this frank statement:

> *What the hell are soul courses worth in the real world? In the real world, no one gives a damn if you've taken soul courses. They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence.*

Most of those who do agree that there is a need for black studies programs also feel that they should be included in grade schools as well as colleges. This is no easy task in either case, for it not only means revamping of attitudes, but also teaching materials and textbooks.

A survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith revealed that 45 of the most widely used Social Studies textbooks handled the black man's position in this Nation in "complacent generalities". It was also found that less than one-third of them gave a "reasonable" account of blacks in present-day America; very few contained any overall view of the civil rights movement. The conclusion was that these books presented an incomplete and distorted picture of blacks and other minorities.

Under the auspices of the NAACP, a syllabus entitled *American Majorities and Minorities* for teaching American history in secondary schools was published this past September. Made possible by a Rockefeller grant, it emphasizes the contributions minorities, such as blacks, American Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans, have made. A spokesman said that the syllabus was not intended to take the place of white history, but this work does include facts not usually mentioned. The NAACP has also launched a campaign to examine American history courses in more than a dozen school districts throughout the country. If this examination discloses that teaching materials are considered biased against any minority, the organization intends to challenge the use of public funds in that school.

It was indicated that the syllabus would be distributed to educational groups and teachers colleges around the country in hopes that it will be used in American history courses.

Now that black studies are so popular, the amount of information on black history, culture, art, and black studies for use at all educational levels is increasing. These efforts range anywhere from adding a little color to existing textbooks and materials to discarding those texts treating blacks unfairly and completely rewriting.

Once an institution decides to implement a black studies program, the question is in what manner it should be presented and what its content should be. As indicated previously, literally hundreds of colleges and universities have set up Afro-American studies programs. Vincent Harding, director of the Institute of the Black World at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center in Atlanta, reported in fall 1969 of having reviewed approximately 150 black studies curriculums. His reaction at that time was that "most of them have no focus, most of them are kind of eclectic, quick responses to student protest".

One program which was not begun as a result of student protest was that at Yale University. In addition, there was no demand that instructors be black nor that the program be separated from the rest of the university. All of the black studies courses and faculty were to be controlled by the traditional departments. Comparative developments of slavery in the United

States and its dissolution in Latin America were to be included in the course of study.

On the other hand, Antioch College's black studies program took the course of separation. The institute was set up by black students with instruction provided by so-called "consultants", doctoral candidates from the University of Chicago, also black. Under this program, the student was offered courses in psychology, history, music, drama, Islamic studies, and something called Survival (in a Crisis Situation). Students enrolled in the institute were also required to take regular courses in order to satisfy basic requirements. These were chosen with advice from the "consultants". After agreeing in November 1969 to admit persons of other races to the institute, a white professor and a course on Marxism were integrated into the program.

The Afro-American studies program at Harvard is still another variation and can be considered a mixture of the two previous examples. As it was set up in September. 1969, the program consisted of seven courses designed to deal with contemporary matters as well as past history. For instance, included were a study of Boston's black community; a course on philosophy of the black movement; a course on Ethiopian history and religion; and black fiction in America. This program was established by a committee of faculty and students which also recommended that a W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro-American Research be developed. Seminars visited by administrators, artists, and activists from around the country would be the focal point of this institute.

Howard University of course has always, as other black institutions, had courses on black history, culture, literature, and the like. Now, however, the school has established a department of Afro-American studies within the Liberal Arts College. The department consists of three basic divisions: Historical Surveys; Cultural Studies; and Contemporary Problems. Students may major or minor in Howard's program.

These are just a few examples of the types of Afro-American programs being established, and many institutions are simply adding new courses on blacks to existing departments. But given the instability of black studies, there is no guarantee that the above programs exist as described. For instance, in the Autumn 1969 issue of "The American Scholar", Henry Rosovsky, Professor of Economics at Harvard, gives a detailed account of the chaos which erupted over Harvard's initial black studies plan and events which led to "overturning the original format". Professor Rosovsky headed the so-called Rosovsky Committee which prepared the original program.

Although a need for study of the Afro-American experience has been established, the how, why, where, and by and for whom is still up in the air. Indeed, there is still no clear-cut definition of what "black studies" are. The controversy goes on and the manner in which any or all of these questions is resolved can mean either a fostering of better race relations or a setback, particularly for black Americans.

Education has always been central to the black liberation movement. And perhaps young blacks entering all-white or predominantly white institutions of higher learning expected to find the magic key to equal opportunity. Instead many of them feel that these colleges and universities are just as racist and white oriented as most other institutions in America; and that integration on the educational level has not helped to eliminate the discriminatory attitudes inherent in that white world. They believe that it will require much more than mixing of the races. Black Americans know and understand that they must firmly establish their heritage and rightful place in this country as well as their educational, economic, and social rights.

In an effort to make the colleges and universities more relevant and useful to the needs of black persons, many have turned to demanding the implementation of black studies programs, looking upon them as a salvation. However, if black studies are to develop into a meaningful academic program, administrators, educators, and students making these demands must come to terms as to their makeup, control, and administration. Complete separation is unrealistic of course but curriculums set up to deal with the historical roots of Afro-Americans and their current social, political, and economic conditions are very realistic and urgent.

The movement for black studies may diminish and gradually fade away but this is doubtful. Black citizens recognize the need for inclusion in every aspect of American life and they will no longer attempt to turn white to achieve this. Our educational institutions at all levels must face the fact that they have not treated the existence of the black man in this country as it really was or is.

Afro-Americans deserve the security the knowledge of their heritage can provide and white Americans deserve the chance to understand and respect that heritage. This would be a major step toward resolving many of the racial conflicts in America today.

WALLIS W. JOHNSON

Miss Johnson is a writer-editor with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

A Challenge for colleges and universities CHICANO STUDIES

In examining the relation of colleges and universities to the socioeconomic dilemma of the Mexican American, one expert, Dr. Manuel H. Guerra of Arizona State University, contends that these institutions have failed to focus their considerable resources on the problems faced by this minority group.

"The Mexican American has been consistently ignored in the academic world of the United States. He has been ignored in the financial thinking in which the public schools are organized and maintained. This has occurred despite the fact that his taxes have gone to sustain a school system which has often not related to his needs," Dr. Guerra charged.

