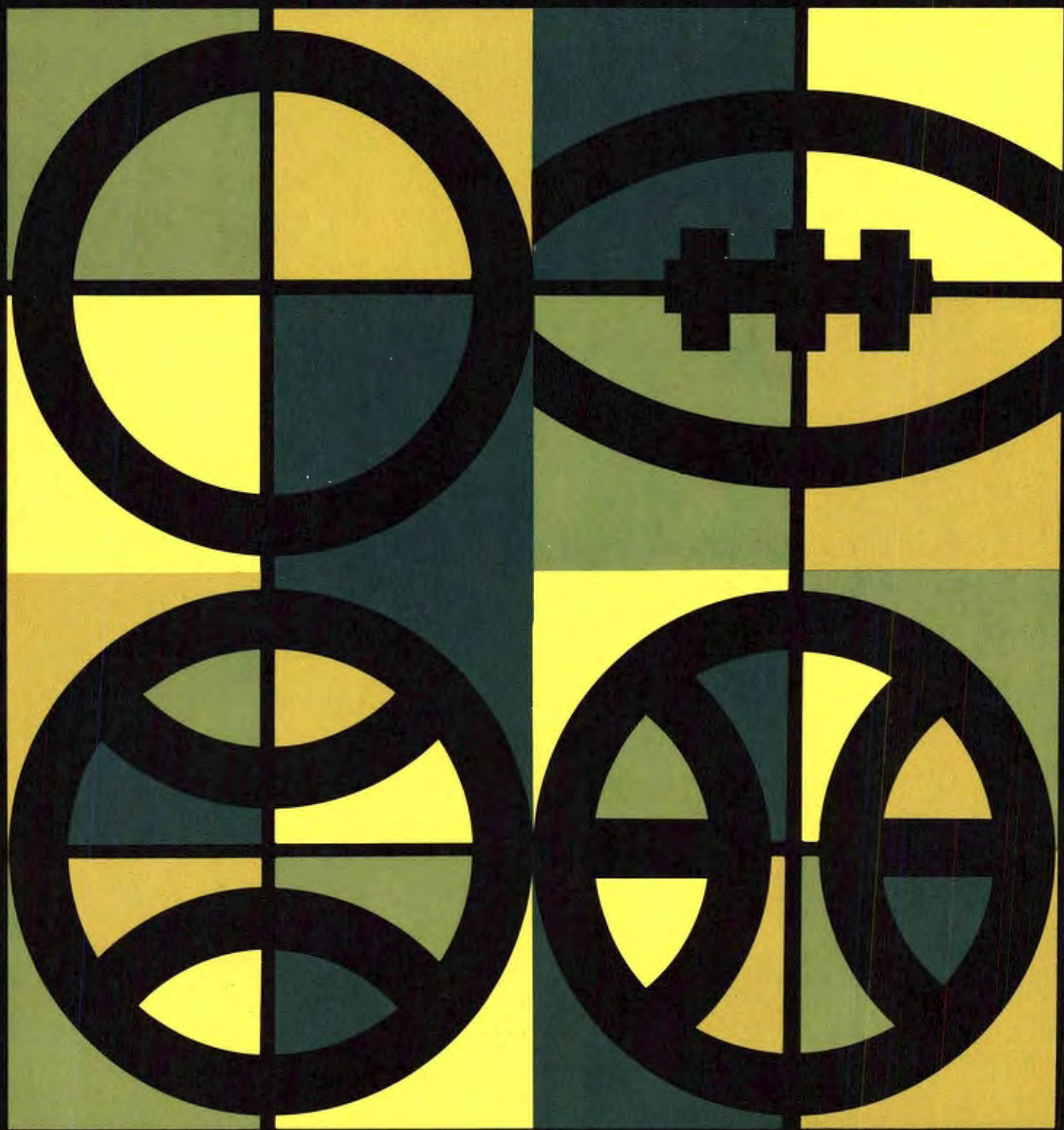


CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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BLACK AMERICANS IN SPORTS



CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

Vol. 5, No. 2, August 1972

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*Deputy Director of
Information and Publications*
Joseph W. Swanson

Editor
Wallis W. Johnson

Art Direction
Del Harrod

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THE ROLE OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

by William L. Dandridge

Based upon an examination of the activities of one group of independent schools over the last 10 years, I have concluded that these schools can play an important part in offering a viable educational alternative to minority groups below the college level.

