CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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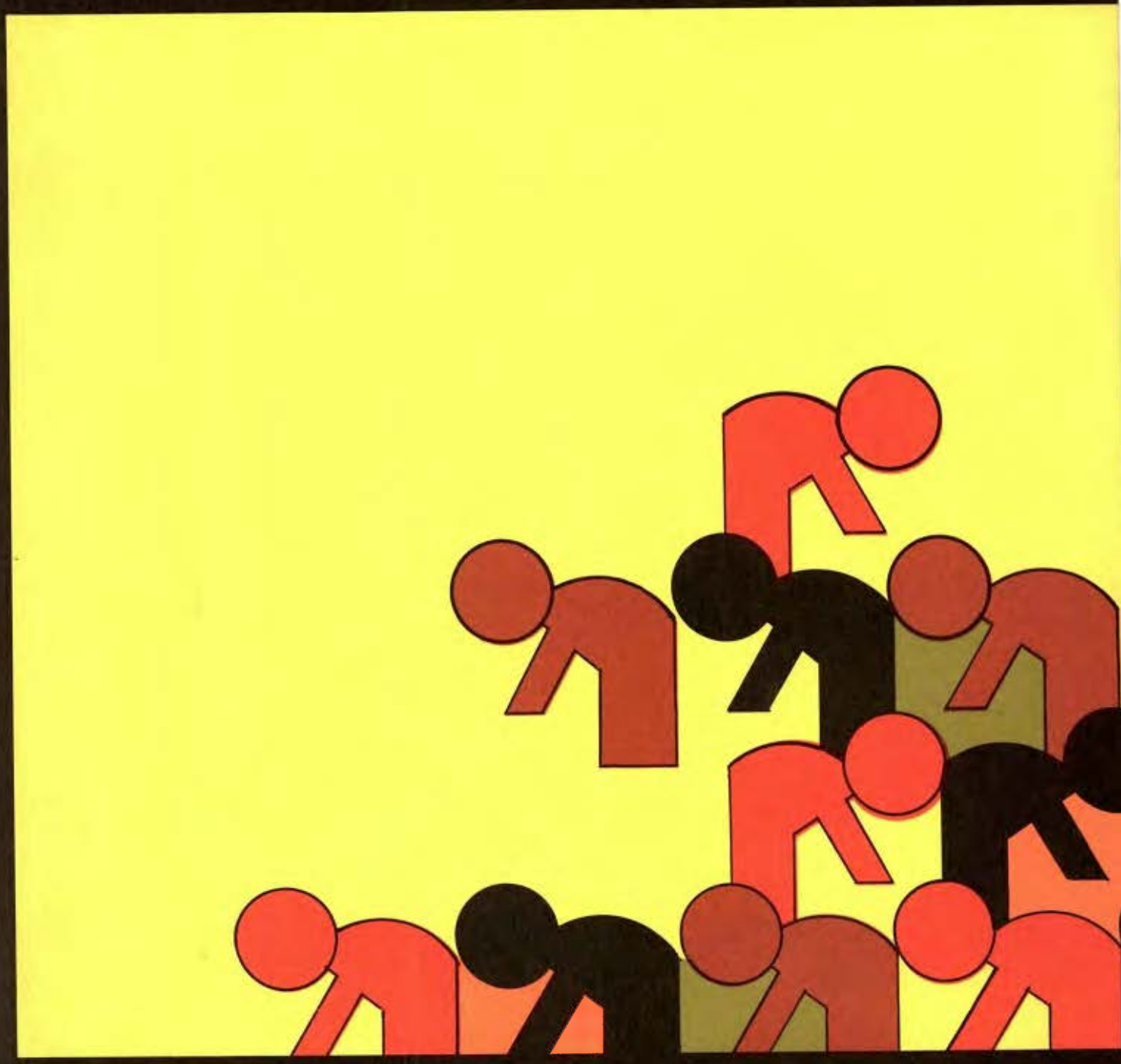
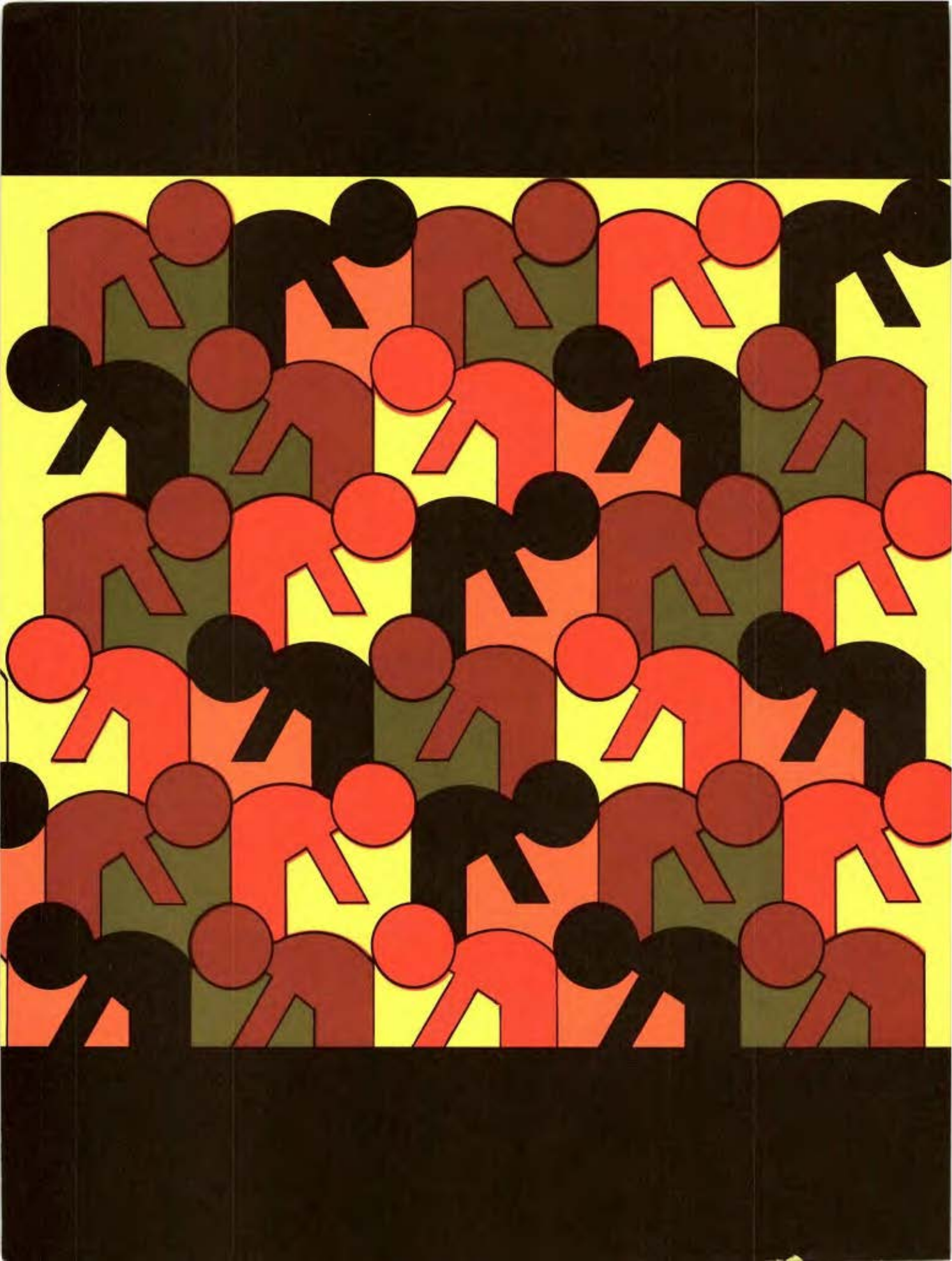


MIGRANT FARMERS



CIVIL RIGHTS
DIGEST

Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1972

In this issue:

Search for Identity
in Blue-Collar America 3
by Irving M. Levine & Judith Herman

Migrant Farmers in New York? 11
by Michael O'Connell

Oregon's Chicanos'
Fight for Equality 17
by Frank Martinez

Vengo Del Valle: Part II 23
by Edward Casavantes

The Wound that Heals 29
by Peter L. Kranz

On Male Liberation 37
by Jack Sawyer

Coalitions as
Mechanisms for Social Change 39
by Daniel H. Kruger

Reading & Viewing 45

Book Reviews 47

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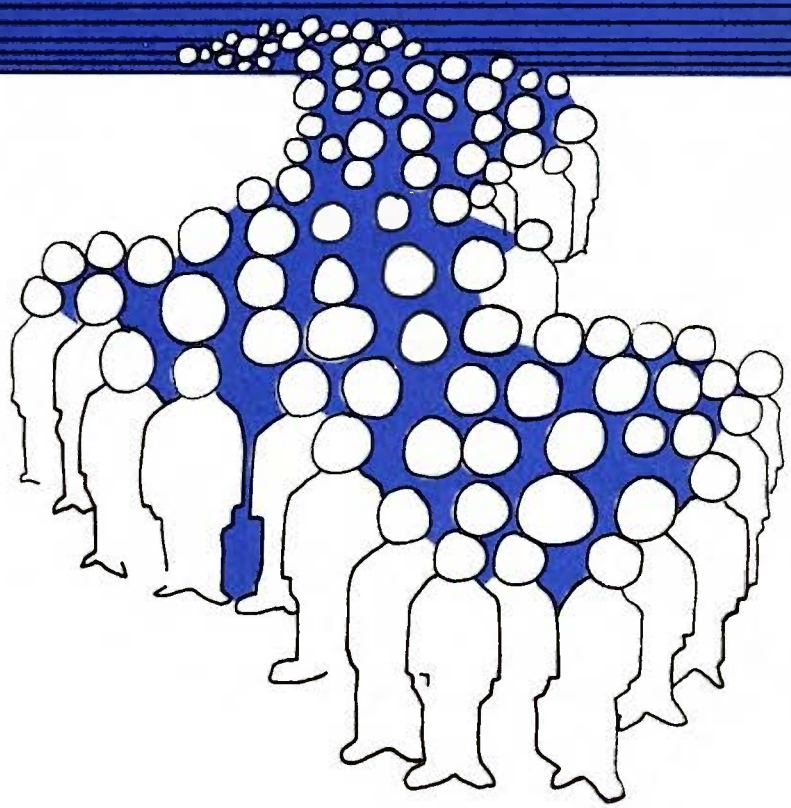

SEARCH FOR IDENTITY IN BLUE-COLLAR AMERICA

By Irving M. Levine and Judith Herman

The renewed interest in America's blue-collar population offers an opportunity for American society to deal with some fundamental questions involving work, economic inequality, and other areas of employment-related concern. These issues are crucial both in improving the lives and conditions of blue-collar workers and in enlisting (or maintaining) their support for critically needed social programs for those minority communities which are still struggling to become lower middle class.

There is, however, another set of questions which could grow out of the contemporary attention to working America, those dealing with the ethnic factors in blue-collar communities and individual lives. It is, after all, no accident that among the journalistic labels used to describe workers "the white ethnics" is seen as often as "workers" or "hardhats". In large Northern and Midwestern cities, most of blue-collar America *is* second or third generation from Southern or Eastern European ethnic groups, and that background does affect their feelings, attitudes, and behavior.

From this observation flow issues of both public policy and social action strategy. If people relate to ethnic groups as well as economically based groups, what are the implications for national unity? What is the best way to work in blue-collar ethnic communities—and are there different styles appropriate to various ethnic groups? How much of the conflict described as "black-white" is really more complex than that? Are there still conflicts between Irish and Italians, or are ethnic identification feelings disappearing as the younger generation looks beyond ethnicity?

The Neglected Dimension of American History

A recent report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence describes Americans as the victims of "historical amnesia that masks much of their turbulent past". The authors declare:

> *The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable competition, friction, and conflict.**

Certainly there has not always been such "amnesia", but the general trend within social science and history has shifted toward and away from a study of diversity. The Chicago sociologists wrote about the city as a network of ethnic groups in the 1920's, but the Depression and World War II turned attention to economics on the one hand and to prejudice on the other. Much scholarly work dealt with the forces which held this diverse society together rather than with the components of that diversity. Thus, the last 25 years have not seen extensive investigations into ethnic and cultural persistence but have instead witnessed more concern for the processes of absorption and assimilation.

Including the ethnic factor in American history can help us understand some of the problems we face today. For instance, an accurate historical view of the American labor movement accentuates the degree to which an objectively overriding economic interest never was allowed to crystallize because of inter-ethnic clashes. As Ralph Kolodny says, ". . . A united front against a dominant Anglo-Saxon group was never a goal of the various southern and eastern European groups. . . . On the contrary, many new immigrant workers who were the butts of ridicule and abuse by native American laborers fought among themselves with no small degree of ferocity." **

Today's trade union leaders, at least outside the confines of private discussions, seldom offer insights into ethnic conflict within the unions today, although the rise of the Black Caucus movement and the counter-appearance of Italian, Polish, Irish, and Jewish reactions might cause some re-examination on their part. Many spokesmen for labor often appear to be trapped by myths about American workers and their unity in the past. If they could deal more with ethnic struggles of the past, they and others might be better able to relate to such problems as the restrictiveness of the building trades, where some particular ethnic group

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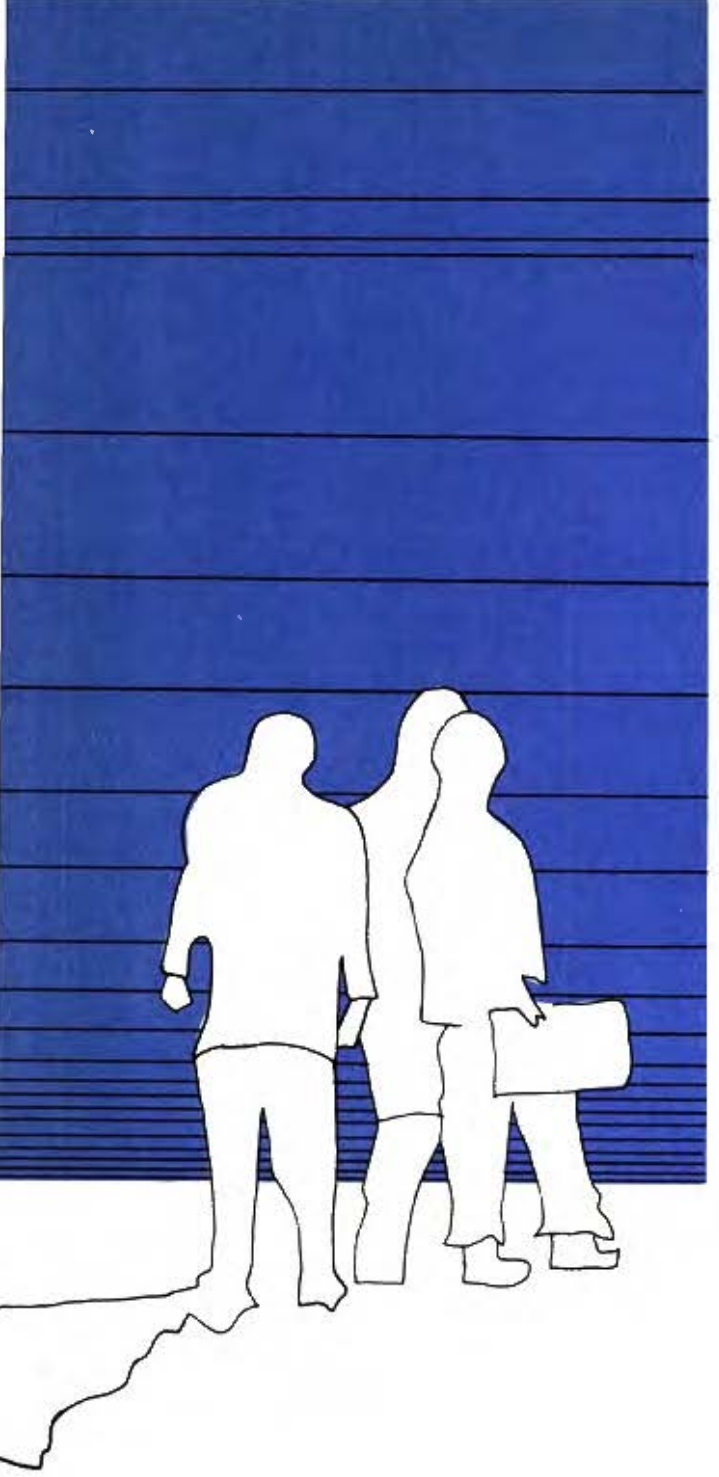
* Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, *The History of Violence in America.* New York: Bantam Books, 1969, p. xiv.

** Ralph L. Kolodny, "Ethnic Cleavages in the United States". *Social Work,* Vol. 14, January 1969, p. 20.



dominates craft unions which are closed even to other white ethnics, not only to blacks.