Thus, he feels the academic world has not intellectualized the problems of the barrio in higher education. The nature of these problems and their possible solutions have remained outside the current of thought in American life. The problems of the black man and the American Jew have, however, been intellectualized by the academic world and have, accordingly, become as intrinsic part of American academic and intellectual activity.

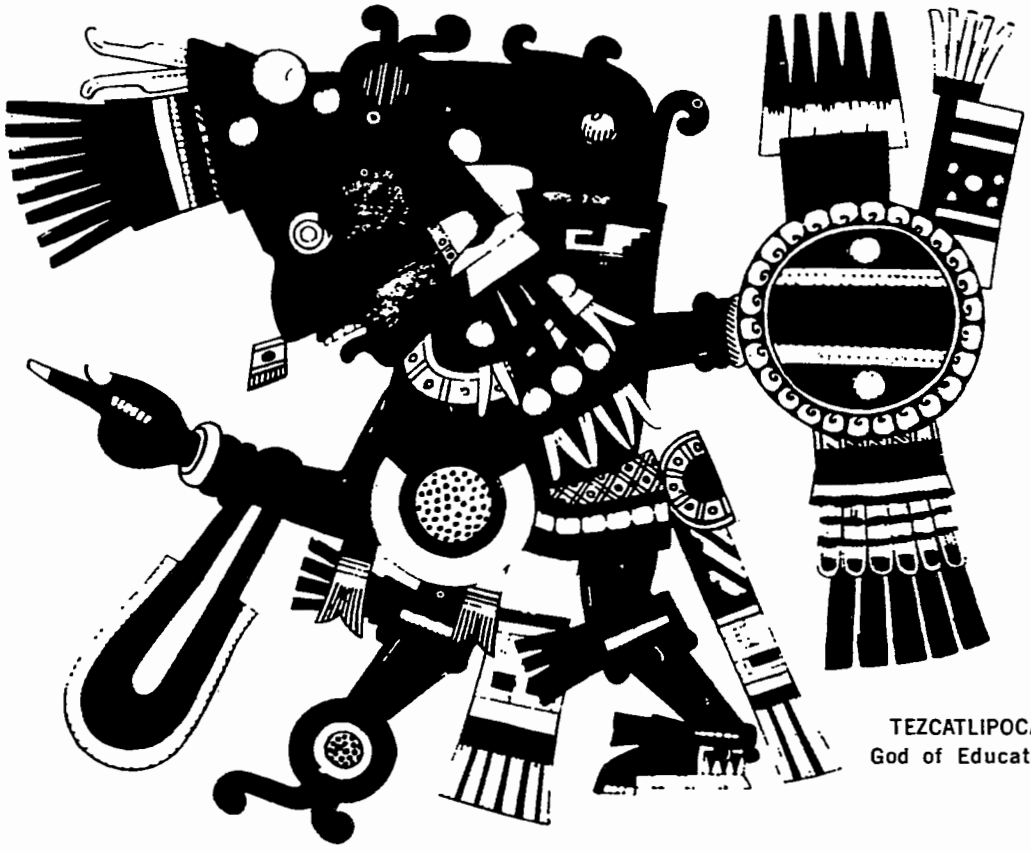
But the problems of the Mexican American have remained regional rather than national and their importance has been reduced accordingly.

Dr. Guerra felt such inequities must be understood and corrected for, in reality, the greatest imbalance which poses the most serious threat to the Mexican American community is not unemployment, poor housing, or political disunity, but the lack of intellectualization on the problems of the barrio.

"We are often treating the symptoms and not the causes. Just as we are concerned about the small number of Chicano [Mexican American] students in our college classrooms, more important is the proper intellectual idealism and scientific discipline which will reach into the heart of the barrio and correctly analyze the complex problems that still defeat the people", he declared.

A hopeful sign is that within the past 3 years a rapid growth has been noted in Mexican American studies in colleges and universities throughout the Southwest.

More than 80 institutions of higher learning have begun Mexican American study programs or departments. However, this phenomenon has lacked any definitive or coordinated efforts in developing a common pattern of program offerings. The outcome has been a serious absence of determination as to what should constitute a course study for a degree in Chicano stud-



TEZCATLIPOCA
God of Education

ies and the problem has intensified as programs for graduate degrees are being developed.

Under a program entitled "Chicano Studies Institutes" (CSI), the Montal System Inc., sponsored by the National Foundation on the Humanities, a Federal agency, has directed its efforts toward alleviating this confused situation. The Foundation, in conjunction with the University of Colorado at Boulder, the University of Arizona at Tempe, and California State College at Long Beach, contracted with the Chicano consultant firm to coordinate and develop their respective Chicano studies.

The CSI program is designed to develop standards for curriculums that will lead to undergraduate and graduate degrees in Mexican American studies.

There are some basic similarities between what the existing Mexican American or Chicano studies are trying to attain in their programs and departments. They include:

(1) The study of contributions of the Mexican American to American culture and society;

(2) The promotion of better understanding among all Americans in enriching their range of experience through exposure to the cultural, political, historical, and economic contributions of the Mexican to the United States;

(3) The dissemination of information to persons in the professions of law enforcement, social work, education, advertising, civil service, and others whose encounters with the Mexican American have been aggravated into alienation;

(4) The promotion of higher education for Chicanos both in creating a greater pride in their heritage and by acquainting them with the culture that helped form their community in the Southwest.