This viewpoint runs counter to a rather widely held opinion that nonpublic schools are an obstacle to integrated education in the public schools. The nonpublic school is generally considered as a means of escaping integration. Such an opinion is based in part on the fact that private schools in the form of the much publicized segregated white academies in the South have been used as an "escape", and in part on the flight of white families from the cities to the suburbs. Therefore, any other form of education than the urban public school assumes the

Mr. Dandridge is a staff associate for the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS).

mantle of an "escape". In addition, it is a fact that until the last decade only a few private schools enrolled minority students, although there have always been some notable exceptions; but, on the other hand, there is also a lamentable lack of information and understanding of what these schools have been doing recently to bring about integration.

The term nonpublic school is an over-simplified way of identifying schools which are governed and directed by private persons or organizations and which in general receive no basic public funding. Unfortunately, this general classification often gives the impression that all schools in the nonpublic sector are more or less alike, and it fails to clarify the significant diversity of philosophies, styles, and structures within the private sector. This diversity and various differences make generalization difficult, and the best approach to take when discussing broad questions involving nonpublic schools is to focus on one segment at a time.* The presentation here focuses on the so-called

independent schools, many of which differ very much from one another, but which have a few basic characteristics in common. These include incorporation not for profit, governance by a Board of Trustees who appoint the administration, and independent determination of basic educational philosophy and policies.

A major segment of the independent schools, about 800, along with 40 State and regional associations, make up the membership of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). It is a voluntary membership organization whose primary purpose is:

To assist and strengthen independent schools in the U.S. and similar schools elsewhere, and to aid them to serve effectively the free society from which they derive their independence.

**The most up-to-date discussion of the entire spectrum of nonpublic schools appears in a book entitled American Nonpublic Schools—Patterns of Diversity, by Otto F. Kraushaar, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.*

NAIS has taken a clear stand on the question of racial integration. The Association and its members have stated that restrictive admission policies based on race or place of origin have no place in independent education. They view this independence as an opportunity to determine their own educational philosophy, to provide choice in education, to set their own standards, and to pursue their goals with a minimum of State control and direction. Such a view of independence does not include the option of excluding children because of race or place of national origin.

Since 1963, in independent schools there has been a concerted effort to encourage greater enrollment of minority students. I start with 1963 simply because at that time there was evidence of a greater realization by independent school officials of the need to create a multiracial school community. It was also during this time that a number of programs to recruit minority students were undertaken. Prior to '63, while a small number of black and other minority students did attend an equally small number of independent schools, their numbers were so small as to justify characterizing the pre-1963 period as a totally white situation.

When independent schools, in groups and individually, did begin to seek minority students, it was quickly realized that costs were just as prohibitive a factor as restrictive admission policies. To discard the latter would be little more than a gesture for the vast majority of minority families unless some way could be found to assist them in overcoming the financial hurdle. Therefore, the schools went to their parents, alumni, private corporations, and foundations to raise money for financial aid programs

which were earmarked specifically for minority and disadvantaged students.

Approximately 10 years and 10,000 students later, the record suggests that independent schools need not be a detriment to integration, but in fact can make a significant contribution to integration through voluntary efforts. NAIS has conducted periodic surveys of its membership to record the progress being made. The most recent survey, conducted in the fall of the academic year 1971-72, indicated that independent schools have continued to expand their programs and broaden their concerns to include minorities on staffs, as administrators, as trustees, and in the curriculums.