One of the most serious historical misunderstandings of American society may be notions of "how to succeed" economically. While most groups cling to a "bootstraps" version of their own success, James O'Kane looks at ethnic mobility in the past 100 years and postulates three major avenues for "making it" in America—unskilled labor, ethnic politics, and ethnic crime.* Such a generalization, if true, might mitigate some righteous indignation at "lazy" new arrivals, but it still does not delve deeply enough into the relationship between ethnic communalism and economic success. This relationship has had much to do with elements internal to each ethnic community—its traditions or culture, its informal structure, and its formal institutions.

A man born into a group with a characteristic experience and set of attitudes about the city, the family, education, and work would have a different preparation for life in our kind of society from a man born into a group with different experiences, traditions, and attitudes. A man belonging to a group with a large number of employers and businessmen would have a better chance for a job or a business opportunity than one born into a group where such people are few: cousinship and friendship are economically more advantageous in the first group than in the second. And a man belonging to a group that maintains formal institutions for vocational guidance, educational assistance, family service, and free loans for aspiring small businessmen would have an advantage over a potential competitor from a group without such institutions.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the ethnic factor has been a "neglected" one, in this and other areas of American life, is that ethnic solidarity, interests, or even consciousness has often been expressed in non-ethnic terms or through other institutional forms, and there are few adequate guidelines for culling the ethnic factor out of a situation. What might look like a neighborhood problem or an occupational one, or even a racial issue, might well be—or become—an ethnic conflict because of the overlapping factor of ethnicity. More important, whatever the *real* cause of a problem is, it might be *expressed* in ethnic terms, and a would-be problem-solver would have to be highly sensitive to this possibility.

* James M. O'Kane, "Ethnic Mobility and the Lower-Income Negro: A Socio-Historical Perspective", *Social Problems*, Vol. 16, Winter 1969.

The Reassertion of Ethnic Identity

The need for a secure identity is universal and is expressed in different ways. Where once nearly everyone seemed content to be an "ordinary American", now all kinds of groups are claiming the right to be different, unique, particular, special. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Indians are universally credited with sensitizing America to group identity, and the liberation movements of women and homosexuals, along with young communal members, reinforce the continuation of this trend.

Ethnic groups, too, are now beginning to chafe under what they consider the requirement for a middle class background or an uncomplicated name in order to "make it" in America. They are now beginning to demand acceptance on their own, not the majority's, terms.

In Cleveland, there is a move to revive the "Little Italy" section, based on a recognition that such older neighborhoods are attractive to young people at the nearby university. In Chicago, a similar development has resulted in a section called "Andersonville", made up of Swedish stores and restaurants. Ironically, at a recent conference on Chicago's ethnic groups, the Swedes insisted on their complete Americanization while at the same time expressing a strong pride in the community's acceptance of Andersonville.

In fact, commercially oriented forces have recognized the ethnic factor for a long time, and almost all marketing surveys include samples from different ethnic groups. There are even several advertising agencies which specialize in "the ethnic market", and one need only scan several hours of television to note the decided resurgence of ethnic types in commercials.

Their image within the mass media, in fact, has been a major factor in the reassertion by many groups of their identities. Thus, Polish cultural and fraternal organizations are vigorously attacking the mass media for stereotyping, and a Polish industrialist recently launched a mass media educational campaign on Polish history and contributions to America.

Similarly, some in the German community are angered by television stereotypes (the German is always a Nazi or a mad scientist), as are Italians sensitive to Mafia references and Chicanos angered by the Frito Bandito. This high level of sensitivity is not always understood by individuals and groups more distant from the marginal social status felt by many communities, but it is an important barometer of renewed ethnic emotions.

Perhaps the most suggestive evidence of a new ethnic consciousness comes from contacts with young people. Many community leaders report a new interest in "peoplehood" on the part of young people, with a strength that often surprises those in the second generation who assumed the young had been irrevocably lost. Some outward expressions revolve around the current fascination with fashions, but they also include a Polish Students Union at a Midwest University, demands for ethnic studies in high school, and often anguished discussions such as one held recently about "the meaning of growing up Ukrainian".

Reassertion of identity can take both positive and negative forms, the latter epitomized by such groups as the Jewish Defense League, whose core of membership consists of many young men in lower income neighborhoods. This often negative form of identity expression exists in other ethnic communities as well —in the "White Owl" karate youth organizations led by Anthony Imperiale in Newark, in a Polish vigilante group in Trenton, in Irish street gangs of south Philadelphia (which never really disappeared, but no one has noticed them for a long time), and elsewhere.

On the positive side, though, young Jews (for example) are beginning to turn around what had appeared as a strong trend away from identification as Jews. Many students who are politically identified (at least by themselves) as "radical" are trying to create a synthesis between that category and "Jew". Some spend time discussing whether they are "Jewish radicals" or "radical Jews", but all agree that a universalist radical identification is too broad for them. They insist on their right to particularism, to "my people", just as the black students have insisted on a right to a nonuniversalist identity. As one student put it:

> *I have tried to identify with mankind, with the world as a whole, but I find that I just can't. I can't feel as strongly about people starving in India as I can about those closer to me. Maybe I should be able to but I find that it's just too distant. So I've decided to start looking at a smaller group to identify with, and I start with being Jewish because—just because that's part of who I am, and I might as well start with what I was born into because it is somehow a part of me.**

* Howard Schwartz, *Jewish Youth Speaks Its Mind.* New York. The American Jewish Committee, 1970, p. 10.

The Salience of Ethnicity

The search for identity and a reference group may grow out of a generalized dislocation in American society brought on by both foreign and domestic events of the late sixties. In fact, it may represent a search for what Harold Isaacs* calls a "workable new order of things", but why does the search seem increasingly to be expressed in ethnic terms, especially in some working class communities? Other possibilities exist—especially identification with economic interest group, occupation, age, and even sex—yet the growing contemporary interest is in ethnicity. It may be that many whites feel left out of the "in" social movements. After all, Women's Liberation hardly touches issues of concern to the wives of steelworkers or bus drivers and "the youth culture" does not accurately describe the life of the young assembly line worker. The return to "our own people" might be explained in terms of blue-collar Americans reacting to this sense of rejection. A construction worker in Chicago, describing his response to "liberals", concluded interestingly with a reference to his own ethnic group:

> *The liberals have always despised us. We've got these nasty little jobs, and we drink beer and, my God, we watch television and we don't read. It's . . . vicious snobbery.*
> *The only time a Pole is mentioned [on TV] it's to make fun of him. He's Ignatz Dumbrowski, 274 pounds and 5-foot-4, and he got his education by writing in to a firm on a matchbook cover. But what will we do about it? Nothing, because we're the new invisible man.***

The New Pluralism

The resurgence of interest in blue-collar whites, especially that concern stimulated by the National Project on Ethnic America, grew from a desire to lessen that group's antagonism to blacks and their goals—that is, to depolarize black-white conflicts. Once one begins to look closely at the ethnic factor in blue-collar communities, however, that polarization diagnosis is somewhat weakened and must be replaced, at least at times, with an analysis which includes more groups than the two on opposite sides. Polarization implies mere dichotomy, usually black-white; what we are actually seeing may be much more fragmented, much more highly pluralistic, and thus potentially amenable to a variety of coalitional efforts leading to progress.

During the early years of struggle over black needs and demands, blacks and their supporters tended to lump the opposition into one category: "whites", or, after the Kerner Report, "white racists". Similarly, many whites were not adequately sensitive to the range of differences either among blacks or between blacks and such other nonwhite groups as Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, or Indians. Even when there were intensive struggles between blacks and Puerto Ricans (in New York's Model Cities Program, for example) both groups were seen as "them" by many whites. Similarly, although Irish gangs still attack Italian gangs in south Philadelphia, they are often seen as "all alike" in the eyes of that city's black spokesmen.

The trend toward each large group's accepting the "other side's" definition of themselves—and toward the consequent continuation of a simple black-white split—seems to be dissolving. Especially among the nonwhite groups, who became consciously self-assertive earlier than the still-emerging white ethnic groups, there is a growing insistence on the separation between blacks and "others".

The most recent spokesman for this point of view is Vine Deloria, who emphasizes the differences between American Indians and other nonwhite minorities. He says:

> . . . *"Intergroup relations" has become synonymous with race relations, which means whites and blacks. There has NEVER been an understanding of how groups relate to each other. . . . The whole of American society has been brainwashed into believing that if it understood blacks it could automatically understand every other group.****

It is certainly true that many white groups tend to coalesce when they feel threatened by what they call a monolithic black advance, and many blacks react similarly to whites. How much of that coalescence, though, how much hardening of the lines, is caused by the social definitions of conflicts? Would groups maintain their tendencies toward automatic black-white splits if the prevailing norms of society were not based upon that view of America's groups? In other words,

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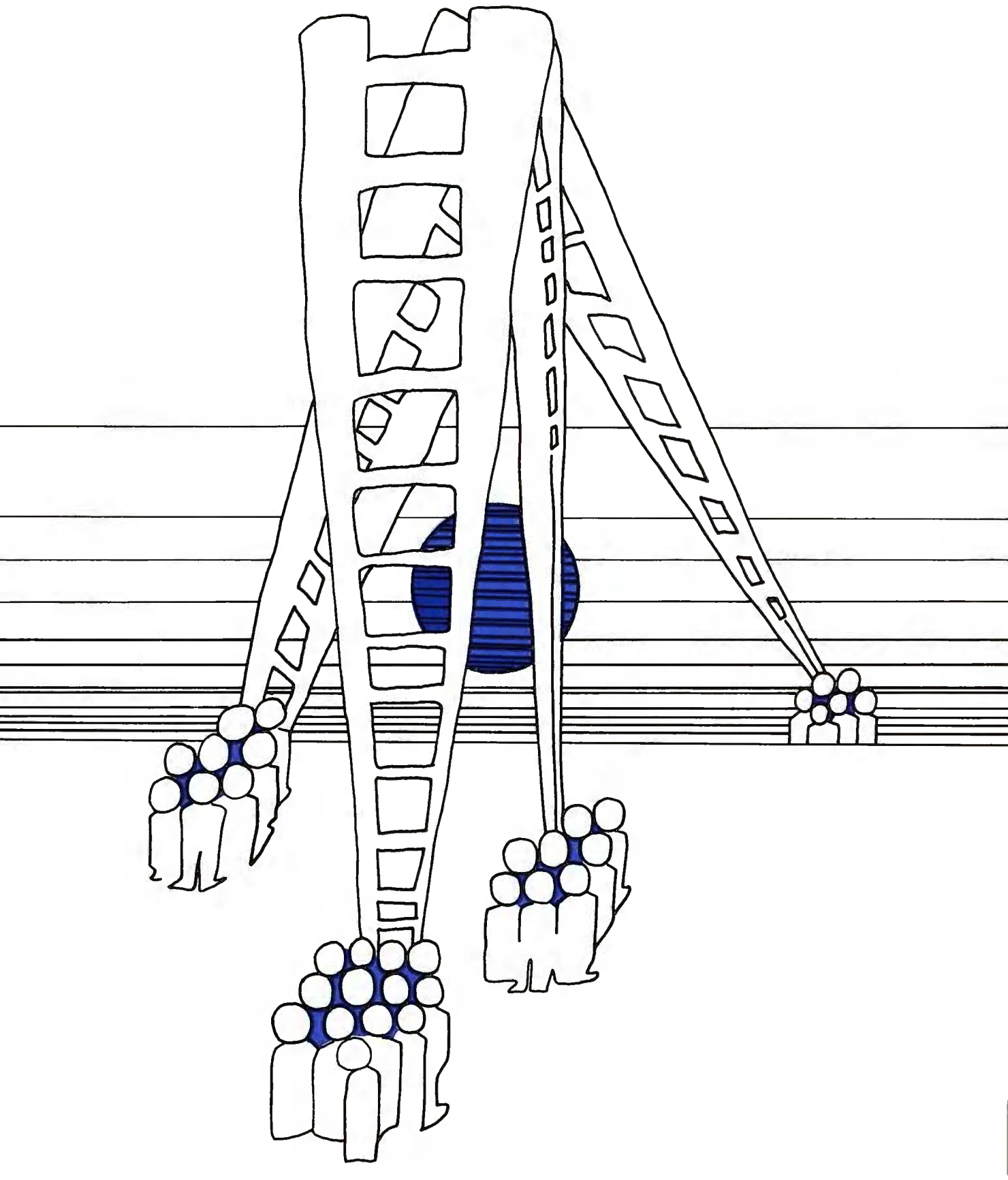
* Harold R. Isaacs, "Group Identity and Social Change", *Survey* (London), No. 69, October 1968.

** Lois Wille, "The Anxious Majority", reprinted from the *Chicago Daily News*. New York. The American Jewish Committee. 1970, p. 4.

*** Vine Deloria, Jr., *We Talk, Youth Listen*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1970.



how much is there of the self-fulfilling prophecy in American group relations, with groups acting as they are, in effect, "expected" to act? Furthermore, if we could change those expectations, if we could offer new definitions of group conflict and group interests, could we help "open the frozen world of white-black relationships" and help polarization dissolve into pluralism and new alliances?

One of the most urgent implications of the new pluralism involves the concept of "legitimate self-interest". Who defines legitimacy, and how are conflicting interests reconciled? Many incidents in blue-collar communities, where black demands push against the perceived self-interests of white ethnic groups, illustrate the need to formulate "ground rules".

Most discussions of this conflict have concluded by calling for economic sufficiency—a "bigger pie"—but have not been overly sanguine about achieving it. In the short run, in the absence of full employment, for example, how should the unionist's "legitimate" right to maintain job security be balanced against the equally "legitimate" right of blacks and others who have suffered discrimination to enter these occupations?

The increase in attention to "affirmative action" plans in many areas of employment makes this one of the most important issues to understand properly. Are those individuals who worked their ways up under one set of rules and guidelines—rules which they themselves usually neither created nor challenged—to be penalized for the faults of the system? If members of one ethnic group predominate in an employment area, is that adequate evidence of racism? In a contracting economy, where are the alternatives for those whose positions are shaky? Do they not have a "legitimate" right to protect their position and their potential?

Yet, existing systems have not worked for all groups and may have functioned to prefer one ethnic group and exclude others. Thus, is not the demand for preference by blacks and others who have been left out a reasonable and "legitimate" one? Should *they* be told to wait for economic expansion, until there is "room for everyone"? Are not "ethnic succession" and ethnic progression facts of American life?

Our country has a tradition of economic restructure in times of specialized need—in war/defense conversion, in Sputnik-stimulated education needs, even in such historic phenomenon as the Homestead Act. Such crash programming is needed now, to create *real* "affirmative action" programs which attempt to accomplish *two* goals at the same time by opening entry and promotion for members of previously excluded groups and by protecting and expanding opportunities for individuals in legitimately held positions.

The issue of affirmative action is only one example of the questions raised regarding the new pluralism. Fundamental to these issues is the relationship between "community" and "society", the ethnic group, and the Nation or city as a whole. There is evidence now of a resurging "quest for community", often taking ethnic forms in blue-collar areas—but there is still a need to preserve the total society from fragmenting into disparate and unrelated groups. Moreover, there needs to be some protection for the individual who does not choose to identify with a particular community but opts for an identification which is more universal.

There is a spectrum of ideas concerning the organization of society and the relationship to it of both individuals and groups. At one end there is total reliance upon the individual—legally and socially—and a relegation of intermediate groups to the somewhat anachronistic sphere. At the other end, there are calls for legal recognition of groups. In a multi-group American society, prescriptions for granting of legal group rights can be excessive, unnecessary, and probably dangerous, especially to minority groups. The challenge is to build relationships between groups which allow for resolving conflicts and achieving social justice for members of deprived groups while at the same time guarding the central American principle of the primacy of *individual* legal rights.

While it seems exceedingly difficult to deal with, the "new pluralism" offers exciting possibilities for resolving social conflicts. Institutions which are involved with the management of such conflicts, from government to churches to the mass media, ought to build on these possibilities. Instead of seeing issues as mostly white-black problems, they should look more deeply into the differing group self-interests involved, the various ethnic perceptions of problems, and the types of leaders who exist.

With this kind of insight, social institutional forces can promote the development of many *ad hoc* alliances which may well shift with issues, but with no one group emerging as "the enemy". Consequently, a negative majority might be headed off by a deeper understanding by all groups that what really exists in the American polity is a series of minorities needing allies to achieve positive goals.

To play this role, institutions will need a greater awareness of those issues which bridge various groups, and they will need to cultivate that kind of emerging ethnic leadership which will be capable of serving as the links. The institutional opinion-molding forces must also learn to become comfortable with shifting alliances, so that one's partner on a foreign policy issue is not required to agree with all aspects of one's domestic agenda, and the political processes of negotiation and bargaining are allowed to work themselves out.