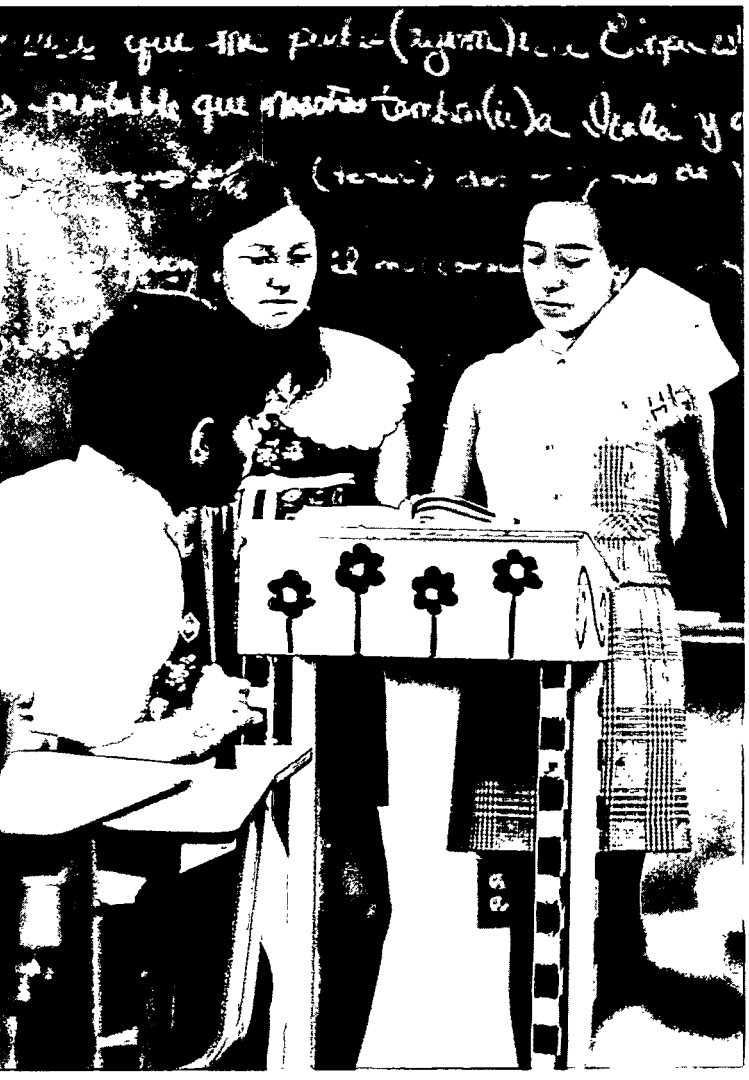
The CSI program has several objectives in providing a guiding uniformity for existing and future Chicano studies. These are:

(a) To develop a range of courses encompassing both undergraduate and graduate levels including doctoral degrees.

(b) To coordinate standards in the transfer of course credits between colleges and universities beginning at the junior college level.

(c) To clearly define curriculum toward a degree in Mexican American studies from programs in sociology, anthropology, and history, with components.

(d) To establish criteria in the employment of faculty for Mexican American studies. Previous procedures in the recruiting of faculty rested on academic



performance not necessarily associated with Mexican American studies.

(e) To identify prime areas in need of research and scholastic study.

(f) To identify existing materials for use in Mexican American studies programs and to disseminate the information. The absence of substantial compilations on Chicano textbooks and printed materials has delayed curriculum development.

(g) To provide a periodic and continuous review of Chicano studies programs in colleges and universities and to offer timely revisions as necessary as these programs develop in institutions of higher learning.

With these objectives in mind, in May 1970 a questionnaire was sent to 244 college and university presidents and administrators throughout the five southwestern States where the highest concentration of Mexican Americans is found. The survey was made to give participants of CSI conferences useful background information in their establishment or development of Chicano studies departments and programs. It further aimed at identifying the trends in various educational systems which are accepting Chicano studies as a valid need. In addition, it was hoped the polling would act as a census in pinpointing which colleges and universities offered these courses.

With a 50 percent return from college and university administrators in the Southwest, the survey revealed that many institutions of higher learning were lacking in Mexican American studies programs.

For example, in New Mexico where Chicanos compose 38 percent of the school enrollment and in Arizona where they compose 19 percent, the survey found that approximately 75 percent of the administrators felt there was no need for Chicano studies programs in their universities and colleges. The majority commented that there was a "lack of interest" or "no demand" for such programs.

Of the Southwest colleges responding, 13 percent had established Chicano studies departments, while 4 percent stated they had comparable programs and college courses but did not have structured departments nor degree plans leading to a major in Mexican American studies.

In Texas where Mexican Americans compose 20 percent of the ethnic minority in school enrollment, the survey noted that Chicanos compose 6 percent of the faculty in those colleges and universities with Chicano studies; the remainder of those faculties is Anglo.

It was also found that a majority of the Chicano departments or comparable institutes concentrate their efforts on the social sciences.

During the CSI program's first three conferences in the Summer of 1970, it provided to college and university participants 12 position papers together with a listing of resource materials in the form of a bibliography of compiled data on the Mexican American and the survey's findings.

The position papers were written by students, instructors, private citizens, and administrators specializing in Chicano matters. They were designed to give the participants in the summer conferences a background of information in the specified area to enable further discussion on Mexican American studies. The titles of the position papers were as follows:

The Establishment of A Chicano Studies Program and its Relation to the Total Curriculum of a College or University—Richard H. Wilde.

The Role of The Chicano Student In The Chicano Studies Program—Manuel I. Lopez.
The Role of The Chicano Student In The Chicano Studies Program—MECHA.
What Are the Objectives of Chicano Studies?—Manuel H. Guerra.
La Raza Community and Chicano Studies—Lionel Sanchez.
Chicanismo—Tomas M. Martinez.
Research and Scholarly Activity—Ernesto Galarza and Julian Samora (See page 40 for an excerpt.).
Objectives of Chicano Studies—Reynaldo Macias, Juan Gomez-Quinones, and Raymond Castro.
Critical Areas of Need for Research and Scholastic Study—Sergio D. Elizondo.
Criteria for Employment of Chicano Studies Staff—Rene Nunez.
Guidelines for Employment in Chicano Studies—Marcela L. Trujillo.
The Establishment and Administration of A Master's Program In Chicano Studies at the University of Colorado—Salvador Ramirez.
Chicano Resource Materials—Montal Systems, Inc.

In October 1970, the Chicano Studies Institutes Advisory Board met in Washington, D.C. to review the three CSI conferences which were held in Arizona, Colorado, and California during the preceding summer. In evaluating the conferences Luis Torres, director of the CSI conference at the University of Colorado at Boulder, reported that approximately 100 persons from Colorado and Utah participated in the activities. He stated that the majority felt there was a definite lack of and great need for Chicano studies in the colleges and universities.

Echoing that was Frank Sandoval, director of the California conference, who noted California had already gained experience in recruiting faculty, organizing Chicano studies programs and departments, and setting up guidelines for these programs. Mr. Sandoval explained that the Chicano community in California has strong student, faculty, and community organizations. He noted that 170 participants who registered on the first day of the conference increased to 260 on the second. The California conference presented conclusions and recommendations based on all the conferences held. The advisory board felt the following conclusions and recommendations should be supported and that a National Concilio for Chicano Studies be organized to see that the conclusions and recommendations made by the group were coordinated and developed throughout the United States. The conclusions and recommendations endorsed were that:

1) There is definite need for more research in Chicano Studies.
2) A National Cultural Center for the Arts and Humanities be developed with a National Archives containing material related exclusively to Chicanos.
3) A Chicano publishing house be funded to prepare and support Chicano writers and publications.
4) Teacher training programs for bilingual/bicultural instruction be initiated in higher education.
5) The coordination of graduate and undergraduate college/university programs in Chicano studies be further developed to include the elementary and secondary education levels.
6) Support services including tutoring, counseling, and financial assistance be further increased to meet the crucial needs of the students.
7) More college extension programs be developed to meet the needs of the Chicano community especially in the area of adult education.
8) Faculty development programs for higher education be initiated.