Minority students—Black, Indian, Spanish-surnamed, and Oriental—comprised 5.5 percent of the total students enrolled in NAIS schools in 1971-72. This represented a 26 percent increase since 1969 and a 158 percent increase since 1966. Approximately 13,000 of the 234,000 students enrolled in NAIS schools surveyed in 1971-72 were from the four major minority groups. The rate of increase in the number of minority students can be compared to a general rate of enrollment increase of about 12 percent for all students over the past 6 years.

To help support the increased minority enrollment, the independent schools have raised sizable sums of money for financial aid—at an annual rate of \$9.7 million in 1971—from parents, alumni, private corporations, and foundations. In 1971-72, and for several years prior to that, 33 percent of all financial aid money was expended on behalf of minority students in need of such assistance, slightly more than

half of all minority students enrolled. By and large, these funds have had to come from the private sector since the schools are not eligible for the kind of support that has been made available at the college level, where substantial sums of public funds have been made available to both public and private colleges and universities to help them increase their minority enrollments. Despite the need to rely on private funding, the NAIS schools have enrolled a substantial and increasing number of minority students. Percentage-wise, their figures compare quite favorably with those of the private undergraduate colleges and universities; graduate schools, both public and private; and professional schools—law, medicine, and dentistry.

Some very creative methods have been developed to aid minority group students to attend independent schools. One example of this is the cooperative effort of 122 boarding schools (many of which are in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions, with some located elsewhere) in a special program known as the Independent School Talent Search—A Better Chance (ABC). This program, which currently involves 800 students and which has involved some 2,000 students since its inception, has attempted to identify and recruit capable disadvantaged students from all segments of the country. At the present time, three-fourths of these students come from families that are welfare recipients. There are other programs similar to ABC, which focus on day schools, but they tend to be regional in scope, e.g., The Negro Student Fund, Washington, D.C.; The Private School Placement Program, New York City; and The Philadelphia Area Community Scholarship Pro-

% OF MINORITY STUDENT ENROLLMENTS

1. % of Minority Group Students Enrolled in NAIS Schools:

1966 - 1.5% 1969 - 3.5% 1971 - 5.5%

% of Black Students Enrolled in NAIS Schools:

1966 - 1.5% 1969 - 3% 1971 - 4.1%

2. % for *Black* Students at *All* U.S. Colleges:

1965 - 4.5% 1968 - 5.6% 1970 - 6.5%

(40% of *All* Black Students at College Level Enrolled in
Predominantly Black Colleges.)

3. % of Black Enrollments in Graduate Schools and Professional Schools

- a. Graduate Schools (96 Institutions Surveyed) .4%
- b. Law School3.9%
- c. Dental School3.6%
- d. Medical School4.2%

(Figures provided by Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Office of Education)

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS WITH 5% OR MORE MINORITY STUDENTS ENROLLED

	'66-'67	'69-'70	'71-'72
A. Number of schools having over 40%:	N/A	1	4
B. Number of schools having 30-39%:	N/A	1	6
C. Number of schools having 20-29%:	N/A	5	6
D. Number of schools having 10-19% :	N/A	26	49
E. Number of schools having 5-9%:	N/A	115	143
TOTALS:		148	208

208 (28.4%) of the reporting schools had 5% or more
minority group students enrolled.

The '66-67 and '69-70 surveys included black students only.

SCHOLARSHIP DOLLARS SPENT BY NAIS SCHOOLS 1971-'72

A.	Total expenditures: (Omitting faculty children)	\$29,416,455
	Total scholarship students: (Omitting faculty children)	25,292 (10% of all students)
B.	Scholarship dollars for minority group students:	\$ 9,766,875 (33.2% of total financial aid)
	Total number of minority group students receiving aid:	5,830 (23% of all scholarship students)

1. Of the total number of students enrolled in the reporting schools, 10.7% were receiving some form of financial assistance. Of the total number of minority group students enrolled 44.9% were receiving financial assistance. In other words, while one out of ten students in the total student enrollment was receiving financial aid, nearly one of every two minority group students was being assisted financially.
2. Of the total number of students (25,292) receiving financial aid, 5,830 or 23% were minority students.
3. The total dollar outlay for all students receiving aid was \$29,416,455; for minority group students the outlay was \$9,766,875 or 33.2% of the total. Thus, the average grant for minority group students was \$1,675; for all others \$1,009.