What is absent from American ethnic group life today, an important missing ingredient in the new pluralism, is the existence of strong ethnic communities able to negotiate from self-confidence and strength. Group self-confidence, achieved through both internal experience and external legitimation, is something of a prerequisite to the development of new coalitions. Until a group is secure in its own identity it cannot easily negotiate with others, as blacks have explained since "Black Power" was first articulated.

Just as the black "community" refuses to acknowledge a single spokesman, there are many younger people in white ethnic "communities" who could become alternative types of leaders if they were encouraged to do so. If mainstream organizations, rediscovering ethnic groups, call only on those with the correct titles and organizations and do not also aid the development of new progressive-minded leaders, they may well be setting back the new pluralism rather that hastening its accomplishment.

Bridge Issues

Many of the issues which most concern blue-collar white ethnic groups are, or could be, the same ones which occupy other groups. The problems of marginal neighborhoods; alienating assembly line jobs, especially for young workers; limited choices for women resulting from arbitrary sex-typing—these and many other problems offer possibilities for re-uniting groups at least in *ad hoc* relationships if not in immediate organic coalitions. But the issues in many cases need to be redefined so that they include the perceptions and concerns of all affected segments of society.

Education is an example of a problem area which has not been adequately addressed in this country. Often a "lack of political will" exists because reforms are defined solely as responses to black needs even though actual achievements of white ethnic students are sometimes equally short of their potential. Paying for schooling through more equitable taxes is another area for possible coalitions. So is new curriculum development in ethnic studies, although this issue—one of tremendous concern throughout America's ethnic communities—dramatizes the need for skillful and sensitive approaches.

Mishandled, the ethnic studies issue can deteriorate into each group's demand for unreasonable separateness and a struggle for scarce educational dollars. On the other hand, if ethnic studies programs are formulated with "bridge-building" as well as ethnic identity in mind, they can go beyond the "contributions" approach and provide much-needed knowledge about the nature of American group life. Moreover, such programs should contain an emotional, effective component which helps children come to terms with their individual and group identity, and thus enhance both self-image and intergroup relations.

Many other issues need to be examined in this way, determining the common elements on which to begin bridge-building, such as new programs geared to the enhancement of ethnic neighborhoods, new employment categories to absorb "socially displaced" individuals, affirmative action plans which respond to individuals in both the group coming in and the group with no place else to go, and in general a large enough "economic pie" so that competition for resources is not required as a constant feature of lower middle class ethnic life.

Beneath most of the issues discussed here are, of course, basic economic factors. Even so, because most people are non-affluent has not meant that they have been easily united. For many and complex reasons including ethnic factors, Americans will probably respond in the future as they have in the past by organizing themselves for various kinds of economic and social guarantees that are broadly administered, rather than around abstract "class conflict" issues.

The renewed interest in America's blue-collar communities is itself a significant one in that it recognizes the need for attention to still another large group's unmet needs. Careful attention to the salience of the ethnic factor without becoming romantic "ethnic determinists" can help new organizational efforts be more successful. We will not build a new unity in this country by ignoring group differences; we will have to understand them, evaluate them, and respond to them differentially in order to create new coalitions for a truly pluralistic future. ■

MIGRANT FARMERS IN NEW YORK?

By Michael O'Connell

Next time you have Mom's American apple pie, take a look at the apples in it. There's a good chance that they were picked by a migrant farmer somewhere in New York State. And before you bite down on a piece of that pie remember this fact—in 1970 the migrant farmer in New York on an average earned a weekly wage of $56.89, before deductions. He cannot afford to buy that pie. Neither can his children. So eat hearty!

As though it were an embarrassing secret, no one talks very loudly or proudly about migrants in New York State. As a matter of fact, few people talk about the migrants who work throughout the Northeast. But they exist—barely.

Each year about 17,000 migrants come to New York out of the Eastern Migrant Stream. They begin arriving in early June and have all left by the end of November. Their arrival, existence, and departure is like that of the morning dew—quiet, ephemeral, but real.

The New York migrant is a walking contradiction. He works hard but he is extremely poor. While picking food for a Nation of dieters he and his family often suffer malnutrition. He stands as mute and damning evidence against the myth that the man who works by the sweat of his brow and the strength of his back shall some day be rewarded. And maybe that is why he is ignored.

Mr. O'Connell is a public information specialist with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Nearly 75 percent of New York's migrants are black. The remainder are mostly Puerto Rican, with a few Indians, Mexican Americans, and whites added to the list.

For most of the migrants who work in New York the "home base" State is Florida where during the winter months they usually work the citrus crops. Even after a winter's work many are unable to pay for their own transportation to New York. In order to get there they frequently become indebted to the grower or "crew boss" they will work for; as a result many are in debt even before they get to their Northern destination.

With yearly incomes hundreds and frequently thousands of dollars below the official levels of poverty, migrants are anxious to work when they arrive. Work, however, is not always immediately available for all. Sometimes a late spring or too little rain has delayed the crops. At other times they find that there is no work when they arrive because the grower had them come up a week or two early to protect himself in case the crops came in early.

So while the migrant waits for a crop to come in there is little or no work and correspondingly little or no pay. Hungry mouths must be fed in any case. Therefore, to meet his own and his family's needs a migrant may borrow money from the crew boss or grower. Before work even begins many migrants find themselves on the treadmill of credit buying in order to pay for food as well as transportation to New York. Those who find themselves in this position seldom have much in the way of savings even by season's end. A sociologist from Rochester, New York who works with migrants, Karen Tobin, has said that as a result of this system: "I have never heard of a migrant having savings. The money is always spent before it is received." So the migrant returns to Florida with as much money as when he arrived—none.

Arriving neither too soon nor too late for the first major crop is only one of the serious employment problems the migrant will face in a season. In Wayne County, New York, for example, the first major crop, sweet and sour cherries, comes in on or before July 4 and ends 4 weeks later. The next big crop in Wayne County is apples which do not come in until early or middle September. In 1971 this was around September 20. After the first crop it is another 4-to-6 weeks before steady employment is again available for a large part of the county's migrant labor force. Since migrant workers and other agricultural employees are not covered by unemployment insurance, the financial impact of this situation is even more serious. In Wayne County in 1970 this slack period necessitated the distribution of approximately $100,000 in food stamps to the county's nearly 4,000 migrants (the highest concentration of migrants in the State). It would be very interesting if the general public saw this and other forms of assistance to migrants not as welfare assistance but as a public subsidy to the agricultural industry in lieu of the industry's failure to meet, in the form of wages, the most basic human needs of its employees.

The irregularity of available, steady work is only one of the economic conditions contributing to the severity of poverty among migrant workers. Low wages also help perpetuate these conditions. For example, in

Steuben and the surrounding counties along New York's "southern tier" potatoes are a major late summer crop. According to Stuart Mitchell of Project Rural Education and Cultural Horizons (REACH), a self-help community development cooperation, the typical farm worker in 1971 received 10¢ for filling 2¾ sacks with potatoes which equaled 1½ bushels. In a good season a fast worker may fill 100 such sacks per day. An average picker in an average season might fill 60-80 sacks per day thereby earning between $6 and $8 per day *before deductions*. Migrants are paid similar wages for other crops. However, if adverse weather conditions occur during the picking season—too much rain, high winds, or unusual cold spells—both the migrant and the grower are left in a disastrous economic condition.

Another way of examining this problem is through the number of hours worked per week. In 1970, all types of farm workers in New York had worked a median of 36.2 hours per week, almost a full work week. Closer analysis, however, shows a different picture. Regular, or non-seasonal workers, had a median of 47.6 hours. Seasonal workers on the other hand were only able to work a median of 27.6 hours or 12.4 hours below what is commonly accepted as a full work week and a full 20 hours below that available to regular farm workers.*

When this picture is combined with the prevailing wages and the irregularity of work, it is a little easier to understand how the migrant gets to be and remains poor. More difficult for most affluent Americans to understand, however, is how poor this actually does leave the migrant. A study of 50 migrants who worked the cherry and apple crops of Wayne County during a 17-week season in 1968 revealed the following:**

1] earnings ranged from $335 to $1,419.
2] 74 percent of the group earned less than $1,000.
3] the earnings of the average migrant earning less than $1,000 was $612.
4] the average earnings for the average migrant earning more than $1,000 was $1,099.
5] and, most important, for the group as a whole the earning of the average migrant was $740.

This covers a 17-week season. If the same rate of earnings are projected for the full year this leaves these migrants with $2,264 for an annual earning. Again, that is before standard deductions.

Contrary to what one might expect, it is not the grower who determines who shall work when work is available. These and other dealings between the grower and the migrants are taken care of by the "crew boss" or "crew leader". When there is work to be done, he alone determines who shall work, and where and when. The crew leader can also throw migrants out of camp housing if he chooses and, thereby, out of work. Since the crew boss usually owns the only means of transportation in a camp—a truck or bus—the migrants are also dependent upon him to get to stores to buy food and other necessities. In view of these and other powers held by a crew boss, a migrant is indeed foolish to alienate the crew boss unnecessarily.

Crew leaders also keep track for the growers of the quantity of work done and how much the migrant should get paid. Since most migrants have not finished high school and many are functionally illiterate, this opens up a number of opportunities for fraud and deception by an unscrupulous crew boss. Many crew members prefer piece work over an hourly wage. As a result, one of the simplest ways for such a crew boss to underpay the migrant is by undercounting the work he does. Social Security fraud is another possible method of underpayment. A former VISTA worker in Steuben County, Dale Clair, alleges to have seen migrant pay stubs indicating a Social Security deduction for as high as 10 percent of the pay check. To help alleviate the problem, Project REACH has made booklets available to migrants so that they can keep track of how much they work, receive in pay, and amounts deducted from their pay. Hopefully, these booklets will make it easier to prevent and detect deception or fraud.

Living Conditions

Many Northerners would like to think that migrant housing is worse in the South than in the North. Harriett Hadley, who has worked on educational programs in migrant camps in Florida and New York, arrives at a different conclusion. "The camps here [New York] are as good as and as bad as those in Florida and elsewhere." Karen Tobin "feels that Southern homes are better from my visits to Haines City and Sanford, Florida."

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* Extracted from "Earnings and Hours of Farm Workers, New York State, 1970", preliminary report, New York State Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards and Division of Research and Statistics, February 1971.

** Extracted from "Earnings of Migratory Farm Workers In Wayne County, New York: 1968", by Harrington J. Bryce of Clark University, prepared for New York State Center for Migrant Studies at the State University of New York College at Geneseo, Geneseo, New York.

Tragically, and as if to support this point, a 52-year old migrant, Willima Beckett, died in a fire in a camp in the early morning hours of August 1, 1971 in Wayne County. A letter mailed to the State Department of Health before this fire alleged a number of violations in that camp's housing, including the absence of fire extinguishers. That letter is now included in a suit alleging conspiracy by certain State officials to avoid enforcing the State health law and sanitary code as they apply to migrant housing.

The conditions in most migrant camps stand in stark and ugly contrast to this Nation's ability to send men and steel to the moon. Outhouses are commonly used because there often are not enough indoor toilets. Several families in each camp use the same stove and sink to prepare meals. Families are sometimes crowded into rooms intended for much smaller groups. Many of these conditions are legal. Many others are illegal, but persist.

Education

The greatest tragedy of the migrant situation, however, is the children. They did not make this world. And their world has no exits. In this technological society children from every social class must acquire marketable skills, training, or education if they are to achieve a measure of economic security. The migrant child is systematically, even if unintentionally, denied these admission cards to the mainstream of society.

Insofar as the schools perform the role of equipping children with these tools, they are failing to do so with migrant children. The migrant child falls 2 to 3 years behind the average child in educational achievement by the time he reaches junior high school, providing he gets that far. As was mentioned earlier, most migrant children do not finish high school. Unless this problem is solved, succeeding generations of migrants are likely to remain ensnared in the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty.

As it exists today the educational system does not adequately meet the special needs of migrant children. For the most part schools ignore the educational problems that result from the movement of migrant families back to Florida during the fall, during the school year. Failure to compensate for this phenomenon throws the migrant child hopelessly behind his Florida classmates whose school year has not been interrupted by such movement. And to make matters worse, the migrant child undergoes the educational dislocation every year he remains in school.

The New York State Center for Migrant Studies has been doing experimental and practical work in response to these and other problems. In order to meet the educational needs of migrant children the Center advocates a concept called the "individualization of instruction". Rather than trying to fit every child into a preplanned, generalized curriculum, the Center believes an attempt should be made to define and meet the special educational needs of each child. If teachers use this approach it is hoped that instruction can be geared to each child's specialized educational needs and that the disadvantage of movement from New York to Florida during the school year can be minimized.

Additionally, the Center conducts summer workshops to train the teachers of migrant children in the "individualization of instruction" and other innovative instructional methods. The goal is to show these teachers how they can go about identifying and then meeting the real educational needs of migrant children.

Justice v. Exploitation

In this age of "law and order" it is interesting to note that the migrant is a victim of the law in curious ways. On the one hand, migrants know very little about their rights and privileges under law. On the other hand, it would do them little good to have such knowledge in view of the practical absence of legal assistance for migrants. And in view of the low wages migrants receive, it should be more than obvious that they are unable to pay for legal assistance out of their own pockets. For example, it is very difficult for them to post bond if they are arrested because of their own poverty and the unwillingness of most bondsmen to post bond for someone who is very likely to leave the State in a short time.

An even more serious problem is that it is difficult for migrants to bring charges against anyone effectively, inasmuch as the migrant and often witnesses are likely to be somewhere in Florida by the time the case is called for trial. The result is that the cases must often be dropped because the plaintiff and witnesses may be unavailable. As a practical consequence justice is denied.

Moreover, it appears that some people have a convenient double standard of law as it applies to migrants. When Dale Clair was a VISTA worker with Project REACH he noticed that citizens and officials alike quietly ignored the resale of beer, wine, and liquor to

migrants by crew leaders. While the practice is illegal under both Federal and State laws, it is allowed to continue. Permitting this practice to go on makes it unnecessary for migrants themselves to come to town to buy their own beer, wine, and liquor. Year-round residents would find such a proposition a threat to community peace, property, and "morals" since everybody "knows" the effect of booze on migrants [blacks]. So much for respect for the law.

Interestingly, this practice can be a financial windfall for a crew boss. Since a crew boss is the only person with transportation in most camps and thereby has a monopoly on the supply of liquor, he can sell beer, wine, and liquor at a "modest" profit. While he was a VISTA worker, Mr. Clair discovered that crew leaders would often "resell 67¢ pint of wine for anywhere between $1.25 and $3.25 depending upon the distance to the liquor store. The average price was $1.50."

Alcoholism, contributing to health problems, is the most important form of drug addiction among migrants. Hard narcotic addiction has not been as much of a problem to date among migrants as it has been for the rest of the country. The severity of poverty among migrants has been a fairly effective deterrent to hard drugs until recently. There is concern however that the problem of hard narcotics may now be reaching into the migrant community.

Possible Solutions?

With all of these problems many people might ask: "Why don't migrants organize a union or something?" Any number of things make such a goal difficult to attain. One of these problems is that migrant farmers would rather switch to another form of employment with a higher and more predictable income. They have little interest in "making it" as migrants. Consequently, they have little enthusiasm for traditional organizing themes.

In addition, mechanization of farm work is a real threat against organizational efforts that might become "too successful". The impoverished migrant is of necessity more interested in following the available work than fostering organizational efforts that can promise reward only in the distant future.

In the long run the greatest impediment to organizational efforts is that there exists a rather large surplus labor supply of migrant workers. On the one hand this keeps overall wages depressed. On the other hand it leads to a situation in which migrants may sit without work in one county while the harvest of a crop is in full swing in a nearby county. This happens because there are so many migrants that each county often ends up getting enough migrants to work its whole crop. This makes it unnecessary for growers to pull in unemployed migrants from another county during harvest time. Given these labor conditions, even should growers in one area find themselves confronted with an organized labor force, they would be able to break a strike or other efforts by utilizing those migrants from another county who have no work for the time being and who desperately need work. Needless to say, it would be in the growers' economic interest to do precisely that.

It should not come as much of a surprise then that efforts to organize migrants have produced insignificant results to date.

Any effort to solve the migrant situation in the East must necessarily come to grips with the interstate character of the migrant stream. Differing and possibly conflicting laws governing migrants in various States are one problem. A more difficult problem is "which State shall bear the financial burden of providing social services to migrants in need?" Should New York, the State of temporary residence, or Florida, the "home base" State? There are reasonable arguments on either side. Considering the financial crisis in which many States find themselves today, the State's ability to pay for improved social services is a real problem as well.

While not wishing to sound like the proponent of an ever larger Federal behemoth, it may well be that a coordinating agency at the Federal level might serve a useful purpose here. An Interstate Migrant Commission with broad overseeing responsibilities might be able to assist the States in improving the coordination of their various efforts in this regard.