"How will [these] ethnic studies change our present educational system?", Dr. Guerra writes. "Perhaps there are several changes that ethnic studies will bring about. First, new philosophies, concepts, methods, and a bilingual, bicultural value system. It will create a new climate and a new awareness of both problems and capabilities. It will bring prestige and status where there has been ignorance and condescension.

"One of the most important contributions which ethnic studies may provide is the inclusion of millions of Americans in the mainstream of the national conscience. These [Mexican] Americans have been ignored in our textbooks just as much as they have been ignored in our society. Ethnic studies will put in perspective the sins of omission of our history textbooks and the misinterpretation of bilingual talents viewed as language handicaps. In general, ethnic studies will challenge the philosophies and the substance of ideas of many other disciplines which in the past have been predicated on false concepts and misleading suppositions".

CORINNE J. SÁNCHEZ

Miss Sánchez is a research assistant with Montal Systems, Inc. A graduate of California State College at Long Beach, where she was also a student assistant in the training of Mexican Americans in higher education, Miss Sánchez was formerly a research assistant with the Mexican American Studies Division of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Chicano studies: Research and scholarly activity

The academic establishment, like every other institution in American society which is being affected by the dramatic trends of ethnic relations, is being forced to clarify and define its role toward the Mexican American community. An undertow of longpent frustration among Mexican Americans has reached the universities and colleges. In the wake of protests and confrontations new and urgent issues have been raised on the campus relating to cultural survival, academic opportunity, information resources, intellectual skills and training, and placement of personnel.

As of this date the institutions of higher learning stand in danger of being overwhelmed both by the qualitative change in their role with respect to the Mexican American community and by the quantitative burden of literally thousands of new students at all levels, who are seeking and demanding answers to these issues. An avalanche has descended on academia from this quarter of American society, and the academicians are hardly aware of it as yet. What is presently a crisis may turn into a disaster if the inadequacies of the establishment are not grasped.

Briefly described the situation is about like this:

The ethnic insurgence has created a militant student sector in the Mexican American community. On many campuses they number in the hundreds, kept in motion by aggressive cadres. Their appearance has been sudden: their affect shocking. Administrators have given ground more out of panic and consternation than out of depth of understanding of what is going on in ethnic universes they have so long ignored and neglected. The students are on campus making new demands that may seem strident and impulsive to some but that have a core of profound significance for the future of the ethnic groups and for American society as a whole.

Administrators have improvised responses to student pressure, some with the aim of gaining time to take a more significant reading of the future, in order that its demands on the present may be better understood.

From a practical point of view these demands may be viewed in eight categories: (1) The expansion of training programs for graduate students that can offer academic courses and field work leading to advanced degrees; (2) the planning of research by Master's and Ph.D. candidates; (3) the compilation of a much greater variety of readings for undergraduates in ethnic studies courses; (4) the adaption of some of these readings to the academic need of the EOP (Equal Opportunity Program) type of student; (5) the facilitation of inservice assistance to the numerous personnel that have been hastily recruited to teach such courses and to administer ethnic studies departments; (6) the encouragement and support of advanced research and writing by Mexican Americans, or others, which will support and stimulate the whole of the intellectual effort of the Mexican American community; (7) the preparation of teachers and counselors for the elementary and secondary levels who will prepare students for these programs; and (8) identifying research topics and scholarly activity relevant to curriculum development and teaching.

Some additional comments may be made on each of these categories:

Graduate training. Amid the clamor for ethnic studies centering on the Mexican American little emphasis has been placed on the role of the scholar. Any campus that pretends to have an on-going ethnic studies program without one or more scholars on campus to shape and guide it cannot be said to be doing its job very seriously in this area. There are few universities that can meet this requirement today. The reason is that the Mexican American scholars now doing creative research in this field are few, the small number itself being a symptom of neglect over the past 50 years.

The situation is improving but not rapidly enough. This handful of scholars should be regarded as a training cadre of a new generation of social scientists able to multiply itself at a rate fast enough to give the whole of the Mexican American community in the United States adequate intellectual support.

Research planning. The choice of subjects for a thesis or dissertation must, of course, lie with the candidate himself. But candidates should be helped to choose with a lively sense of relevance to (a) current state of documentation in the area of the proposed study, (b) the availability of useful contacts in the field into which research will lead, (c) access to continuous counseling from a senior advisor, and (d) possible relevance to some fundamental area of ignorance presently blocking the progress of the Mexican American community.

These basic considerations are pointed out because in the past they have all too often been ignored by advisors or counselors who merely launched a graduate student into research without navigational equipment. In this way the campus has unloaded on others a responsibility which belongs exclusively to a mature scholar.

Readings. At the present time undergraduate courses in Mexican American studies are severely handicapped by the paucity of reading materials. There has been a spate of bibliographies, all of them relying on the same limited stock of out-of-prints, monographs, and manuals. In these bibliographies there is uniformly missing the critical annotation that could flesh out the thin body of writings in this field. As a result, very few works which commend themselves for their content and method are used in a variety of courses, doing duty many times over because there are no intermediate writings to fill the large gap between them.

While the scholarship referred to in the paragraph on *graduate training* above is in the making, it is possible to conceive a plan of compilations, reproductions, exchange, and distribution that would add materially, if provisionally, to the working resources of instructors and students in the Mexican American ethnic studies at the undergraduate level.