MINORITY TEACHERS

	1966-'67	1969-'70	1971-'72
A. Blacks:	149	244 (65% increase)	296 (21.3% increase)
B. American Indians:	N/A	7	17
C. Spanish Surnamed:	N/A		166
Mexican Americans:	N/A	20	
Puerto Ricans:	N/A	12	
D. Orientals:	N/A	N/A	78
TOTALS:	149	283	557

The number of black teachers increased 21.3% since 1969-'70 and 98.6% since 1966. Estimating the total number of teachers in NAIS schools to be approximately 25,000, minority group teachers represent 2.2% and black teachers 1.2%.

gram, Philadelphia, Pa.

Independent schools have been deeply committed and involved in special enrichment and remedial programs, often in cooperation with public schools, which are designed to support and enhance educational programs in local communities. Three of the largest such efforts are the Supplementary Program for Hartford [Conn] in Education Reinforcement and Enrichment (SPHERE), which is sponsored by a collaboration of 12 independent schools and the Hartford public schools; the Educational Enrichment Program, which is sponsored by a group of independent schools in the Boston metropolitan area; and the Horizons-Upward Bound Program at the Cranbrook School, near Detroit. These programs represent the efforts of independent schools to respond on the one hand to the educational needs of inner-city children who, for the most part, are from minority groups and, on the other, to meet their community responsibilities. Once again, the major portion of funds for these programs have been provided by individuals of the school's constituencies, private corporations, foundations, and other private sources.

Another new development, which is becoming more evident with each passing year, is the increasing interest on the part of minority families to find an immediate educational alternative for their children. Applications to independent schools from minority families are increasing, and the number of families that need financial assistance at the present time greatly exceeds the available funds. At the same time, according to the 1971 Minority Affairs Survey, a growing number of minority families, particularly those associated with day

schools, are assuming a greater share of the cost of educating their children in independent schools.

Those individuals who seek independent schools as a means of avoiding integration will be disappointed to find that the presence of blacks and other minorities is quite evident on most independent school campuses. Minority students are serving as school presidents, leaders of their classes, captains of athletic teams, tutors—filling every kind of position in independent schools. Independent schools are no longer preoccupied with the question of whether or not to enroll minority students. They are concentrating on ways of making this experience as meaningful as possible for minority students. They are facing the questions of Afro-American societies, black dining hall tables, and courses on black and other ethnic groups. Indeed, it would be difficult to review any independent school publication without becoming aware of the minority students' presence.

I think an objective review of the record will show that independent schools have taken the initiative in developing multi-ethnic communities on their campuses. Despite their locations (many are in the suburban and rural areas), they have created ways to bring in more minority students. The 1971 Minority Affairs Survey also reports that some progress has been made toward increasing the number of minority adults involved in independent schools. Part of this is due to a special effort by the National Association of Independent Schools to recruit minority teachers, which was accompanied by the general desire and acceptance by the individual schools to employ minorities.

Over the past 2 years, independ-

ent schools have experienced serious financial problems. The dip in the economy, coupled with inflation, has placed many of these schools in serious monetary straits. Despite these factors, and the difficulties which they create for expanding efforts toward raising scholarship funds, independent schools continue to operate their programs and give every indication of intent to enlarge them. But it is clear to those who have been involved with these efforts that, while the private sector has carried the principal responsibility for the last 10 years, and must continue to do so, if there is to be significant growth in the future, some measure of public support will be essential.