Ultimately any solution to migrant problems depends upon the average citizen. Growers, crew leaders, schools, and the rest are unlikely to move or be moved in the absence of strong citizen support for measures aimed at improving the migrant situation. The status quo, as was learned in the civil rights movement of the 1960's, has no greater support than public apathy. Similarly, it is the concerned citizenry who provide the support for any changes in the status quo. To date, public apathy has ruled in the area of migrant concerns. Whether or not these conditions will be the same 10 years from now rests upon the actions and conscience of those people who literally eat the fruits of migrant labor. Only the general public can decide whether or not there is a place for migrant poverty in the land of plenty. ■

OREGON'S CHICANOS' FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

"In Oregon a trend is visible away from Federal programs, with their political pressures and red tape. . . . It may be part of a national trend. Many regard it as a healthy step forward by Chicanos in their efforts to gain self-determination. . . ."

By Frank Martinez

When Rafael Pablo Ciddio y Abeyta, a former educational-vocational coordinator for the Valley Migrant League (VML), an OEO-Migrant Division program operating in western Oregon, wrote to a State agency on civil rights to complain about discrimination against Chicanos, the reply he received was that, according to the U.S. Census, Chicanos were considered to be part of the Caucasian majority and that, therefore, civil rights legislation did not apply to them. Although they make up the State's largest minority, few statistics of any kind are kept on Chicanos in Oregon. They are almost an invisible part of the Northwest.

Mr. Martinez is director of the Valley Migrant League located in western Oregon.

What is known is that there are approximately 40,000 permanent Oregon residents of Spanish, overwhelmingly Chicano, descent. They have settled in two main areas of the State: in the west in the Willamette Valley where most of the State's population is located; in Malheur County in eastern Oregon, a sparsely populated region distinguished by many large farms and ranches. Marion County in western Oregon and Malheur County in eastern Oregon both have more than 10,000 Chicanos. Since Marion County has an overall population of about 150,000 and Malheur County only 25,000, Chicanos form a much larger percentage of eastern Oregon. It is there that the most bitter controversies over discrimination have taken place.

In addition, more than 40,000 migrant farmworkers come into the State each year for the harvests. Almost all are Chicanos from the Southwest. Marion County ranks seventh in the United States by counties for use of migrant farmworkers. For the rest: no unemployment, welfare, mortality, income, or wage statistics are available concerning Chicanos in Oregon. In the field of education, a survey conducted of the Woodburn, Marion County School District for 1970–71 revealed that 46 percent of the Chicano students were dropouts. That is, almost every Chicano who became of legal age stayed at home. In community colleges last year, out of 24,000 students, 223 were Chicanos; in 4-year institutions, out of 48,600 in public universities, 213 were Chicanos, and out of 10,400 in private schools, 135 were Chicanos. Almost all of these were in the first years of undergraduate study and have been admitted only after militant pressure was brought to bear on the colleges. I know of only one Chicano who has received a Ph.D. in the State of Oregon.

Chicanos and the Farm Industry

At peak harvest times there are nearly 80,000 Chicanos in the State of Oregon and the majority, by necessity, work in the fields. Farming is big business in Oregon ($530 million in 1967). Only the lumber and lumber products industries in Oregon produce more income. The Oregon Farm Bureau is a powerful interest group in the State, especially in the State legislature where many members come from predominantly farm districts. The 1971 session of the Oregon Legislature was the scene of a major battle between Chicanos fighting for equality and farmers whose economic interests lay elsewhere. This struggle has been brewing for a long time and is still in progress. It arose out of Farm Bureau attempts to resist farmworker unionization.

Ever since the grape strike and boycott led by Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) started in California, Oregon farmers feared that Oregon could become a target for unionization. When the grape strike was successfully settled and the lettuce boycott undertaken, the Farm Bureau determined to act to prevent unionization efforts from spreading to Oregon. Their strategy was to lobby for strict regulatory legislation.

Senate Bill 677 was introduced into the 1971 State legislature. It passed the senate 17-13 and the house by 42-18. Its provisions included the following:

1. Establishment of a three-man State arbitration board.
2. Compulsory registration of all union (UFW) organizers and members with the board.
3. Permission to the farmer to call for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes by the three-man board, but not the farmworker. Strikes may be prohibited for 30 days until arbitration is completed.
4. Authority granted farmers to limit union representation elections to once a year only.
5. Requirement that a worker be employed for 14 days in 1 year on one farm (a condition unusual in migrant labor) before he is eligible to vote in an election.
6. Prohibition of product picketing. That is, strikers not only would be prohibited from boycotting a store where the struck product is sold, but could not picket against the employer's product at all.
7. Prohibition of any bargaining between farmers and workers on the use of pesticides.
8. Permission to allow farmworkers under 16 to work without joining the union—thus providing a force of strikebreakers in the union's view.

In short, this bill effectively prohibited the Farmworkers Union from organizing. It efficiently prohibited strikes, picketing, and bargaining on many key items. The Oregon Farm Bureau—which drafted much of the bill—described it as fair to all sides. Farmworkers, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), and other organizations, including many church groups, labelled the bill as grossly unfair and unconstitutional.

For Chicanos throughout the State the passage of SB677 was a bitter blow to their fight for equal protection under the law. It clearly singled out for attack their one great accomplishment—the formation of the United Farmworkers Union and the work of Cesar

Chavez. It was attacked as "union busting", as "anti-Chavez", and as "racist". Organizations and groups of individuals throughout the State began to organize a campaign to convince Oregon Governor Tom McCall to veto it.

The passage of SB677 was proof to Chicanos that the 1971 legislature was effectively controlled by farm interests. Another bill, SB492, which was sponsored by organizations sympathetic to the plight of the migrant farmworker, was killed. SB492 attempted to bring health standards in Oregon's 500 labor camps up to the standards of neighboring States. It called for flush toilets in the camps, partitions between the sleeping quarters of parents and children over 6 years of age, cold running water in each unit, adequate drinking water at the place of employment, adequate hand-washing facilities in the fields, and use of non-leaded paint in dwelling units. With the exception of the provision for flush toilets, it passed the senate. In the house, under the hands of the farm-oriented leadership, it was ingeniously emasculated. It was amended to apply only to new migrant housing built after May 31, 1971. Since virtually no new camps had been built in Oregon in a number of years and none was planned, it made the bill meaningless. The house majority leader admitted that if the bill had passed it would have "outlawed all present migrant housing in the State of Oregon".

With the defeat of SB492 and the passage of SB677 Chicanos and their supporters felt that they were being denied equal protection under the law, and in the case of SB677 had been actively discriminated against. When the legislature adjourned in June 1971, Chicanos turned all their attention to Governor Tom McCall in an attempt to get him to veto SB677. In doing so Chicanos sought an ally with whom they had had a very stormy relationship in the past. In 1969 Governor McCall established a Governor's Chicano Advisory Affairs Committee to deal with the problems of Oregon's largest minority. The committee met with the Gover-

nor once a month. Sometimes the sessions became rather heated. Chicano members felt that the State was not doing enough to end discrimination—particularly with regard to conditions in the labor camps—and the Governor's staff felt that the Chicanos did not understand the processes of government. Shortly after his re-election in 1970, the Governor abolished the committee. The official reason given was that a new commission composed of all Oregon minorities would be established in its place. This commission was never established. So it was with great misgivings that Chicano leaders approached the Governor with their request that he veto SB677.

Pressure mounted from all sides as the date for the Governor's decision neared in early July. The Farm Bureau maintained that the bill was absolutely vital to the survival of agriculture in Oregon and opponents continued to attack it as unconstitutional and racist. Protest against SB677 climaxed in late June. A series of all-night vigils and Catholic Masses were held on the steps of the State Capitol and on June 30, Cesar Chavez appeared at a rally there and denounced the bill. Chavez stated that if the bill were signed into law, the UFW would begin a boycott of all Oregon products. Mr. Chavez also said that: "I would suggest that Governor McCall should meet with farmworkers before he signs the bill. I would suggest that he work for 15 minutes in the fields or sleep one day in the homes these people have to live in. Then he would never sign the bill." Cesar Chavez also attacked the bill itself: "No other union in the country is required to register," he said. "We will not register; we will commit civil disobedience against an unjust law. If we have to go to jail, we will go to jail; if we have to boycott, we'll boycott as long as we have to. As long as this bill stands farmworkers will live in the same misery and poverty they've lived in since God knows when."

Forty-eight hours later, to the surprise of many, Governor McCall vetoed SB677. He cited as his reasons the opinion of the attorney general of Oregon that it was unconstitutional and, also, that the bill did not guarantee effective collective bargaining rights to both sides and was unworkable. But, the Governor warned, he did not like threats from outside Oregon and would not stand for chaos in the fields that summer.

To the embarrassment of the Farm Bureau which predicted violence and disorder without SB677, this past summer has been a quiet one in Oregon agriculture. Unlike the previous year there have been no strikes. But the controversy surrounding SB677 con-

tinues. Governor McCall was, and still is, bitterly attacked by many growers for his veto and efforts are underway to pass another version of the bill. The Governor established a commission to draft a substitute measure, and the house leadership established another committee to draft a second substitute measure. For its part, the Oregon Chicano leadership and the UFWOC maintain that no State legislation is needed. In their view the problem is a national one. In particular, the union wishes to do away with the system of labor contractors and establish a hiring hall procedure under UFWOC control. The next session of the State legislature is expected to be the scene of another battle between farmers and Chicanos over farmworker unionization.

Federally Funded Programs

In addition to the recent controversy concerning farmworker union legislation, there have been two main federally funded projects in Oregon which seek long-term solutions to the plight of both settled and migrant farmworkers in Oregon. Each was funded under Title III-OEO legislation.

The first is the Valley Migrant League (VML) whose headquarters are in Woodburn, Oregon. VML operates in five western Oregon counties: Marion, Polk, Yamhill, Washington, and Clackamas. The second was the Treasure Valley Migrant Program. It operated in eastern Oregon and western Idaho under the sponsorship of the Treasure Valley Community College (TVCC) in Malheur County, Oregon. This program was largely abolished at the end of its sixth program year on April 30, 1971. It is interesting to examine the circumstances under which the Treasure Valley Program was discontinued as an example of the white majority's ambivalent attitude toward federally financed migrant programs.

Both the Valley Migrant League and the Treasure Valley Migrant Program were composed of similar components: Adult Education, Vocational Training, Self-Help Housing, and a loose grouping of local organizations dealing with child care, health problems, and welfare issues. Both were dedicated to getting migrants out of the migrant cycle and into mainstream occupations. Both exhibited the same kind of evolution. When each began they were staffed almost exclusively by white professionals. As the years went on former migrant workers themselves, almost exclusively of Chicano descent, began to take over positions of authority. That is, in each case, members of the target population began to control the destiny of their local communities. In January 1971 the author became the first Chicano director of the Valley Migrant League. In eastern Oregon pressure mounted for replacement of the white director of the TVCC program.

But there the similarity ends between western and eastern Oregon. The VML evolution has so far been tolerated, however grudgingly. In eastern Oregon, with its sparse population and 40 percent Chicano minority, the white majority, conservative by nature and skeptical of Federal programs in general, became alarmed by what it termed Chicano militancy, the same process that Chicanos called self-determination. The issue came to a head early this year when four Chicano employees of the TVCC migrant program were fired because of their alleged militancy. One of the issues involved was the defense by an employee of a farmworker family evicted from a migrant camp. The four employees and their supporters were able to elect a new board and new director of the program. The TVCC sponsor did not recognize the new board. From there the dispute went to Federal court in Portland. There the case was temporarily dismissed on condition that the four employees continue to receive their salaries until the issues could be mediated by OEO in Washington, D.C. When Treasure Valley Community College learned from OEO headquarters that it did not have absolute control over the migrant program, it withdrew its sponsorship. Most of the program's funds have been transferred to Utah.

The reasons behind the community college's actions were clear to Oregon Chicanos. As a community college it is dependent each year on public bond elections for its finances. The college felt that it could not afford the controversy in a community controlled by conservative farmers and businessmen. Throughout Oregon the realization was brought home to Chicanos that the white community would not tolerate their gain of control over their own programs. Speculation has continued since May 1971 on the fate of the Valley Migrant League. Since it is in a more autonomous position than the east Oregon program was, it has so far survived.

A recent change in HEW guidelines for federally funded migrant health clinics has put many county health departments out of the migrant clinic business. The new guidelines stipulate that control of the monies for these clinics be exercised by a majority (51 percent) of the consumers of the services—migrant farmworkers. Since no county government or health depart-

ment qualifies under this new ruling, the VML has requested that HEW allow it to manage the funds on the basis that VML advisory boards, located in all mid-valley counties, qualify as consumer majority groups.

The Valley Migrant League is the only organization throughout the Willamete Valley area set up to become the grantee for future funds. However, local health officials have been trying to organize local groups to retain control of the migrant health funds. If VML's request is granted, farmworkers will be in control of their own health services for the first time in Oregon. In addition to improved health care, farmworker-controlled health programs would concentrate more on the deplorable conditions of Oregon migrant camps.

Private Programs

With the realization that Federal migrant programs are subject to political pressures—as the case of the TVCC migrant program showed—Chicanos have tended to move toward the establishment of private organizations in which they can be sure that they occupy positions of leadership. Three important organizations in this category are the Centro Chicano Cultural, the Chicano Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO) in western Oregon, and Campesinos Unidos in eastern Oregon. The first two will be described briefly.

The Centro Chicano Cultural was founded in the Woodburn-Gervais area of Marion County in 1969 as a fraternal and social organization, modeled somewhat like the Forty Acres of the UFW in Delano, California. With the help of funds from the Catholic Campaign for Human Development the Centro purchased a tract of land between Woodburn and Gervais and planned to build a cultural center on it. The Centro was to include a library, a medical clinic, a legal staff, and a meeting place for Chicanos in the area. These plans ran head on into a dispute with the Marion County Commissioners who denied them a zoning variance to use the land and its farmhouse as a meeting center. Centro members claimed that their center was no different from the Elks or other fraternal organizations. These fraternal organizations had been granted variances in the area and the Chicanos wanted one, too. The Marion County Commissioners did not agree, nor did the district court. The Chicanos are convinced that racial discrimination is at the basis of their zoning problems.

Last December a compromise was reached after 2 years of dispute. The county commissioners issued a "conditional use" permit which, among other things, restricted political activity on the premises and limited membership to Marion County. It is not clear what the restriction on political activity means but it reflects local fears that the Centro might develop into a powerful political organization and threaten established power bases. For the present, plans are to concentrate on the large Chicano dropout rate.

The second organization, Chicano Indian Study Center of Oregon, was founded in the spring of 1971 and represents a major change of tactics on the part of Oregon Chicanos. This change of tactics has taken the form of a coalition with Indians in order to increase the base of support for change. CISCO has grown directly out of the Oregon Poor People's Conference held in Salem in September 1970 under the chairmanship of the director of the Valley Migrant League. That conference was an attempt to form a coalition of all poor peoples and minority groups in the State into a Council of the Poor. Its purpose was to make the poor visible by combining to increase their muscle. CISCO developed into a separate effort by Indians and Chicanos—backed by the Council of the Poor, the Valley Migrant League, the Centro Chicano Cultural, and other organizations—to take over an abandoned Air Force base in the Willamette Valley and to open a study center there. Its dual inspiration has been the success of Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University (DQU) in Davis, California in taking over an Air Base there, and a desire to expand and continue the kinds of educational programs that have been very successful at the Valley Migrant League and the defunded TVCC program. So far CISCO has received some funding from the Methodist Church and from the Joint Strategy Action Committee (JSAC), a cross denominational group of Methodists, Presbyterians, Catholics, and Jews, and expects to receive considerable support from the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a Philadelphia-based poverty and community action program. The JSAC is a joint religious effort to pool resources and information to better involve member churches in social action programs.

In Oregon a trend is visible away from Federal programs, with their political pressures and red tape, toward funding by church groups anxious to become more involved in the problems of the poor and minorities. It may be part of a larger national trend. Many regard it as a healthy step forward by Chicanos in their efforts to gain self-determination, to gain control over the programs that vitally affect their welfare and destiny. ■

VENGO DEL VALLE
part II

This is the second of two articles by Edward Casavantes concerning a program designed to train migrant, semi-skilled, and unskilled Mexican American workers for stable, well-paying jobs. Part I of Vengo Del Valle, which means "I come from the Valley", appeared in the Summer 1971 issue of the Civil Rights Digest *(Vol. 4, No. 3).*

When I went to the Dallas-Fort Worth area to interview a sample of the ex-Valley workers, I had three basic questions in mind: *First,* I wanted to know why this particular program had been reported to be so successful in helping these workers relocate where similar programs had apparently failed. *Second,* I wanted to know what had happened to the personal values and cultural styles of those who had come and stayed. *Third,* I wanted to know what social disorganization, if any, had occurred.