Adaptation. Even after some enrichment of the present bibliography is accomplished, there would still be the problem of adapting some of the readings to the academic skills of hundreds of EOP students now enrolled in ethnic studies. These skills are, understandably, quite limited. This, too, is a symptom and an indictment of educational starvation of the Mexican American youth in the past, of a tracking system which eventually shunts these youth to a siding

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The word "Chicano" has yet to be solidified in definition. It currently varies in meaning by regions in the Southwest. The varying definitions reflect an identity problem facing Americans of diverse Indo-Hispanic heritage in the Southwest. A "Chicano" *today* may be defined as a person who adheres to a social, economic, and political "causa"[cause] or "movimiento"[movement] based on Indo-Hispanic culture for the improvement of those with an Indo-Hispanic heritage. Those individuals are generally known as Spanish American or Hispanos in parts of New Mexico and Colorado; Latino or Mexican American in Texas; Mexican American or Chicano in Arizona and California. Often, these citizens will not primarily identify with mainstream American (Anglo Saxon) society. Citizens within this diverse, Indo-Hispanic heritage may not accept the word "Chicano" in self-identification, though they may identify with and support the social, economic, and political cause in the Southwest.

The definition has changed radically from its prior meaning of several years ago. Prior to today's general interpretation, the word had no meaning for some Indo-Hispanos, while to others a strong identity meaning of ethnic group cohesiveness among people from central Mexico with pejorative overtones for others.

EDITOR

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of the main line of America. In fact instructors are now making such adaptations of texts too advanced technically for many EOP students to grasp easily. But they are doing this at the expense of counseling time and reading which the instructors might themselves be doing.

The American academic complex of lectures, assigned readings, and term papers hinges upon reading and writing abilities which these young people have to become acquainted with, playing by ear. To write a simpler score of the few basic treatises now in print does not mean a lowering of standards but simply of keeping them from sinking as they learn to swim.

In-service training. The academic rush into Mexican American studies has created an enormous strain on the limited intellectual manpower of colleges and universities, conditions being normal. But they have not been normal. Students, impelled by mixed expectations of academic opportunity but also by ethnic pride, have not only demanded teachers but Mexican American or Chicano teachers. The result was that the bottom of the barrel was reached instantly. Some of the few good teachers there who were in this field of studies have been enticed into administration.

Most of the new personnel hired for actual classroom teaching find themselves hurtled into course planning, curriculum design, preparation of lectures, crash reading, and counseling with little if any previous academic experience. It is to this front-line sector that in-service help should be addressed, to take the form that most quickly and effectively responds to the pressures in which it finds itself.

Advanced research. The Mexican Americans who are researching and writing and publishing are now so few they might be counted on the fingers of one hand. What they produce in the next 10 years will be in a sense a model, a stimulus, a goal, or an example to the entire intellectual effort of the national Mexican American community. It is not a question of formal standards and fulfillment of requirements decorated with ivy and crowned by a degree. It is the far deeper question of mastery of the most effective intellectual tools that present American society has and the use of those tools by craftsmen whose product must be reckoned with by that society. These very few scholars are themselves presently under pressure to fulfill a dozen roles, at the risk of neglecting their principal one.

Teacher and counselor training. It is quite clear, to anyone who surveys the present educational system of America, that new Mexican American leadership is required in the elementary schools. Teaching and counseling by Mexican American personnel proceed within the presuppositions and conformities of the stratified curriculum, that is, the curriculum that guarantees the continued stratification of Mexican American youth at the lowest levels of economic opportunity and social fulfillment in the America of today.

These teachers and counselors are themselves the product of the pedagogical shortcomings of the teacher training institutions. Once on the job they must either avoid the issues that so patently disturb the emotional balance of the students or run the risks of single-handed criticism. To this level of educational service resources must be directed and machinery created —the level at which the creative mind is started on its course toward creative studentship and scholarship.

Educational research. Behind humanistic teaching and counseling and underpinning them is the direction and quality of research in education. In the teachers colleges and graduate schools of education Mexican American students face narrow choices when the time comes for them to do serious research for a degree. The esoteric, the minutely brilliant, the theoretically vested, the whimsically challenging, the safely professional— these are some of the presuppositions of present-day educational research which command the full-time and all the energies of the Mexican American academic elite in pedagogy.

Meantime, back in the classroom, deleterious practices continue that delay the educational growth of the Mexican American child. Promising new programs for their benefit soon run into reefs that might have been avoided if research kept rhythm and pace to examine and report on the real results of such programs. Education research into these obscure areas of teaching and administration should be encouraged.

ERNESTO GALARZA AND
JULIAN SAMORA

This is excerpted from a position paper prepared for the Chicano Studies Institutes, Summer 1970, a program coordinated by Montal Systems, Inc. Dr. Samora is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Notre Dame. Dr. Galarza is an author and educator. Among his books are "Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field" and "Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story".

Reading & Viewing

BOOKS

Changing the Racial Attitudes of Children: The Effect of an Activity Group Program in New York City Schools, by Julius Trubowitz. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969. 288 pp.

A description and evaluation of an experiment undertaken to induce positive change in the racial attitudes of Negro and white children from selected segregated New York City elementary schools. The findings indicate that under certain conditions face-to-face contact between Negro and white pupils exerts a positive influence on racial attitudes.

Ghetto School: Class Warfare in an Elementary School, by Gerald E. Levy. New York: Pegasus, 1970. 178 pp.

A participant-observer's description and analysis of an American ghetto school, the purpose of which is to provide upward mobility for its students but which instead successfully prepares them for lower class life.

Push Comes to Shove: The Escalation of Student Protest, by Steven Kelman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970. 287 pp.

This account chronicles a student-observer's view of the unrest and change on his college campus which led to the violent occupation of a Harvard University building in April 1969.

Race, Religion, and the Promotion of the American Executive, by Reed M. Powell. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1969. 305 pp.

An intensive multi-methodological investigation into the nature of the promotion process including an in-depth analysis of the nature and extent of the various factors which impinge upon and affect the promotability of an individual.

Race Riots in Black and White, Edited by J. Paul Mitchell. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. 179 pp.

Through description of participation in racial conflict and evaluations of that activity, this collection of writings from the 18th century to the present is intended to give a black and white picture of the historical context of interracial violence in America.

Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution, by Peter Matthiessen. New York: Random House, 1969. 372 pp.

A compelling picture of a national figure and the cause for which he works. The early limited nature of the grape strike has new significance beyond the confines of the valley in which it took place, making clear that *la causa* is no longer separable from the new American revolution against racism, poverty, and decay.

Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget, by Charles L. Schultze with Edward K. Hamilton and Allen Schick. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970. 192 pp.

An analysis of the $200 billion Federal budget proposed by the President for Fiscal Year 1971. Also examines the issues in the critical areas of national defense housing law enforcement, pollution control, education, transportation, etc., and presents alternatives on both sides of the President's proposals.

Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago, by Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander. New York: Harper and Row, 1970. 435 pp.

Impressions and photographs by the authors provide a provocative exploration of the victimization of

southern whites by landlords, merchants, welfare, police, hospitals, and other service units of Metropolitan Chicago.

STUDIES AND REPORTS

The Atlanta Elections of 1969, by Charles S. Rooks. June 1970. Atlanta, Georgia: The Voter Education Project, Inc., 1970. 79 pp.

The Economic Future of City and Suburb, by David L. Birch. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1970. 44 pp.

Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States. July 1970. Race Relations Information Center, with the cooperation of Southern Regional Council, American Friends Service Committee, and Southern Education Foundation. Nashville, Tennessee, 1970. 56 pp. plus tables.

Measures of Overlap of Income Distributions of White and Negro Families in the United States, by Murray S. Weitzman. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 23 pp.

Registry of Minority Construction Contractors: A Listing of Minority Construction Contractors Located in Selected Cities. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Office of the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 6 vols.

Report of the Association of American Medical Colleges Task Force to the Inter-Association Committee on Expanding Educational Opportunities in Medicine for Blacks and Other Minority Students. April 22, 1970. Stanford, California, 1970. 39 pp.

2d Annual Report of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration,

Fiscal Year 1970. U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 257 pp.

Toward Better Housing for Low Income Families. The Report of The President's Task Force on Low Income Housing. May 1970. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 20 pp.

Urban Renewal: One Tool Among Many. May 1970. The Report of The President's Task Force on Urban Renewal. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 15 pp.

Films

Black and White: Uptight. This 35-minute human relations film attempts to provide answers to the question of what can be done to eliminate the racial myths and misunderstandings among blacks and whites in America today. Revealing the overt and covert acts which perpetuate prejudices, the film prompts its viewers to examine their own attitudes and behavior. It is also clear that unequal educational and economic opportunities, as well as inadequate enforcement of existing laws, contribute to the inequities between the status of black and white citizens, thus continuing racial prejudice. The film demonstrates how Government, business, and black and white persons are working to significantly aid in alleviating some of these problems. It is in color, 16mm, and is suitable for junior and senior high school levels. Produced by Max Miller/ Avanti Films, Inc., contact BFA Educational Media, 2211 Michigan Ave., Santa Monica, Calif. 90404 (213) 829-2901.

Martin Luther King, Jr: From Montgomery to Memphis. A significant historical documentary, consisting of a series of episodes detailing Dr. King's leadership in the struggle for equal rights. It begins with the Montgomery bus boycott, which thrust him into a position of national prominence, and culminates with his assassination in April 1968. Those civil rights campaigns depicted include his 1957 "Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington"; the sit-ins and freedom rides of the 60's; confrontations in Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma, and Chicago; and the Poor Peoples March. Homage is also paid to Dr. King as winner of the Nobel Peace Price in 1964. A dramatic tribute to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., this black and white film poignantly portrays his story and the inspiration he was and remains, even after death, in the fight against injustice throughout this Nation. It is approximately 26 minutes in length and suitable for all ages. BFA Educational Media, 2211 Michigan Ave., Santa Monica, Calif. 90404 or call (213) 829-2901.

Book Reviews

Mexican Americans in the United States: A Reader, Edited by John H. Burma, Cambridge, Mass., Schenkam Publishing Company, Inc., 1970, 487 pp.

Like the blacks and other minority ethnic groups, the problems encountered by Mexican Americans of the Southwest are deeply rooted in the area's history. Recognition of their problem by the majority ethnic groups is a more recent phenomenon than was the case for many other minorities.

For those few who are already well versed in the problems of the Mexican Americans this book will offer little of value. For the rest, and sadly their numbers are all too large, it provides a convenient, simple, and fairly broad introduction to the Southwest's Mexican Americans.

Some 40 separate articles are incorporated under several different highly interrelated chapters. The various chapters provide a breadth of coverage normally absent from books of this type.

The basic orientation in this book is that of moderate liberalism or reform politics. It declares neither that the status quo is acceptable nor that it is so thoroughly lacking in merit that its institutions should be debunked. Yet within this scheme the book opens up many subjects for cogent debate, both as to tactics and to goals.

Those who subscribe to the theory that the culture of poverty has a uniform character bridging race, language, and ethnic background would do well to read this book. While admitting that the problems of Mexican Americans are in some ways similar to those confronting black Americans, the problems faced by Mexican Americans are at the same time so significantly distinct as to require different perspectives and solutions.

The recent and little recognized urbanization of Mexican Americans (80 percent of the Southwest's Mexican Americans live in urban areas) is a phenomenon whose long-range implications have yet to be realized. Many people still believe that Mexican Americans are predominantly farmers and migrants.

While addressing some of its energies to the problems of blacks, this Nation has largely ignored the problems of its second largest minority. In California, for example, Mexican Americans outnumber blacks by two to one, a fact that is little known and much less taken into account throughout the Southwest.

Upward mobility through jobs and education has not been fairly accorded to this group as a whole, though there are exceptions. One of the authors points out in bittersweet terms: *Those agencies that have exercised diligence and sincerety have been rewarded for their efforts. Our draft boards have not had the same difficulty in finding qualified persons as have our jury commissioners. Our society never seems to tire of using its disenfranchised to defend democracy.*

Books such as this may help us to understand this "new" [old] problem, discover solutions, and, hopefully, lead us to act on them.

All this being said, however, the book does have notable shortcomings. Several among the 40 articles, while only a few years old, already seem dated by fast-moving events. The facts set forth in a number of articles are repeated several times. This probably reflects the fact that the articles were not written specifically for this volume. The repetition is wasteful and distracting. Finally no new facts are added to our store of facts on this subject which is a reflection in large part that the book is directed to those who are largely unfamiliar with Mexican Americans'problems.

On the whole, however, the book well serves the purposes for which it was intended.

Helen Rowan noted in one article that Mexican Americans are not identified as a disenfranchised group mainly because they lack the outward manifestations that attend such a state, i.e., poverty programs and all the rest. She goes on to note:

Census statistics and other studies show the Mexican Americans in the Southwest to be worse off in every respect than the nonwhites (Negroes, Indians, and Orientals), not to mention the dominant Anglos (everybody else). They are poorer, their housing is more crowded and dilapidated, their unemployment rate is much higher, their educational level is lower (two years below nonwhites, four years below Anglo).