It is not easy to say what form such support should take. But whether it will be through special assistance to disadvantaged students, some type of voucher plan, tax credits, or a combination, the fact is clear that continued expansion in the private sector of alternatives and parental choice for low-income families is today more related to the availability of financial support than to the question of racial bias.

The future picture for independent schools is mixed and not without its obvious problems. But it would be a mistake to allow the problems, financial and otherwise, to obscure the facts. There is still much to be done in the independent schools as far as the matters of integration and racial understanding are concerned, and there is much hard work ahead to insure continued progress. But substantial progress is evident and it is the progress to date that makes me optimistic about the future of the relationship between minority groups and this segment of non-public schools. ■



BLACKS AND WHITES: MEASURING THE CHANGES

The civil rights legislation and visible changes in social conditions during the 1960's make it one of the most significant decades in America's racial history.

Measuring and interpreting the significance of the changes during the past decade is a challenge, however, to the general public and to researchers. Developing reliable

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yardsticks—racial indicators—to show where black Americans stood in comparison with white Americans and where both seem to be going is a major research commitment at The Urban Institute.

The Institute's Indicators program, led by Harvey A. Garn, undertook to collect and display available social and economic measurements that would give a balanced picture of the status of blacks and whites in the 1960-68 period. The result this summer was, *Blacks and Whites. An Experiment in Racial Indicators*, prepared by Michael J. Flax. In his foreword to this 79-page publication, Institute President William Gorham says,



"These indicators and the explanations of them provide some reference points for improving the quality of the public and private interpretation, understanding, and discussion of racial issues."

Racial data have been compiled in the past, including *The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States*, published by the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. While relying heavily on these data, the Institute study is unique because of its use and presentation of the material.

Flax provides several alternative views of the available figures in 16 areas of social and economic activity, and also attempts to interpret

recent research for the general audience. First, he examines the data to determine whether blacks and whites, viewed separately, made progress in the 1960's. Second, he compares progress toward racial equality in both relative and absolute terms. Third, he shows some of the possible implications of a continuation of the 1960-68 trends into the near future. In a later chapter, Garn discusses how recent research findings explain present and future relationships between income and other social and economic factors.

As the summary table on page 10 shows, the 16 indicators used in the study are grouped in six categories. Twenty-six further tables in the publication present the specific data backing up the summary findings.

The second major question asked in the summary—Are nonwhites catching up to whites?—illustrates the complexity of the current racial picture. Specifically, are nonwhites improving at a faster rate than whites (a relative measurement), and is the gap between whites and nonwhites getting smaller (an absolute measurement)? In many instances, Flax found that the relative and absolute answers point in different directions. He therefore warns readers of racial indicators that "the progress of nonwhites can sometimes be made to look good or poor depending upon how the data are used."

The median family income indicator serves as an example of this phenomenon of catching up relatively while falling behind. Nonwhite income increased at a faster rate than white—4.9 percent compared to 3.4 percent. But at the same time, the actual gap between white and nonwhite median income widened from \$3,063 in 1960 to

\$3,347 in 1968.

How is this possible? Take the case of one man earning \$17,000 whose 3.5 percent pay increase amounts to \$595 while a second man making \$8,000 gets a 5 percent boost of \$400. The \$8,000-a-year man increased his income at a higher rate, but the first man's dollar increase is larger. The gap between the two thus increases from \$9,000 to \$9,195.

Similarly, the last decade saw higher black rates of improvement but a widening of the gap between whites and blacks in the following aspects: the percentage of families with income of \$8,000 or more; the percentage of persons completing 4 years of college; and the percentage of illegitimate births.

The point is this: interpret with care. Distorted conclusions about racial status have been disseminated that were based, through error or intent, on too narrow a selection of data. The Institute report deliberately tries to minimize such misinterpretations by juxtaposing rates of change, changes in gap size, and trends.