Ling-Temco-Vought Aeronautics Company had successfully recruited, trained, and retained the majority of a group of men who had previously been unemployed, underemployed, or members of a migrant labor force. The procedures used to accomplish this were documented in the first of these articles. But at this point I was ready to explore the necessary adjustment in depth. In my interviews with the Valley men and Vought Aeronautics personnel the above three crucial areas in question were discussed in detail.

The first question has been partly answered in the first article. Briefly, a great deal of early counseling was given relative to the problems that would be faced, some of the initial training was held in the Valley, moving expenses and logistics were accomplished with help from various State and Government agencies, and followup counseling was provided after arrival in the Dallas area. However, continued success of the program can be attributed to other factors as well. As indicated in the table on page 24, some went back, but not all of them, not even a majority. Although those who came from the Valley spoke of it longingly and with nostalgia, they knew the situation there; and they knew their situation in Dallas. They chose Dallas.

Material Gains

Why did they stay? Actually, it is so simple it needs only to be said candidly. They could make a better living in Dallas; their economic situation was better. But is this all? Not quite. They had also seen that with a significant rise in income there was a concomitant rise in a *general* standard of living, an improvement in other aspects of their lives.

Certainly the homes into which almost all families had moved (after the initial placements in low-rent apartments or houses) were better. Many of the families I visited personally were living in new housing. For the most part, it was "235 Housing" or "236 Housing."* These homes, although certainly not luxurious, were generally very adequate. There were the usual complaints about "the woodwork cracking", "tiles coming loose from the floor", and lack of responsiveness from the building contractor. Most families, however, have bought older homes or are renting. Almost none live in what would be considered a slum area.

There was a consensus that schools in the neighborhoods in which they settled were better. Both parents and children seemed to prefer the schools in the new

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* This is housing which is subsidized by the Federal Government. The "235" and the "236" are abbreviated terms which arise from the section numbers of legislation which authorizes subsidizing payments to low-income families. In this area, they run from $15,000 to $20,000.

Overall Statistics

—A total of 2,184 Valley individuals, including families, were involved in the project.
—Only one in five of all Valley applicants were selected for training.
—684 men entered training.
—The training took place in the south Texas towns of Harlingen, McAllen, and Rio Grande City.
—Five weeks of the training took place in the above three cities; an additional 8 weeks of training was conducted at the Grand Prairie plant of LTV.
—The first class of 15 trainees was in September 1967; the last class of 15 trainees was in November 1968.
—Prior employment: Although a high proportion had worked in the migrant stream at some time in the past, in the 12 months prior to entering training:
30 percent had been in agricultural labor; most of the agricultural work was local and not migratory.
15 percent in actual farm labor.
15 percent in food processing and related jobs.
—500 entered employment at the Vought Aeronautics Division of LTV (a 72 percent retention rate from training to employment).
—Turnover rate for the 500 men employed by LTV was one-third of individuals previously hired from the greater Dallas area.
—Age factors:
Median Age: 24.7
Range: 18-48
Over 35 years of age: 5 percent
—Education Factors:
Median Education: 11 plus years
High School Graduates: 40 percent
Had attended some college: 3 percent
Had no more than 5 years of schooling: fewer than 1 percent
—Wage Statistics:
Average wage of workers in the Valley: $1.50 per hour
Average beginning wage of workers at LTV: $2.39 per hour
Average wages of workers at LTV after 3 years: $3.73
—There were 16 agencies involved in this project, some local, some State, some Federal.

Dallas-Grand Prairie area. One father, however, stated that he felt that the teachers discriminated against Mexican American children. When he was asked why he did not like the new schools, he explained: "One of my kids was making B+'s at termination, yet, they did not pass her; and the kids liked it better in the Valley. They had all their friends there. We all know each other there." On the other hand, another parent felt there was *less* discrimination and more integration in the Dallas-Grand Prairie area.

The general acceptance of the schools was reflected by one father: "I like the schools here real good. I like the way they teach. Over there they didn't have this better type of school. Two of my kids have had some trouble in school. Mostly, it was they didn't know enough English. One was held back from entering the fourth grade. But I still go with holding her back that one year. No. The kids don't want to go back."

In essence, it appeared a sociologic miracle that so many families, only 3 or 4 years after being very poor, could today own a new home and send their children to schools much improved over the ones they had attended in the past, and send them on a regular basis. The security of a reasonably well-paying job, and a job situation much more stable than that of a migratory worker, farm hand, or unskilled laborer, had enabled these families to become essentially "mainstream" rather than "migrant stream".

Cultural Values

The second issue, that of personal and ethnic values, is more difficult to assess. Must a man give up his values and the essence of his culture when he moves into such a different locale and a different way of life? From our interviews, it was clear that few felt they had to give up what we can call "Mexican values" or "Mexican American values".

Three questions* were asked of those interviewed: "Did you aban-

* If there was any doubt that there was lack of understanding of any of the questions, the phrases were restated in Spanish: i.e., "Cree usted que se le han olvidado algunas de sus costumbres mexicanas?" In general a great deal of Spanish was used throughout the interviews. The interviewer, very early in each of the interviews, spoke Spanish to each new person, thus all knew they could speak in Spanish. Most seemed to speak English and Spanish about equally well. A few seemed obviously more comfortable either in Spanish almost exclusively or in English almost exclusively.

don many [Mexican American] customs?; "Do you feel that you have suppressed any cultural attitudes or traits of being Mexican American?" and "Have any people here in the Dallas-Grand Prairie area tried to make you 'less Mexican?'"

The responses to these three questions, with some exceptions, showed that they felt most Mexican or Mexican American customs or attitudes had been retained.

However, this does not mean a "clean bill of health", especially in the use of the Spanish language, where a certain conflict appeared.

Some of the men reported that they had experienced prejudice among some of the supervisors because they spoke Spanish. In general, they felt that it was individual supervisors, not the company, who were discouraging the use of Spanish. Ironically, it was others of the Valley men who would from time to time ask some of the others *not* to speak Spanish. One worker appeared angry at this: "Some *Mexican Americans* are the ones who have told me not to talk Spanish." I asked him why this might be so. "I don't know. They won't tell me why. They are probably ashamed to speak their own language." Another, telling how a foreman had asked them not to speak Spanish, said: "In the old [previous location] plant, they told us we couldn't speak Spanish. But, just to be ornery, we would talk any way we wanted to!"

One father said: "My youngest boy *understands*, but does not speak, Spanish. . . . Here, the kids grow up speaking English." In this, he echoes one of the laments of many Mexican American parents. Increasingly, Mexican American youth no longer speak Spanish.

The gist of all this was captured by a gentle thoughtful man from El Valle: "Sometimes, when I am speaking Spanish, a guy will ask me to talk English. Otherwise, I still do the same things I used to do before. I still visit my Mexican friends; I still retain all my Mexican culture. And, I feel proud."

So, personally, they do not feel they have had to leave any of their Mexican culture or traits behind, although there is concern over the diminishing use of Spanish.

Disorganization

Family and social disorganization is a potential danger in large dislocations such as this. To find out the degree of disorganization encountered, we inquired about three major areas.

The first was the managing of their finances. For families who had experienced a better way of life for only a short time there did not appear to be an abundance of financial tribulations. "Our payments—that's one thing we try to keep up," was a very typical comment. Another wife remarked: "My husband is very strict with the payments. He pays everything first." Only one of those interviewed claimed to be in some financial straits but, even so, he was not behind in his monthly payments.

The second area of disorganization related to "law and order". As mentioned previously, most Valley

families quickly moved out of those housing areas noted for high delinquency. One of the few exceptions is recalled by a counselor. "One family—a very wholesome family—was initially moved into this housing project, and they *stayed* in the project, while the others moved into better housing in the larger community." What was wrong with the project? "That project is notorious for its vandalism, muggings, thefts, assaults —you name it. We didn't help *that* family!"

No one interviewed was able to recall cases of workers from the Valley having been arrested and jailed. One of those interviewed claimed contact with the police, and that was "for a good reason: no [car] lights". Asked about treatment of him by the police, he responded: "They treated us fine. The police were just doing their job." Several others also claimed that their only contact with the police was for traffic offenses, but the majority spontaneously said things like, "No—not even a traffic ticket."

In the third area of family disorganization, we found that there were few, if any, divorces. For the United States as a whole, about 5 percent of all marriages end in divorce every year. Thus, on this basis 25 or more of the 500 families might have broken up. They had been through much rougher circumstances, yet, no one could recall a single marriage within this group that had gone on the rocks.

It is clear, then, that, on the whole, no *gross* family disorganization resulted from the relocation of the families from El Valle. Of course, it is known that, after initial accommodation has taken place in a new social setting *new* types of disorganization may begin to take place. And, perhaps such new disorganization will indeed begin to take place with the passage of time. But, as of now, the relocated families have been able to make a very satisfactory adjustment in their new environment.

Evaluation

Perhaps the Valley men and their wives were too close to see what was happening to them. One individual who saw the entire thing both from the outside and from the inside was Rod Rodriguez. Rodriguez was a mechanical engineer with Ling-Temco-Vought and, before the Valley Project, worked on aircraft wing design. He was asked to help with the Valley Project because he was a Chicano from the Valley and spoke Spanish. He also answered many questions relative to vanishing cultural traits.

"One interesting thing we saw was the '*machismo*' business. It took a while for the Valley men to realize that they might lose if a guy would hit a foreman or a guy next to him. For a while," he recalled, "we had about one call a month on this. They slowly came to accept that their reactions had to be tempered by their new social situation as well as by what they felt."

I wondered aloud to Rodriguez whether a man might not feel he is losing his *machismo*. "I don't think he loses it, but he does need to learn to control it." He continued, "I'm an ex-migrant myself, and I've had to learn to control certain things in myself. You have to learn to react to the expectations of a new environment in order to remain in it."

I continued probing: Perhaps a person gives something up in the adaptation process; perhaps they were better off in the Valley than in the technological rat race. "Perhaps," responded Rodriguez, "but that's not for me to judge. Every individual should be given the chance to participate. If he wants to participate, it's up to him. Of the 684 who were initially relocated, we lost about 25 percent in the first 6 months. This represents, probably, those who felt they couldn't adapt, and they went back. . . . After that, we had terminations due to loss of Government contracts, but not necessarily because they couldn't adjust."

"But, with regard to the 'loss of machismo,' " Rodriguez explained, "today these men have new means through which they can assert themselves: League of United Latin American Citizens [LULAC] political and civic action. There are still other ways they can assert themselves in the community, and they are doing it! The Grand Prairie LULAC Council [Chapter] is one of the best in this area. Many of the Valley men are in it. I would say it could become the voice of the Chicano in this area."

On the other side of the employment fence sits LTV's Vought Aeronautics Division. Was the Valley Project a worthwhile investment for them? Was the time, money, and personnel they had sunk into the task a worthwhile investment? Would LTV do it all over again?

"You betcha!" snapped Joe Andrasko without a moment's hesitation. Andrasko is vice-president for administration for the Vought Aeronautics branch of LTV. "The Valley men were as good as any

single group of people we have ever hired."

"But, to be perfectly frank, the plant supervisors expected 'trouble' with the Valley workers, since they expected guys with sombreros and sarapes. Well, it took only two classes of these men, 2 weeks," Andrasko continued, "and then we had to 'ration' these trainees. Everybody wanted them. They would want to work past the quitting bell. They would tell us: 'We're used to working until the job is done.' "

Andrasko leaned forward and pointed a finger at me: "Do you know what a 'Zero-defect' wing is? That's a wing that requires no reworking after its initial manufacture. Well, those Valley men were in the teams that built the first two 'Zero-defect' wings in 20 years!" He continued: "Those 500 guys were, overall, the most productive people we hired, and that's talking from *our* viewpoint—from a dollars-and-cents point of view."

Overall Economic Gains

And, indeed, from a dollars-and-cents point of view, it was a success.

First of all, the retention rate of the Valley men at the plant was three times as high as the rate for average workers gleaned from the general Dallas-Fort Worth area. This is not to say that some of the Valley men did not quit LTV and go to work for someone else, for some did; and, of course, some went back to the Valley. But the cost of training new personnel is very expensive, and the saving here *alone* might have been worth the effort.

But further, a working, productive employee contributes handsomely to the economy. Through the first 3 months of 1969, only about 18 months after the first class started training, these formerly underemployed and unemployed workers had paid $624,087 in Federal income taxes, not to mention State and local taxes. The cost of their training and transportation had been $820,000 to that point in time. Obviously, with every passing month, the balance shifts to the economy's side, and the cost of the training is paid for again and again.

In another cost analysis, five of the workers from the first class were followed up. The cost to the Government to train and relocate them was $4,997.20. Twenty months later, these same five men had had deductions from their pay checks for Federal Income Tax alone totaling $11,094.44. They had paid for their training and relocation expenses twice over in less than 2 years!

Most of the Valley men either are still with Vought Aeronautics or are working at skilled or semiskilled jobs in the greater Dallas-Fort Worth area. The gain to the economy is clear, since these men have long ago paid for their relocation and the economy is now "making money off them".

Conclusion

Granted, we talked only with those who stayed, those who were either sufficiently satisfied with their lot or those who were not sufficiently dissatisfied. There are no hard follow-up statistics on how many have remained in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, but those who are familiar with the Valley Project say that at least half of all the initial 500 families remain.

Fortunately, however, a survey* was conducted to see the reasons for some of the workers returning to the Valley. They included the following:

Working conditions included excessive noise; not working hard enough (sic); bored from routine, promised overtime or raises which didn't work out; working too much overtime with no free time; problems with the foremen; or not wanting a night shift.

Housing dissatisfactions usually centered around paying too much rent; living in integrated areas, such as public housing; or having to travel too far in heavy traffic.

Personal reasons usually included dissatisfaction of the wife; dislike for the city; homesickness for family or girl friend; or prices too high for items purchased (therefore, not getting ahead financially); or the family needed help back home.

Having said that, we can only conclude with the comments of two of the men who stayed and who say a great deal about how many of them must feel:

Sure I'm happy. It's for my boy. He's five now and next year he'll start school. I'm looking around for a house to buy, and it will be in the best school district around.

It's the greatest break of my life, and if I don't make it, I sure can't say no one gave me a chance. ■

* Ruesink, David C. and Batson, Thomas B., *Success Factors Associated with Relocating Workers from Non-Metropolitan Areas.* Quoted from "Final Report", Texas Labor Mobility Experimental and Demonstration Project. Texas Employment Commission, April 1969 (See Appendix G).

THE WOUND THAT HEALS

By Peter L. Kranz

The growth of racism within our secondary educational institutions is probably the single most important area that school administrators, teachers, students, and parents must recognize, come to terms with, and initiate positive action against if they wish to live in a free world. Racism has been fostered through fear, neglect, and ignorance which have prevented educational leaders from placing it in its proper perspective and from instituting the changes needed to eradicate it.

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Racism, as a national problem, has been steadily eating away at this country's "soul" for hundreds of years, tearing at the basic foundations of our learning centers whether they are located in urban or rural areas. It has also become obvious from recent racial upheavels in many of the country's secondary schools that this problem has not only been inadequately controlled, but is spreading and has tended to block the overall effectiveness of the school system. As a result, no person nor institution has been spared from the contagious poison of prejudice and inequality, and the dehumanization of persons belonging to minority groups.

The presence of racial prejudice is of such magnitude that it touches all important personal elements in the secondary educational institution, i.e., administrators, teachers, parents, and students. Not one of these four groups can consider itself free of the attrition which racism makes on society until there is total commitment to its elimination. This necessitates the cooperation of the four groups involved. In such an interdependent educational structure, each group must assume its own responsibility and cannot shift that responsibility to the others.

Although racism within our educational centers is due, to some extent, to the ineffectual manner in

which its solution has been approached, unfortunately many persons are unaware of its presence and those who do know are often unwilling to deal with it. Therefore, the recognition of racism in all its seriousness is the first step to a possible solution. After this acknowledgment, direct action can be taken to stifle it.

A Possible Solution

The formation of Racial Confrontation Groups on all levels within the educational framework is a method advocated as a positive catalyst to the solution of racism. School administrators, teachers, parents, and students would be brought together and intricately involved in this particular group process. The groups would first be implemented along homogeneous lines and then later run on a heterogenous basis. This would allow the respective segments to share and deal with their own situations before diverging to include other respective groups which are involved. An opportunity would then be provided for each group to work out its racial difficulties at various levels, hopefully covering all aspects of racial interaction and decisionmaking within the school.

The groups would be conducted by professionally trained Racial Confrontation Group Leaders. Each group would have one co-leader who is white and one co-leader who represents the minority segment. In this way the leadership would be representative of the entire racial composition in that particular school. It is also important that the co-leaders be independent and not affiliated with any of the four participating groups. This would make for more objectivity and freedom on the leaders' part as well as provide a more open atmosphere wherein group members could exchange racial material without feeling threatened or intimidated.