What is extraordinary about the situation is not so much that it exists as that it is so little known.

MICHAEL P. O'CONNELL

Mr. O'Connell is with the Office of Information and Publications of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America, Edgar S. Cahn, Editor, Citizens' Advocate Center, New York, The World Publishing Company, 1969, 193 pp.

For years we have talked about encouraging Indians to exercise greater self-determination, but our progress has never been commensurate with our promises. Part of the reason for this situation has been the threat of termination. But another reason is the fact that when a decision is made as to whether a Federal program will be turned over to Indian administration, it is the Federal authorities and not the Indian people who finally make that decision.
President Nixon
July 8, 1970
Message to Congress on American Indians

Judging by the contents of President Nixon's Message to Congress on American Indians [July 8, 1970] one suspects that somewhere in the White House somebody has been reading Edgar Cahn's book, *Our Brother's Keeper.* Whether that be the case or not, the President's message is a substantial step toward alleviating many of the problems as described by Mr. Cahn. But the President's message was no panacea for all the wrongs currently suffered by Indians. The mandate for continued change and progress remains.

Young blacks in America say, "We cannot wait any longer; we will not wait!" The new breed of Mexican Americans in the Southwest chant, "We will not wait; we will not accept tokenism of any kind!"

So the blacks wish no longer to look forward to tomorrow's promises, and the Mexican Americans want no more mananas, — But what about the real Americans, the Red Man, the Vanishing American?

After almost 200 years of the White Father's tokenism he still waits for a better tomorrow. He still looks forward to the day when he will once again be a proud man—no longer a charge of the Federal Government and its bureaucracy.

Almost from the very first page of this book, Cahn spares no effort to convince the reader that the conditions in which we find the American Indian today can be squarely placed on the doorstep of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The BIA came into existence in 1834 as a functional agency of the War Department. Its primary function was "to enter into peace treaties and enforced promises to cease hostilities" with Indian nations.

In 1849 the BIA was transferred to the Department of Interior. Its primary mission there was to help Indians help themselves, to help them become "good" American citizens, to become "white" Americans which they do not wish to become.

What is the role of the BIA today? The BIA today can definitely boast and support the statement that it controls the lives, money, land, and destinies of well over 600,000 Indian men, women, and children.

To read in *Our Brother's Keeper* that the average life span of an Indian is 44 years compared to the national average for other Americans of 64; to read that after the first 3 months of life three times as many Indian infants die as other non-Indian infants; to read that the Indians' yearly income average is $1,500, half the national poverty average; and other tragedies, it seems quite unbelievable that this happens in the richest and most powerful Nation in the world. On the other hand, the BIA can turn up some outstanding statistics and figures to prove that the United States and the white man have repaid the Indian tenfold for killing his buffalo, taking his land, and alienating him from his culture.

Cahn was also able to identify three theories the BIA has in discharging its duties as father protector of its Indians.

1. The BIA helps Indians help themselves through education or does it? The educational system for Indians is based on the white man's values and cultural experience. However, the teaching staffs are inferior even by white standards as recruiting and pay are poor, facilities are inadequate, and the curriculums are not only out-dated, but formulated for middle class white children as well, which BIA educated children are not. Can you imagine, for example, how or why an American Indian child is required to write a one page

Photos: Joe Mancias

theme on "Why I am Happy the Pilgrims Came to America" or "Why I like General Custer and the American Cavalry"?

To be a "good" Indian, a Kiowa, Navajo, Cherokee, or member of any other Indian nation, white society demands that he alienate himself from his people, his culture, his religion, and his being. He must accept the education, culture, religion, and the "swift tongue" of the white man for if he does not assimilate the white man dooms him forever as a charge of the Federal Government and the BIA. In order to help the Indian help himself, the BIA tries to isolate the Indian child from his one great endowment—his culture. The Indian is prohibited from practicing his crafts, religion, and dances while at school. And, to help those who "cannot help themselves" by conforming to the white man's curriculum on the reservations, the BIA helps them by sending them sometimes thousands of miles away to a BIA boarding school.

Besides the statistics of how many boarding schools are in operation and how many children are enrolled in them, Cahn discovered the following, among other results: There are runaways who go back to the reservation; there are dropouts who never return either to school or their homes because they feel they are a dishonor to their people. Still others take the "easy way out"—suicide. Indians between the ages of 13 and 20 lead the Nation in attempted and successful suicides. Is this being a good Indian by white standards? Did you ever hear "The only good Indian is a dead Indian"?

2. To help the Indian help himself in protecting his purse and land, the BIA has adopted a theory that it is the "Executor of State" for every Indian on the tribal rolls.

As a result, although the Indian is alive physically and theoretically, the BIA trades, sells, or disposes of his land without his consent.

While to the Indian land is God, sun, moon, and all the creatures of the universe, that is not how the white man sees it. To the white man land is only one part of the universe which is primarily to be exploited, ravished, and depleted in order to multiply the alloys on which is imprinted the meaningless phrase "In God We Trust". More Indian land has been flooded, traded, or sold for nonIndian benefits than has been returned to the Indians in the last hundred years. And, more Indians are going on welfare rolls as a result of losing their property without their consent.

Now the Indians are going on welfare too?

Yes, but as Cahn discovered, the Indian's plight is worse than that faced by a white man. A white man can own property, real and personal, and still be declared within the poverty scale based on wage earnings, and, therefore, draw a welfare check. The Indian on the other hand is not entitled to the same treatment. According to the BIA, no Indian may be enrolled for welfare benefits if he is a property owner or has money saved for him in his account. So the Indian candidate for welfare must first dispose of his land through the BIA which in turn sells his land, not to the tribe or to an Indian relative, but usually to a non-Indian businessman or sportsman.

Now that his property is sold, he has money again. Therefore, he is still ineligible for welfare. Once again the BIA, his benefactor, intervenes and doles him *his own* money in installments equal to what his welfare checks *might* have been. Finally, he has no property, no money, and what is more no dignity left. Only now is he eligible for welfare—that is if he is still alive and has not committed suicide through unconscionable frustration.

3. The third and final theory of the BIA was to accomplish "termination" for the Indian. "Termination" is a word and philosophy feared by all Indians.

To the BIA, termination means that all Indians will someday become self-sufficient and self-governing, BUT ONLY when he has blended into the white American mainstream.