The study makes clear that the choice of indicators themselves may alter the picture. Flax compares the life expectancy of whites and nonwhites for persons aged 35. Using this indicator, it appears that nonwhites improved their life expectancy at a faster rate than whites between 1960 and 1967 and reduced the actual gap in years. But the author points out that a different picture emerges from focusing on the 25-year age level; there the white rate of improvement is higher and the gap is widening.

A high government official, speaking recently of black progress, revealed the need for careful scrutiny of data and indicators when he announced that the median income of

WHAT THE RACIAL INDICATORS OF 1960-1968 REVEAL

Subject Characteristic	IS THE DIRECTION OF CHANGE GENERALLY CONSIDERED DESIRABLE?		ARE NONWHITES CATCHING UP TO WHITES?		WHITE/NONWHITE DIFFERENCES IF RECENT RATES OF CHANGE CONTINUE		FUTURE POSSIBILITIES
	Whites and nonwhites considered separately		Comparison of white and nonwhite progress, 1960-1968		Assuming the 1960-1968 rates of change remain the same...		Assuming the 1960-1968 nonwhite rates of change remain the same...
	White	Nonwhite	Was the nonwhite rate of improvement greater than the white?	Was the size of the white/nonwhite gap decreasing?	Would the size of the white/nonwhite gap be smaller in 1978 than 1968?	Would nonwhites ever reach 1968 white levels?	Approximate year when nonwhite levels might reach 1968 white levels
LIVING CONDITIONS AND HEALTH							
Infant mortality (per 1,000 pop.)	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	Rank ^f 12 [REDACTED] 1994
Life expectancy at 35 years	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	13 [REDACTED] 2019
HOUSING							
% Housing that is substandard	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	9 [REDACTED] 1988
FAMILY							
% Female-headed families ^a	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	15 [REDACTED] never
% Children living with two parents ^a	NO ^b	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	16 [REDACTED] never
Fertility rates (live births/1000 women, 15-54) ^c	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	6 [REDACTED] 1979
% Illegitimate births ^d	NO	NO	YES ^a	NO	NO	NO	14 [REDACTED] never
EDUCATION							
% Men (age 25-29) completing high school	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	1 [REDACTED] 1973
% Completing at least 4 yrs. of college (25-34)	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	8 [REDACTED] 1987
EMPLOYMENT							
% Unemployed	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	7 [REDACTED] 1982
% Teenagers unemployed	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	10 [REDACTED] 1989
% In clerical occupations	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	2 [REDACTED] 1974
% In professional and technical occupations	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	4 [REDACTED] 1978
INCOME AND POVERTY							
Median family income (in 1968 dollars)	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	5 [REDACTED] 1978
% Persons below poverty level	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	11 [REDACTED] 1992
% Families with incomes greater than \$8,000	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	3 [REDACTED] 1974

^a A rise in the proportion of children living with two parents or a decline in the proportion of female-headed families is generally thought to indicate a tendency toward greater family stability. This does not deny that similar figures for these variables may have different implications

for the white and nonwhite communities because of cultural differences.

^b Data indicate that no change occurred.

^c A lowering of the fertility rate is assumed desirable. Where income is limited a decrease would tend to encourage

desirable trends in many of the other categories measured.

^d Attitudes toward illegitimacy affecting accuracy of reporting have been found to differ among whites and nonwhites, therefore, the significance of similar figures may

not be the same. It is assumed here that a higher illegitimacy rate is not desirable.

^e The white illegitimacy rate is increasing at double the nonwhite rate, therefore the slower nonwhite change may be expressed as a relatively greater "rate of improvement."

^f The earliest year is ranked lowest (1).

certain young Negro families had equalled that of young white families. That same figure appeared in the newest edition of *The Social and Economic Status of Negroes*, but there it was put in more qualified terms: In northern and western regions, young black families in which the husband and wife both worked achieved a median income of \$10,130, just short (99 percent) of the \$10,267 earned by young white families in the same circumstances. However, seven out of ten young Negro wives worked compared to five out of ten white wives. In husband-wife families where only husbands worked, Negro income was only 71 percent of whites'. The median income for all black families nationwide in 1969 was only 61 percent of white family income. In short, the official's statement could have been a useful and mildly hopeful statement if put into proper perspective; out of context, it appears both overly optimistic and misleading.