The function of the co-leaders is to provide a supportive environment for racial interchange by having group members examine their own racial attitudes, feelings, behavior, and thoughts. They also facilitate and reflect the experimental needs of both the minority and majority groups. In this way, then, the co-leadership functions as a meaningful catalyst in stimulating the group participants to (1) examine the effects of personal and institutionalized racism, and (2) take positive action toward its alleviation.

Great sensitivity and skill are needed for the successful accomplishment of these leadership functions. Therefore, the leaders must be extremely proficient in group leadership techniques as well as completely secure in their own racial identity. Through professional training workshops, potential Racial Confrontation Group Leaders are screened with great care. Those that are selected work together in an intensive training program, attending seminars, hearing lectures, and participating in encounter sessions. The success of this leadership training is evidenced in the close bond that develops between the two co-leaders. This becomes a bond in which understanding, mutual reliance, respect, and openness prevail—four essential ingredients to a successful working relationship. With this involvement between the two co-leaders, there also develops a more meaningful understanding and openness as to what "blackness" (or "brownness", for example) and "whiteness" were and are now. Empathy develops with regard to what each has gone through, struggled with, and is now striving toward. There also evolves a greater respect for and trust in each other's capabilities and shortcomings, not only as group leaders, but as men or women. Thus the four essential ingredients stated above and felt to be so important by the co-leaders themselves are hopefully reflected in their interaction with each other as "reflective partners".

The Reflective Partner Process*

The advantage of leadership teams comprised of both white and the represented minority in a Racial Confrontation Group is that the leaders directly involved with the ongoing group process can "supplement" and reinforce each other at any given point during the confrontation. Through constant evaluation, both during and after the group sessions, alterations can be implemented in the group process if necessary. In this way, then, the "reflective process" leads to a continuing modification and refinement of "old interactions", as well as the development of "new interactions".

The leaders must be flexible and comfortable enough with their roles as "reflective partners" so that as each group develops and changes the leaders do not become defensive and threatened by the changes.

The two leaders can give sup-

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* From "Reflective Partners: A Process Utilized in Positive Racial Change", by Peter Kranz, *California Personnel and Guidance Association Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Fall 1971, pp. 6-8.

port to each other and to group members in a way that would be impossible for one leader since one person cannot be "sensitive" to all that is happening within the group. While one of the leaders is focusing primarily on a specific issue and those participants involved with it, the other leader can lend support to that effort and also concentrate his energies on the rest of the group as to their needs and reactions of the rest of the group.

In this way the connections between the leaders and participants that are created through the ensuing dialogue lead to greater group understanding and cohesiveness. These connections enable the group to move and develop into a closely knit family unit rather than function as isolated pockets of individual concern.

Each leader can also be a "reflective partner" to whom the group member describes his situation or environment. The "reflective partner", or co-leader, by asking pertinent questions and making relevant statements, causes the group member to describe portions of his experience which might otherwise have gone unmentioned. Since the "reflective partner", as a "stranger", brings a different perspective to the situation, he is able to see links in the description which the participant, as one intimately involved in the environment and his own life, might miss.

In order that the "reflective partner" process be successful, professional training and experience in group work is needed as a basis. However, beyond this basis a strong commitment toward "helping" people achieve positive racial change and understanding is imperative.

As to the Racial Confrontation Group itself, it can be viewed as a clinical/educational tool which has become an effective method in assisting participants to express previously hidden and forbidden thoughts and feelings about race. The process represents a fusion of lectures, seminars, and encounter methods encompassing both the *intellectual* and *affectual* spheres. By encouraging the individual to deal with himself both on an intellectual and an emotional level more of the total person is involved. Too often racial prejudice is dealt with only on an intellectual basis which allows the person to rationalize his position and involvement. This permits the individual to set up easy defenses to protect himself from facing his racial feelings and attitudes. Through the suggested Racial Confrontation Group process a great deal of concentration is placed on the feelings themselves where so much of the ingrained prejudice lies.

Thus, the aim is to help people understand their inner selves so that they may change their thoughts and actions regarding race and in so doing develop a more sensitive perspective to the concerns of the other racial position. With this primary objective, then, those participants who can free themselves from the inhibiting effects of personal racism will be better equipped to assist their respective educational institutions toward positive racial change.

Implementation*

Racial Confrontation Groups have been effectively implemented within the secondary school system but so far have only involved the student. One such project was conducted in Bakersfield, California at a high school within the Kern County secondary public school system. In this academic environment it was hoped that the project could not only include students directly, but also teachers, administrators, and parents indirectly.

South High was selected because of recent racial difficulties encountered there. Racial tensions had blocked adequate communication between black students, white students, teachers, and administrators. A disquieting disharmony existed between the various segments of the school. Thus it was felt that conditions at this school were "ideal" for the purposes of this project.

Fifteen group members were selected on a voluntary basis from the student body. The group consisted of four white females, three white males, three black females, four black males, and one Oriental male.** Selection was determined by the South High School counseling staff with the final approval of the principal. Once selection was completed, written permission from each member's parents was also received.

The criteria employed for the selection were based on "high level of functioning" in the following areas: (1) the student's involvement in school activities, (2) leadership qualities, (3) grade point average, and (4) an interest

* From "A Racial Confrontation Group Implemented Within a High School", by Peter Kranz, *High School Journal*, University of North Carolina, Vol. 55, No. 3, 1971, pp. 112-119.

** The inclusion of this subject resulted in an interesting "underlining" of the role and feelings of a non-black/nonwhite individual in our society.

in involvement with a group of this nature.

The Racial Confrontation Group met for a total of ten 90-minute sessions. These sessions were held at alternate times each week so as not to fall within the same class periods in two consecutive weeks. The meetings were held in one of the teachers' lounges, a location felt by the group leaders to be more conducive to a relaxed atmosphere because of its soft chairs, couches, and distance from the usual classroom environment.

The group was to have two co-leaders—one black, the other white, the author.

Because of school policy, one counselor from South High School was also assigned to sit in on the group meetings. The group leaders and the assigned high school counselor met biweekly to discuss group activity, group development and growth, and any possible group alterations if they proved necessary.

The sessions were run on an informal, nondirective basis with participants given the opportunity to express their opinions, feelings, and prejudices freely. There was no harassment of any individual or fear of personal injury or ridicule. Special attention was placed on acknowledging the "individuality" of each participant.

Initially and throughout the group's early development a feeling of "unease" within most of the individuals was apparent. There was some question, even after a thorough introduction by the leaders, as to what was really going to take place. There was an initial skepticism as to whether the group could really reach its intended goal, i.e., resolve racial tensions. This feeling seemed natural since: (1) none of the group members had ever been involved in a Racial Confrontation Group; (2) an element of anxiety of the unknown prevailed; and (3) there arose the question as to what could be initiated to ease racial tensions that had not been tried before.

Early Phase

The early phase of the confrontation, a general "feeling out" process, was characterized by an air of anxiety and uncertainness. This process involved participants testing one another superficially without the risk of probing or direct confrontations. This "testing" was seemingly enacted with the intention of trying to find out the individual's place within the group's structure. At this phase, the group interacted with each other on an intellectual level rather than through the "affectual sphere". Thus, participants whose strength lay in their ability to verbalize intellectually tended to dominate the early encounter sessions, and by so doing blocked any evolving "gut" level group experience.

Most of the participants knew each other outside of the group and were considered "friends". The high priority of keeping one's friendships intact without

question, even if the friendships were based on nothing more than the mere passage of an occasional few words on the school campus, or a smiling "front" passing the "other" on the way home, was strong enough to repress any direct verbal encounter that could shake the relationship.

During this phase the co-leaders' role was twofold: (1) creating an environment whereby meaningful dialogue could occur; and (2) assisting the group in bringing out racial material. This was accomplished by encouraging the participants to relate to each other on a "personal" level and in the here and now. Hopefully this would further in-depth exploration of racial feelings, attitudes, and thoughts. Initially, this prescribed focus seemed to be a difficult process for most of the group members. By the third confrontation session the participants initiated and demanded of each other that they hold to this focus.

In order to facilitate racial exploration one racial group was placed in a circle, with the other placed around it outside the circle listening and asking pertinent questions.* Both the black and white groups found this experience frustrating in the beginning for there was no set direction or format to follow. However, through their personal struggles and with the co-leaders' encouragement, meaningful material arose, in-depth dialogue ensued, and certain feelings began to emerge.

Middle Phase

As the group progressed into the second phase, lasting approximately from the third through the sixth meeting, noticeable changes began developing. The initial defenses began to "weaken" as participants felt more comfortable within the group. This "comfortableness" seemed to reinforce the individual's ability to risk being more assertive in his struggle with the evolving racial issues. Participants became more direct in their expression, conveying personal feelings with a new founded zeal. Thus, the person's "Racial Persona" began to be questioned, doubted, and then slowly pulled away leaving the previously protected underlining exposed to group examination. This was not a comfortable process for most, but it set to work, within the individual, a search for a more authentic "self", based on humanistic values.

During this "self-searching" phase the group responded to the individual being confronted in two different ways. The group member first encountered questions and comments concerning his value system. During this time, the individual was kept "on the spot" until the rest of the group members felt convinced that he had "paid his dues".**

It was not uncommon throughout the first part of this process to hear raised voices and strong emotional outbursts.

The second part of this process was a reinforcing one. The group seemed aware of the individual's inner struggle and of his courage in coming to terms with himself and his racial hangups. At the conclusion of this phase, the individual was accepted back into the group, but now the acceptance was on a more meaningful level where trust, openness, and human concern became not merely words, but "living" feelings.

During this phase the co-leaders expanded their role as new developments in the group process became manifest. As the group began focusing its energies on the individual participant, the co-leaders' task became one of "empathetic mediators". This is, on the one hand, effectively "setting limits" for the individual in his self-searching process. It was necessary to give support to the individual when his "defenses" became weakened, exposing his "inner self" to the group, but at the same time interfering as little as possible with the individual's introspective process. Thus, a delicate balance was created between, (1) empathetic concern, (2) encouragement of openness to "self-exploration", and (3) "self-protection" of the individual.

Final Phase

During this phase, lasting approximately from the seventh meeting until the group's termination, the atmosphere of group togetherness, openness, and compassion for all participants, which had been steadily building since the latter part of the previous phase, was now a reality. There was now the awareness that the individual's "personal struggle" was actually a part of a greater process, that of the "human experience". This was an experience they had all been part of,

* During this period the one Oriental participant identified himself with the white group both in seating and in verbal disclosures. However, throughout the project he kept switching his allegiance from one racial group to the other.

** An expression utilized to mean the "sacrificing" or yielding up of part of one's "self-image" for a greater sense of freedom and "authenticity".

touched by, and could now share more openly with each other.

The new learning became part of a group commitment to *meaningful* racial action which would hopefully facilitate positive racial change.

As the group concluded, it was felt both by participants and co-leaders that the project goal had been attained. There had evolved a re-thinking, resulting in a partial elimination of past and present prejudices, biases, and myths concerning both the black and white races. The participants had developed a new commitment to meaningful racial action and change. Many racial attitudes and beliefs had been challenged, explored, broken down, and then reconstructed into a new whole.

It was felt by the co-leaders, group participants, and the South High School administration that the Racial Confrontation Group served as a constructive instrument in effecting positive change in racial attitudes and the behavior of those students directly involved. Because of the time limit it was not feasible to indirectly involve other than the group members. There is the recognition that the parents of the students involved can affect the behavior of the participants by various pressures, both direct and subtle.

Evaluation*

All of the participants expressed positive feelings about their Racial Confrontation Group involvement. However, the degree of "meaningfulness" varied with each individual. Within this scope of positive expression no significant differences were apparent between the black and white participants. The degree of personal involvement for all participants seemed to become more meaningful as the group sessions progressed.

An increasing group closeness developed based on each individual's identification with the group and his ability to reevaluate past beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, and actions in the presence of his peers. This awareness of oneself, although painful in the beginning, evolved into a meaningful process in which participants described an increase in self-confidence as they began to feel more at ease with themselves.

During the initial sessions, the participants felt that their self-constructed racial barriers had prevented honest dialogue. This "uncomfortableness" partly subsided as the group sessions progressed and the individual felt more free to talk with the other participants on a more honest and real level. In the beginning many of the issues that the group dealt with were racial in orientation, but as the sessions progressed many came to feel that these problems were not based upon specific racial situations but, rather, were common to the human experience. To these concerns one participant stated:

> *In the group we started out completely white with white and black with black, but eventually I saw a change, a reaching out, and we began seeing each other for real; seeing each of us on the good and the bad and finding out that we all had our 'hangups' and then setting out to do something about it.*

Another member commented:

> *Generally the most striking thing that came out of the session was this: no matter what our problems or differences were, they were all part of the* human *experience. Actually, the differences were variations on this theme. Pain, joy, suffering, just living day-to-day, all this is part of the human experience.*

The closeness of the group which became evident as the process progressed, I believe, resulted in positive changes in racial attitudes and beliefs. Past fears which had been based upon racial misunderstandings seemed to lessen and genuine friendships between both black and white became a reality. The foundations of these relationships were not merely words but rather honest feelings of respect, trust, and caring. As one participant stated:

> *I have found real friends. Friends who can talk honestly with each other about how they feel and believe and not fear 'being put down'; friends who can argue but still care about each other. For the first time in my life I can honestly say that I have black brothers and sisters for friends. And this is quite an accomplishment.*

All of the participants felt that the co-leaders did an effective job in their role of directing the Racial Confrontation Group. As one participant stated. "The leaders did a good job in directing the questions. It was a good idea to 'jump on cases' and try to tear them down and build them back up." Another commented, "The group was well run—the pushing was necessary and sped up things. It

* From "Participant Responses to a High School Racial Confrontation Group", by Peter Kranz. *The Negro Educational Review*, Fall 1971, pp. 146-150.

made people get to the 'soul' of the matter."

Many group members urged that the Racial Confrontation Group be continued in the future as part of the high school curriculum. This might be offered in the form of an elective so that those interested could become involved without feeling that it was mandatory. One participant expressed his feelings in this manner:

I strongly believe in these group sessions and all the good they do. I hope that our administration can realize that this is exactly what our school needs and has needed for a long time and will push to see that more groups such as this will appear.

The criticisms which evolved from the group members seemed to focus around the structural aspects (i.e., time limits, involvement of other students, and the like) rather than the group process itself. Again, no significant differences seemed apparent between the black and white participants. Some of the criticisms were: (1) the sessions were too short and concluded at unnatural ending points; (2) it was difficult to concentrate on educational responsibilities returning to the classroom; and (3) not enough time was spent examining ways that whites could contribute positively to racial change within their communities. One person commented:

I find myself at such a 'high' after the group that I kept thinking about our discussions, going over in my mind everything that was said and done, thinking of things that bothered me and how I'd bring it up in our next meetings. I found that just about everyone else in the group was doing the same thing and it was often difficult to concentrate on my classwork.

It was further stated that:

My only criticism of the group was that to me [speaking as a white individual] the group seemed to center around black ideals and activities. For example, what can you do for the black community but not ever what can you do for the white community. This is my only criticism.

In summary, all of the participants felt that the experience had been fruitful and educational. Not only did they learn a great deal about themselves as human beings but also about those of another race. They found that when it came down to the "nitty gritty" there were more similarities than differences between the two groups.

Neither bigotry nor prejudice was completely eliminated. However, there was positive movement toward the lessening of past racial prejudicial attitudes and beliefs. As one female member so aptly stated:

Right now, I realize that while the group really moved no stones or went out and saved the world from bigotry, we did accomplish a little. . . .

It appears that the Racial Confrontation Group was an effective method of allowing students to examine, evaluate, and make adjustments in their "value system". There is evidence of a lowering of barriers between the black and white students and the promise that this group experience will have a continued positive effect on the general student body. As one of the members of the group said:

I feel that the group has had some effect on the total school problem of black-white relations in that it has 'broken the ice'. Members of the group have influence on their friends and companions and there is evidence of some barriers being broken down.

Another person said, "I no longer judge an individual by his color, shape, or smile. I dig into his soul to find what kind of person he really is."

Conclusion*

Because of the project's success, it was felt that this type of group as a useful, clinical/educational tool should be made available in the school's curriculum. Consideration should also be given to the possibility that this method could be aptly applied to other high schools which are experiencing comparable racial unrest. This could only be implemented where adequately trained Racial Confrontation Group leaders are available, school administrators are willing to implement and support such a program, and where students are interested in voluntary involvement.