Indians feel that termination means annihilation, the death of the Indian nations, their race and culture. Indians fear that if termination is successful they really will be the Vanishing American. In the past, where the Government has terminated service to and protection of the Indian, the results have been less than gratifying. Cahn cites the example of one such termination procedure:

The Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, terminated in 1961, symbolizes the nightmare come true. Members of the tribe were proud and relatively self-sufficient people with good schools, community services and a tribal-owned sawmill. Once terminated, their reservation became incorporated into a county, and today is the most impoverished county in the State. . . . Menominee County ranks at or near the bottom of Wisconsin's counties in income, housing, property value, education, employment, sanitation, and health. . . . Much Indian land has been sold at auctions because Indians were unable to pay the State property taxes to which their land became subject after termination.

The Menominee hospital, one of the best for Indians, was forced to close.

As far as the Menominee Tribe is concerned, termination has been considerably less than a convincing success. Other tribes do not wish to share their fate.

Overall what Cahn's book lacks in meaningless statistics and graphs, it compensates for by a vivid portrayal of the Indian's soul; perhaps, in the white man's view, an additive to the plight in which he finds himself.

Finally, the BIA is represented as the tentacle octopus; a monster in the Indian sea of life submerged by the tentacles of bureaucracy that engulf the Indian nations—all 600,000 of their inhabitants.

Although this book is over a year old at the time of its review, its currency has not diminished. On the contrary, it has increased. It was and is a biting criticism of a long over looked sore on the American body —politic. At the same time it was prophetic. The President's July 1970 Message to Congress on the American Indians proposed remedies to some of the more glaring problems identified in Cahn's book. President Nixon called for an end to the termination program and for greater self-determination by Indians in control of Federal programs that affect their lives.

In his message to the Congress the President said:

I believe that both of these policy extremes are wrong. Federal termination errs in one direction, Federal paternalism errs in the other. Only by clearly rejecting both of these extremes can we achieve a policy which truly serves the best interests of the Indian people. Self-determination among the Indian people can and must be encouraged without the threat of eventual termination. In my view, in fact, that is the only way that self-determination can effectively be fostered.

It is remarkable how closely the President's words reflect Cahn's critique. As I said earlier, somebody in the White House might have been reading Edgar Cahn's book, *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America.*

RAUL G. GARZA

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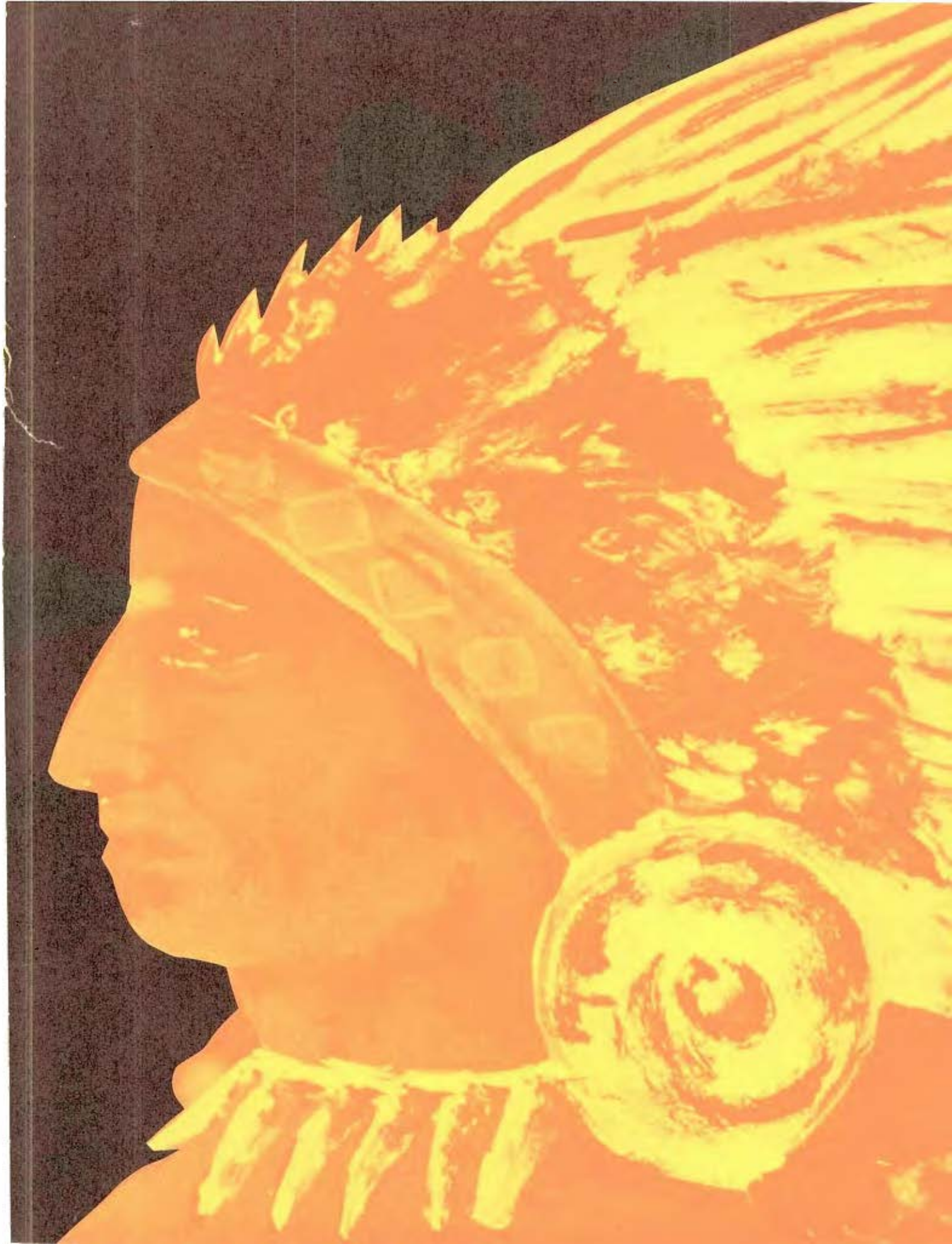

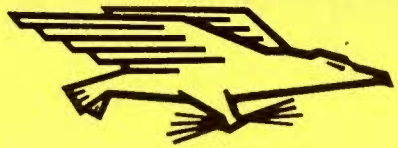

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices:
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress; and,
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.