The Racial Confrontation Group process, such as the one proposed, is a new approach to dealing with racial factors within the secondary educational institution. Whereas traditionally schools have primarily been concerned with the intellectual facets of one's experience, by focusing on the affectual or feeling level a new dimension of personal and educational growth can occur. ■

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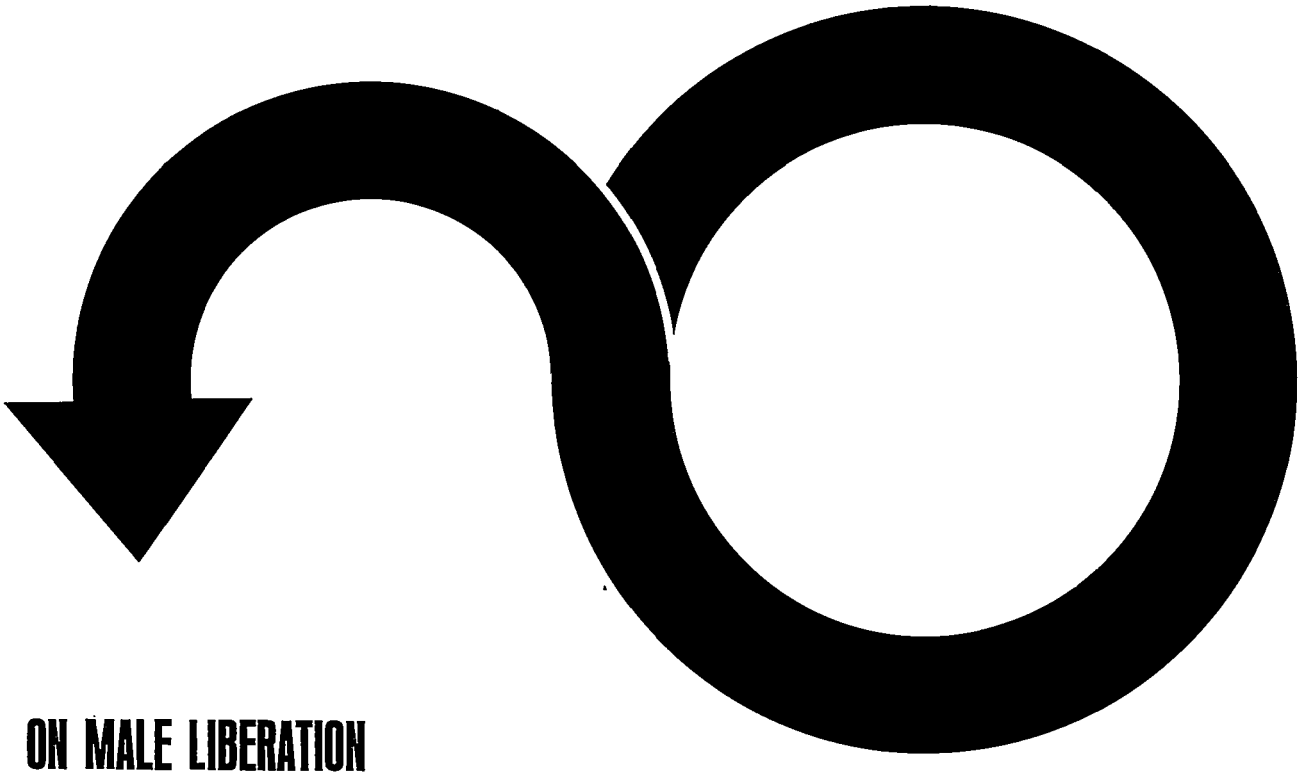
* From "A Racial Confrontation Group Implemented Within a High School," *High School Journal*, University of North Carolina, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 112-119.



ON MALE LIBERATION

By Jack Sawyer

Several articles in the Summer 1971 Civil Rights Digest *concentrated on "women's liberation". In this article, Mr. Sawyer presents a different viewpoint on the subject.*

Male liberation calls for men to free themselves of the sex role stereotypes that limit their ability to be human. Sex role stereotypes say that men should be dominant; achieving and enacting a dominant role in relations with others is often taken as an indicator of success. "Success", for a man, often involves influence over the lives of other persons. But success in achieving positions of dominance and influence is necessarily open to every man, as dominance is relative and hence scarce by definition. Most men in fact fail to achieve the positions of dominance that sex role stereotypes ideally call for. Stereotypes tend to identify such men as greater or lesser failures and, in extreme cases, men who fail to be dominant are the object of jokes, scorn, and sympathy from wives, peers, and society generally.

One avenue of dominance is potentially open to any man, however—dominance over a woman. As society generally teaches men they should dominate, it teaches women they should be submissive, and so men have the opportunity to dominate women. More and more, women, however, are reacting against the ill effects of being dominated. But the battle of women to be free need not be a battle against men as oppressors. The choice about whether men are the enemy is up to men themselves.

Male liberation seeks to aid in destroying the sex role stereotypes that regard "being a man" and "being a woman" as statuses that must be achieved through proper behavior. People need not take on restrictive roles to establish their sexual identity.

A major male sex role restriction occurs through the acceptance of a stereotypic view of men's sexual relation to women. Whether or not men consciously admire the Playboy image, they are still influenced by the implicit sex role demands to be thoroughly competent and self-assured—in short, to be "manly". But since self-assurance is part of the stereotype, men who believe they fall short don't admit it, and each can think he is the only one. Stereotypes limit men's perception of women as well as of themselves. Men learn to be highly aware of a woman's body, face, clothes—and this interferes with their ability to relate to her as a whole person. Advertising and consumer orientations are among the societal forces that both reflect and encourage these sex stereotypes. Women spend to make themselves more "feminine", and men are exhorted to buy cigarettes, clothes, and cars to show their manliness.

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The popular image of a successful man combines dominance both over women, in social relations, and over other men, in the occupational world. But being a master has its burdens. It is not really possible for two persons to have a free relation when one holds the balance of power over the other. The more powerful person can never be sure of full candor from the other, though he may receive the kind of respect that comes from dependence. Moreover, people who have been dependent are coming to recognize more clearly the potentialities of freedom, and it is becoming harder for those who have enjoyed dominance to maintain this position. Persons bent on maintaining dominance are inhibited from developing themselves. Part of the price most men pay for being dominant in one situation is subscribing to a system in which they themselves are subordinated in another situation. The alternative is a system where men share, among themselves, and with women, rather than strive for a dominant role.

In addition to the dehumanization of being (or trying to be) a master, there is another severe, if less noticed, restriction from conventional male sex roles in the area of affect, play, and expressivity. Essentially, men are forbidden to play and show affect. This restriction is often not even recognized as a limitation, because affective behavior is so far outside the usual range of male activity.

Men are breadwinners, and are defined first and foremost by their performance in this area. This is a serious business and results in an end product—bringing home the bacon. The process area of life—activities that are enjoyed for the immediate satisfaction they bring—are not part of the central definition of men's role. Yet the failure of men to be aware of this potential part of their lives leads them to be alienated from themselves and from others. Because men are not permitted to play freely, or show affect, they are prevented from really coming in touch with their own emotions.

If men cannot play freely, neither can they freely cry, be gentle, nor show weakness—because these are "feminine", not "masculine". But a fuller concept of humanity recognizes that all men and women are potentially both strong and weak, both active and passive, and that these and other human characteristics are not the province of one sex.

The acceptance of sex role stereotypes not only limits the individual but has bad effects on society generally. The apparent attractions of a male sex role are strong, and many males are necessarily caught up with this image. Education from early years calls upon boys to be brave, not to cry, and to fight for what is theirs. The day when these were virtues, if it ever existed, is long past. The main effect now is to help sustain a system in which private "virtues" become public vices. Competitiveness helps promote exploitation of people all over the world, as men strive to achieve "success". If success requires competitive achievement, then an unlimited drive to acquire money, possessions, power, and prestige is only seeking to be successful.

The affairs of the world have always been run nearly exclusively by men, at all levels. It is not accidental that the ways that elements of society have related to each other have been disastrously competitive, to the point of oppressing large segments of the world's population. Most societies operate on authoritarian bases in government, industry, education, religion, the family, and other institutions. It has been generally assumed that these are the only bases on which to operate, because those who have run the world have been reared to know no other. But women, being deprived of power, have also been more free of the role of dominator and oppressor; women have been denied the opportunity to become as competitive and ruthless as men.

In the increasing recognition of the right of women to participate equally in the affairs of the world, then, there is both a danger and a promise. The danger is that women could try simply to get their share of the action in the competitive, dehunanizing, exploitative system that men have created. The promise is that women and men might work together to create a system that provides equality to all and dominates no one. The Women's Liberation Movement has stressed that women are looking for a better model for human behavior than has so far been created. Women are trying to become human, and men can do the same. This implies that sex should not be limited by role stereotypes that define "appropriate" behavior. The present models of neither men nor women furnish adequate opportunities for human development. That one half of the human race should be dominant and the other half submissive is incompatible with a notion of freedom. Freedom requires that there not be dominance and submission, but that all individuals be free to determine their own lives as equals. ■

COALITIONS AS MECHANISMS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

By Daniel H. Kruger

Blacks cannot solve their problems of economic and social deprivation in isolation because they are fully enmeshed in a society dominated by whites. Whites control the economic resources needed to provide blacks with meaningful equality of opportunity. Whites control the social institutions through which many social services are delivered, which can enhance the quality of life of blacks. Thus, the solution to the economic and social problems of blacks lies as much in the white community as in the black community. A joint effort is required if social changes are to take place which will improve the socioeconomic status of minorities and the poor.

Soaring rhetoric just will not solve the crucial problems of the vast majority of blacks. "Black is Beautiful", this feeling, this *esprit de corps*, can enhance the self-perception of blacks. But, standing alone, it will not create one job nor improve the quality of education nor provide better housing. "Telling it like it is" may shock the listener or provide some catharsis for the teller; but, standing alone, it does not bring about social change. "Doing one's thing" likewise may have psychological value; but, standing alone, it will not contribute to the resolution of the critical problems of education, employment, housing, and health.

The Need for Cooperation

Blacks cannot go it alone—tempting as this strategy may be. It is understandable why the cry of Black Power has its appeal. When one looks at the large cities and sees the growing number of

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blacks who are living in the central cities, one can conclude that Black Power can indeed bring about needed change. Whites, however, control the important institutions which determine the life blood of the cities. Moreover, the great cities are in such financial difficulties that controlling the city is like controlling an empty shell. These cities need the help of both the State and Federal Government if they are to provide the essential services in sufficient quality and quantity to their residents. There are at least three reasons why the blacks and the poor cannot go it alone.

Blacks and the poor are in a minority. Although they are increasingly becoming a very substantial minority, and in many cases an absolute majority in numerous central cities, black persons will have extreme difficulty in achieving their demands without the cooperation of the majority. Black mayors, for example, must draw upon the skills and purses of the whites as well as the blacks.

This suggests a second reason. Large cities with heavy concentration of blacks do not have the necessary revenue to expand needed services, and resources which will improve the quality of life are limited. The rising taxes of many cities, along with other problems, have accelerated the exodus of whites from the city to the suburbs. At first, it was just people who were moving out; now it is firms—both business and industrial. The exodus—the outmigration of these firms—is of crucial importance because when these firms and offices leave the central cities, they carry jobs with them.

These jobs are crucial in a job economy. Almost 90 percent of the labor force are employees; that is, they work for some employer—private or public. In a job economy, the job has become a most valuable piece of property because it provides the central means for obtaining income. Jobs are highly perishable. They disappear with changes in technology, with changes in national monetary and fiscal policies as well as fiscal policies of local governmental units. In 1972, jobs are scarce and will continue to be until there is a powerful stimulant to the economy.

The movement of firms out of the central city also alters the tax base in the central city, which can ill afford to lose revenue, while increasing the tax base in the community in which the new facility is located.

The third reason why blacks and the poor cannot go it alone is that no minority group, even with high motivation, has all the skills needed to bring about a systems change. Whites can help manipulate the power levers, open doors, and supply technical assistance. Blacks and concerned whites can bring about change by pooling their skills, their resources, and their energies. The task is of such magnitude that all citizens who want to see America live up to its professed ideals must join hands. The clock is running out for economic separateness and for closing out all those who want to help eradicate racism. The longer the Nation delays, the longer divisiveness is permitted. Blacks and concerned whites cannot afford to polarize themselves. The Nation is playing for high stakes, and the kind of society we shall have hangs in the balance. All concerned citizens—black, brown, red, and white—have a crucial interest in the building of an open society.

The Alternatives

How can both blacks and concerned whites work together to bring about those changes which will make America a better society for man? What kind of organizational structure is best suited to mount the thrust needed to bring about those changes? The organizational structure is important because it provides the mechanism, the machinery, for mobilizing and organizing the necessary resources—both human and financial—to bring about desired and needed social changes. This structure also provides the framework for managing the efforts and energies of blacks and concerned whites who have joined hands to bring about the series of solutions demanded by the complexity of social and economic problems confronting the Nation.

An important mechanism for bringing about social and economic changes is the *coalition.* A coalition is an alliance of parties or individuals for joint action or purpose to achieve a specific objective. Through a coalition, cooperative efforts of blacks and whites can be brought together and welded into a dynamic thrust. A coalition can be temporary or "permanent". It has a temporal dimension, and can exist as long as the members of the coalition feel that it is necessary. Moreover, a coalition can be formal or informal. A formal coalition is one in which all individuals and groups proclaim their intent to work together and are guided by general rules. An informal coalition is one in which the individuals

or groups are working on the same problem, exchange information, but whose efforts are not coordinated or directed. Our concern is with the formal coalition as a mechanism for systems change.

The Criteria for Success

To be successful a coalition must have utility; it must be going somewhere; it must be doing something constructive. A coalition dedicated to bringing about social change must have a strong commitment of its members. It is held together by mutual goodwill and by a common cause, which are the cement binding the members together into a coalition.

To succeed a coalition must have consensus on the objectives to be achieved. Majority vote on a position to be taken does not mean that the position is the best one. A margin of one vote is a shaky foundation on which to build.

An effective coalition is built on the self-interest of its members, both individually and collectively. Whites join in a coalition with blacks because of self-interest. There must be something in it for the individuals to join forces. This self-interest can take several forms. One is the growing realization that the majority of society cannot prosper if a crucial part of it languishes. No man can be free unless all men are free. Another aspect of self-interest, and this is stated in its baldest terms, is riot insurance against burning and looting. Some whites participate in coalitions in the hope that riots and confrontations can either be eliminated or minimized. For some whites, participation in a coalition is in the Judeo-Christian tradition. As is stated in the Bible —"Justice, justice shalt thou pursue." There are those whites who join a coalition with blacks to improve their image with their children who, in many instances, have identified with the efforts of blacks to eradicate racism. Still another group of whites join hands with blacks for political purposes, i.e., to get black support in elections.

The question may thus be raised —does it really matter what moti-

vates whites to join coalitions with blacks? It would seem that the critical point is that whites want to become involved and by their behavior have indicated a willingness to participate. It is difficult to analyze fully individuals' motives for participation in the civil rights movement. It is their behavior and actions which are most important. As we are told in the Bible—"By ye actions, ye shall be judged."

In addition to self-interest, a coalition must be issue-oriented to be successful. It should use the rifle approach rather than the shotgun approach. This means that the coalition focuses on limited narrow objectives instead of taking on all the problems of society. A limited objective approach enables like-minded groups to join forces to work towards achieving the objective. For example, there are groups interested in improving the environment who are not interested in improving housing. Through a limited objective approach, the coalition could enlist the support of all groups interested in that objective—black and white, rich or poor, public and private, young and old.

At any one moment in time, there are a number of groups working on a particular issue such as the high unemployment rate of veterans. The Federal Government, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the National Urban League, to mention several groups, are concerned with this issue. They are seeking a series of solutions which, hopefully, will ameliorate the problem. Although there is no formal coalition of these groups, they are working on the same problem. I use this issue as an example because it exemplifies that other special interest groups like the veterans organizations are working on a problem which includes black veterans. It would indeed be remarkable and unprecedented if the veterans organizations and the National Urban League were to be working together on improving the accessability of blacks to housing in the suburbs.

Another criterion for an effective coalition is that it cannot adopt an "all or nothing" posture or attitude. Rarely can a group of concerned individuals or organizations achieve the ideal objective. If the coalition takes a position that only the ideal will be acceptable, its effectiveness as a change agent will be diluted or rendered impotent. A case in point is welfare reform. There is legislation before the Congress which, if enacted, will provide a guaranteed income to all families in the United States. This is a significant and radical social policy for this country. Some individual groups have expressed their disfavor of the proposed income levels and are working for its defeat. It is not my intent to discuss whether the proposed income level under Welfare Reform is adequate or inadequate. What is important to me is that here is an opportunity to establish a basic principle of a guaranteed income for all families. A bit of history may be helpful to understand my position that what is important is the principle, not the amount, of a particular benefit or income at one moment in time.

In 1934, when the Social Security Act was being discussed in Congress, there was concern that the level of old age benefit for retired workers was too low and that coverage was too limited. When the act was passed in 1935, only the retired worker was covered. In 1940, when the first Social Security benefit was paid, the average primary monthly benefit for retired workers was $22.71. In 1970, it was *$120.95*, a 434 percent increase. Improvements in the benefits and coverage have taken place frequently since 1935. The historical experience with the Social Security Program is an excellent example of the importance of establishing a general principle and then working continuously to expand its benefits.

Another criterion for a successful coalition is that it must develop its strategy carefully. Unfortunately, there appears to be the need for some kind of threat to alter the status quo. Of paramount importance is the strength of the threat. What is needed is enough of a threat to cause the majority community to start changing its own attitudes and allocation of resources in ways far more favorable to blacks and other minorities, but not so much as to cause total withdrawal of white cooperation, sympathy, and support. Pressure must be applied to bring about change but the key question is, how much pressure?

How much pressure to exert, how to organize resources effectively, is a function of leadership. A coalition must have dynamic leadership which will inspire its members to exert their best efforts. Leadership is necessary to attract the support of other groups in society to the cause and it must be of such quality that it is recognized by public officials at all levels of government.

A successful coalition focuses on changing the methods of operations of existing institutions, to

make them more responsive to the changing environment, to make them more accountable for their actions. The emphasis should not be on creating new and special programs for blacks, other minorities, and the poor, but on eliminating the need for special programs. For example, if the public schools were providing quality education for all students, would there be a need for remedial educational programs to teach individuals basic reading, writing, and computational skills? If building codes were enforced, would the decay of the city have been arrested? If vocational programs were universally available in high schools, would there have been the need for federally supported manpower programs for the disadvantaged?

If employers had developed personnel practices and procedures which screened in rather than screened out job applicants, would there be the need for special programs of recruitment? If the system had been responsive, would we have needed the special programs of OEO? If the government agencies—at all levels—had been genuinely concerned about humanity, would there be the outcry of racism? These agencies appeared to be more interested in what I call talleyoism—marking the tallies, marking the units of service, rather than being interested in the humanity of the individual to be served.

There are sound reasons why the effective coalition must focus on systems change rather than on creating special programs, which eat up scarce resources to pay administrative costs. It is impossible to finance all the special programs needed to improve the socioeconomic problems of minorities and the poor. In my view, special programs take the white community off the hook. They are, in too many instances, a salve for the conscience of the white community. They can serve as a deterrent, a hindrance to systems change. The coalition must force the whites to reexamine the *modus operandi* of the social institutions in order to bring about changes which will improve the quality of life for all Americans.

Motivation and commitment are important ingredients for a successful coalition but they must be buttressed by financial resources for staff, supplies, and communications. The ability to obtain monies is an important fact of life for coalitions.

The continued existence of a coalition depends on achieving some victories, some successes. Measuring successes is difficult because there is no effective yardstick or standard of measurement. For example, the coalition may have been involved in lobbying for a law or change in law which on the surface appears to be a significant victory; but the administration of the law negates its intent. The coalition cannot measure its success by the units of service it renders; it cannot measure its success by the reduction in the number of poor.

We can, however, get a reading on its effectiveness by looking at what is happening. For example, public awareness of the problems of discrimination and racism has been heightened. In my view, one of the most important victories has been in the area of employment—yes, even in times of high unemployment. The Nation is becoming more manpower conscious; it is becoming more concerned about the development and utilization of its manpower resources. It was and is the black man who is forcing American employers—both private and public—to reexamine their hiring practices and selection techniques. Civil rights legislation, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Federal courts have all been involved. The hero, however, in this exciting unfolding drama is the black man. Increasingly, the employer cannot hide behind arbitrary hiring standards such as unrealistic educational requirements and ability to pass some kind of test not related to job performance. We may have reached a point where at last the credentials-society is beginning to come under attack. The Nation has suffered substantially as a result of the establishment of so many credentials which are unrelated to performance. The war has not been won, but important battles are being won. I do not claim that the coalition of blacks and whites is singly responsible for this critically important breakthrough, but its presence has been felt in a number of ways.

The Level of Operation

Coalitions are useful mechanisms because of their flexibility and applicability to different settings. A coalition can be formed to resolve a problem or attempt to bring about change in the neighborhood, in the city, or at the State and national level. It does seem, however, that coalitions are formed primarily to operate at the national level. The National Urban League has itself been a member of many national coalitions. These alliances, for example, lobby be-

fore the Congress in order to influence national legislation.

However, there appears to be little effort at forming coalitions at the State level, especially as they relate to the socioeconomic problems of minorities. State government is not dead. Its actions greatly affect the lives of blacks and other minorities. It is the State highway department which decides to build expressways through the ghettos; it is the State department of education which distributes State aid to local school districts. The State welfare department supervises the allocation of funds for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and other public assistance programs; it is the gatekeeper for welfare programs. The State employment service operates local offices which play a crucial role in implementing federally supported manpower training programs. The States also support institutions of higher education.

In my view, there are too many citizens who have written off the States proclaiming that the States do nothing. They have already prepared the obituary for State governments which are alive but not doing well. Nevertheless they are still very important public jurisdictions as dispensers of funds and preparers of regulations and rules for such crucial areas as education, social services, and employment. There is, indeed, need for effective coalitions at the State level in order to unite efforts directed toward needed social change.

The actions and activities of State governments cannot be ignored nor should they be immune to public scrutiny.

At the local level the Urban League affiliate, by its very composition, plays the role of a coalition of concerned citizens—both blacks and whites—to bring about social change in the community. It is a coalition as well as an organization, with rules, procedures, strategies, and programs. It seeks to bring about improvements in the quality of life of minorities and the poor by focusing its efforts on systems change—economic, social, and institutional. It attacks the root causes of suffering of blacks and can and should be the focal point of systems change. It, however, cannot singly accomplish the massive task of providing equality of opportunity, equal options, and equal results for all Americans. Thus, at the local level, the Urban League affiliate joins forces with other groups—to form a coalition of organizations to work together on specific problems. It contributes its skills, its resources into a common pool with other groups. Thus, in a real sense, the Urban League affiliate operates on two planes of action, two dimensions. It carries out its *own* activities and programs for its constituencies—the blacks, other minorities, and the poor, while maintaining cooperative efforts with groups in the community who are working on specific problems relating to the activities and concerns of the local affiliate.

The local Urban League has a third dimension. As the foundation for the National Urban League, it is the operating arm of the National Urban League's efforts to promote systems change. Thus, in another sense, the National Urban League is a formal coalition of local Urban League affiliates, pledged to serve the Nation by helping minority groups and the poor to improve their socioeconomic status.

In July 1970 in New York, the late Whitney M. Young, in his keynote address at the annual meeting of the National Urban League, stated:

> *I believe that the time is now for broad coalition . . . And I believe that whether they pursue their own self-interest or because they move their idealism to a higher more realistic plane, a new coalition can be forged that will once more return America to a sense of purpose and a will to justice.*

Later, in his last keynote address he said: "Only by unified action can we forge the alliances across racial lines that promise progress."

Strong as the National Urban League is, it cannot go it alone. It needs the support, cooperation, and commitment of other citizen groups interested in social justice. It needs the effective support of business, industry, and labor in its efforts. Furthermore, the National Urban League must establish a special kind of coalition with the Federal Government. The National Urban League has survived for 60 years without Federal support; it can continue to survive without that support. However, through its affiliates the League can help the Federal Government. It can assist in the delivery of services; it can develop experimental and demonstration programs; and it can serve as a kind of ombudsman for minorities in their relationship to Federal Agencies. Lastly, to be effective it must, where practical, build effective coalitions at all levels of government—national, State, and local. ■

Reading & Viewing

BOOKS

Confessions of a White Racist, by Larry L. King. New York: The Viking Press, 1969. 172 pp.
This is a no-holds-barred self-examination done in wit and anger by a supersensitive protagonist, from whose racial spectacles the last rosy tints have been cleansed—by his own searing honesty and the traumatic upheavels of the sixties.

Minority Access to College: a Ford Foundation Report, by Fred E. Crossland. New York: Schocken Books, 1971. 139 pp.
This important study examines the extent of minority participation in higher education, the major barriers students face—money, race, academic preparation—and the way some of these barriers are being removed. There is a particularly valuable investigation of the traditionally black institutions. Brought together for the first time are available facts that must be understood in order to open the doors to college and improve the academic climate for all.

Racism: a Casebook, edited by Frederick R. Lapides and David Burrows. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971. 305 pp.
Racism, and the prejudices and stereotypes which accompany it, are the subject of this casebook. In the United States there seems to be an awakening to the fact that we have not only fostered racist attitudes but that we have institutionalized them as well. To live during this period of transformation and to attempt to understand the motives and forces at work in our society requires beginning with an examination of our personal assumptions. This collection of writings is designed to aid the student to examine critically the idea of race, the roots and manifestations of prejudice, the causes and effects of race prejudice in our country, and some of the reasons for and the results of the growth of black militancy in the last decade.

A Rap on Race, by Margaret Mead and James Baldwin. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott Company, 1971. 256 pp.
These two distinguished Americans have engaged in a dialogue so rich in insights and so profoundly moving that it becomes, for the reader, a memorable experience. The authors have spoken to each other with a candor that is rare. With anguish and intimacy, reason and passion, they have confronted many major issues of our time.

Side by Side: Integrated Neighborhoods in America, by Norman Bradburn, and others. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971. 209 pp.
Housing is one of the crucibles of the success or failure of integration in America and, in a larger sense, of the American promise of equality. This study, conducted in the spring of 1967, deals mainly with black and white families with relatively high incomes in middle class neighborhoods. It reports primarily on whites' willingness to live in racially integrated neighborhoods. Blacks live in integrated neighborhoods for reasons related to the quality of housing rather than because they want to socialize.

The Silenced Majority: Women and American Democracy, by Kirsten Amundsen. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971. 184 pp.
"The relationship between the sexes in America is at its base *politically* determined, just as is the relationship between the races." This statement launches the author's stinging indictment of the treatment of women in the American "democratic" system. In destroying many widely held economic and social beliefs, the author cites example after example of how women have been maligned, insulted, misunderstood, and ignored in our political process. To succeed in their fight for equal rights, women must influence the legislation that determines and protects those rights.

Yazoo: Integration in a Deep-Southern Town, by Willie Morris. New York: Harper's Magazine Press Book, 1971. 192 pp.
The author made several trips to his Mississippi hometown of Yazoo in 1969 and 1970. He rediscovered Yazoo as a symbol and a crucible of the American South's agony of the soul in facing the implications of massive school integration as ordered by the most recent U.S. Su-

preme Court decisions. At a time when the whole notion of meaningful racial integration seems either passe or under attack, from both right and left, Yazoo is a reminder, with its warm human portraits and its deep feeling of our history as a people, that the South is still a truly unique land and has much to offer in helping lead America out of its racial impasse.

STUDIES AND REPORTS

Black Americans: a Chartbook. U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin 1699. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971. 141 pp.

Equal Housing Opportunities in the South: A Challenge. Report on Government and Citizen Action, by Horace Barker and Robert E. Anderson, Jr. July 1971. Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1971. 27 pp.

Minority-owned Businesses: 1969. U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. August 1971. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971. 177 pp.

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FILMS

The Right to Read. Documents the failure of this country to provide adequate education to millions of adults and children. With an introduction by Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, this 29-minute, color film is being distributed throughout the country to launch the National Right to Read Program. Under direction of the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the program is "aimed at virtually eliminating illiteracy by 1980". The film shows a cross section of persons who suffer from severe reading difficulties—blacks in Bedford Stuyvesant, in Brooklyn, whites in Appalachia, Mexican Americans in California, and Indians in Arizona.

The narrator points out that more than 15 million adults and one out of every four children from *all* economic levels have reading problems. However, a recent report issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, entitled "The Unfinished Education" (Report II, Mexican American Educational Series), indicates that these problems are more acute among minorities of the Southwest:

> *The Commission found, on the basis of information provided by school principals, that from 50 to 70 percent of Mexican American and black students in the fourth, eighth, and 12th grades are reading below the level expected . . . that reading achievement does not improve with advancing age and grade for children of any ethnic group. For Mexican American and black students, however, it usually becomes significantly worse than for Anglos.*

The film also points out that dropout rates have a direct relationship to reading ability, in that "today's poor reader may be tomorrow's dropout".

Scenes are shown of many youngsters, as well as adults, struggling to mouth the simplest words. The saddest story is of a housewife who relates her frustration because she is unable to read or write. She indicates that she was born in a rural area where the nearest school was four miles away, but even so, she seldom had shoes to wear to school. Today, she must pay the price. The routine things which we take for granted every day, such as grocery shopping, reading the newspaper, observing stop signs, are impossibilities for the illiterate.

The latter part of the film is devoted to suggesting ways in which the average citizen can help to eliminate illiteracy. Housewives, businessmen, retirees, and others are pictured giving individual attention to problem readers. According to the film anyone who can read can help.

For the millions of persons handicapped by this disability let us hope that the film will help make other Americans aware of the seriousness of the problem, and that the program's monumental goal can be reached.

Information about the film may be obtained by writing to Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., National Services Center, 2323 New Hyde Park Rd., New Hyde Park, New York 11040. ■

Book Reviews

HANGING TOGETHER: EQUALITY IN AN URBAN NATION

By William L. Taylor
Simon and Schuster. 347 pages. 1971.

REVIEWED BY JON R. WALTZ

In a report published recently, well after the release of William L. Taylor's *Hanging Together*, we were told that unless we can cast off racism in this country, all our cities will be black, brown, and bankrupt by 1980.

Just another report, this one evidently ghost-written, some will say, by Chicken Little—just another pile of paper to stack on top of the earlier reports of the Kerner, Vaiser, Douglas, Heineman, and Eisenhower Commissions, all of which warned us that the sky was falling on America. But anyone who can so easily consign this latest warning to the paper-heap is (1) not readily frightened, and (2) seriously in need of reading William Taylor's important book, the more generally illuminating subtitle of which is *Equality in an Urban Nation.*

Mr. Waltz is a professor of law at Northwestern University.

Taylor's study is an ambitious one or, as he frankly says, a "presumptuous" one. He takes up, without any hesitation, the four huge issues that are crucial to blacks and others who have been victims of deprivation and discrimination in America, those issues being equality in education, employment, economic security, and housing. Taylor, who has been around (he knows the city ghetto and the rural South; as a former Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, he knows Government, too), knows perfectly well how ambitious a task he has bitten off. He has not been deterred by his realization, drawn from a reading of Gunnar Myrdal, that he can't do a decent job of analyzing "the race problem" unless he also takes into account every other significant social, economic, political, and cultural problem facing the country. That is what he has done in *Hanging Together.*

Taylor is carried forward by an optimism that provides him with challenge as well as encouragement. He believes that we can eliminate the stain of racism; he thinks that we can create cities in which all can reside in harmony, free at last to pursue an enriching life. But the underlying theme of Taylor's book is that we can attain neither of these goals unless we attain both of them. The preservation of urban values is impossible where racism persists; the fight against racial injustice will collapse unless our urban system is restructured "to provide freedom and mobility and to allocate to all citizens a share of the responsibility for overcoming deprivation and discrimination".

In his initial chapter Taylor shows, in the context of black-white goals disparities, why the Nation is splitting into two societies. In his second chapter Taylor takes on, and demolishes, the convenient "immigrant myth" (the mayor of my city, Chicago, is a relentless exponent of it), that blacks, like immigrants from Europe, can make their way in America without either help from Government or sacrifice on the part of more advantaged citizens. Next the author traces the civil rights efforts from the New Deal through Lyndon B. Johnson's Administration. Taylor, although willing to give credit where it is due, is forced to give the concluding chapter in this section the uncongratulatory heading, "The Politics of Failure".

It is not surprising that Taylor, lacking faith in the efficacy of past governmental policies, opposes their continuation. His chapter predicting what will happen if present policies are continued is called "A Bad Trip into the Future", but Taylor the optimist moves quickly on into the affirmative portions of his book. He knows that racism is not an immutable characteristic of the American people and he builds on this knowledge.

The heart and, more to the point, the hard thinking of Taylor's book are in his last three chapters: "Glimmers of Hope", "Strategies for Change: Together *and* Autonomous", and "Elements of a Program". The author lays out solid proposals in all four of the key areas mentioned earlier. Because he does not oversimplify, I cannot. There is no room here adequately to describe Taylor's carefully thought-out recommendations. Those who care about the Nation's future need all the responsible, considered advice they can get, which means that they must read *Hanging Together.* I will add only that its author does not shrink from the question whether we can afford to implement his suggestions. Taylor says we can, and he makes sense.

In fact, the most laudatory thing I can say about this laudable book is that it is eminently sensible. ■

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- 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.