Devising indicators confronts researchers head-on with another problem—deciding what is forward or backward. For most indicators in this study, there is general agreement on what constitutes progress, but some caused difficulties. For instance, regarding the birth rates, decreasing fertility is "considered desirable", but it is conceded that the statistics "may have different implications for the white and nonwhite communities because of cultural differences." Differences may also occur over the concern about or significance of female-headed families and illegitimacy. With respect to the latter, it is widely believed that there is an accuracy problem in the data due, among other things, to the greater reluctance of white mothers to report children born out of wedlock.

Other research on racial questions can help clarify the issues and the indicators further. For example, Robert B. Hill of the National Urban League issued a paper, *The Strengths of Black Families*, soon after the Institute report was released. It highlights important data that adds to and modifies previous characterizations of black life. Flax and Garn believe such data should be included in future racial indicator studies. Critiques of the Institute report also may become the basis for future improvements in the clarity and usefulness of the indicators.

Although it is an initial experimental study, the Institute report is being described in periodicals and newspapers as both a useful look at recent trends and a helpful indication of what these trends portend for racial equality in the future.

The projections in the study emphatically are not forecasts. By giving a time dimension, they are intended to throw further light on the meaning of the rates and directions of change during the 1960's.

The last column in the summary chart shows when blacks would reach the 1968 white levels, assuming that the 1960-68 black rates of change continue. These levels would be reached soon for several aspects of life—the percentage completing high school, in 1973; the percentage employed in clerical work, in 1974; and the percentage of families with incomes greater than \$8,000 a year, in 1974. The achievement by blacks of these 1968 white levels would be long delayed according to other indicators—the year 2019 for life expectancy of 35-year-olds, 1994 for infant mortality, 1992 for the percentage of persons in poverty. Note, of course, that this does not imply that parity in the racial meas-

urements will have been achieved by these dates, since it is likely that whites will continue to improve their status in the meantime, and rates for blacks will probably not remain constant in the future.

An attempt was made to select yardsticks of social and economic activity that could be easily updated. This is important because the behavior of some of the indicators has already shown some change since 1968, most notably in the area of unemployment.

The white jobless rate of 4.9 percent in 1960 fell to 3.2 percent by 1968. Nonwhites started the period at 10.2 percent, finished at 6.7 percent, about the same rate of reduction as for the whites. The actual gap in this case decreased, from 5.3 percentage points in 1960 to 3.5 percentage points in 1968. The trend of this indicator, had circumstances remained unchanged, would have brought the nonwhite unemployment rate down to the 3.2 percent white level by 1982.

This cyclical effect takes on added significance in light of the report's chapter by Garn discussing the movement and prospects for more equality between black and white income distribution. While noting that the 1960-68 period saw improvements, the changes "have all been dependent upon rapid rates of economic growth and low national unemployment rates."

Garn concludes, therefore, that there is "little ground for optimism or complacency if the national growth rates decline and unemployment rates rise, as they did in 1970, unless alternative means are found to narrow the income gaps. The effect of such a deteriorating situation will be relatively more serious for nonwhites than for whites and the gains seen may well be lost in a period of economic decline." ■

Strangers In a Common Land

by Muriel Paskin Carrison

In a Nation divided sharply on many issues, the unanimity of opposition to school busing is startling. Black and white, conservative and liberal, rich and poor—in the public streets or in the privacy of their homes—the American people are protesting against busing.

Political scientists have called governments representative or “legitimate” if they govern by consent of the governed and dictatorial or “illegitimate” if laws and institutions oppose the will of the people. Democracy is termed legitimate in that it derives its power from the will of the people and makes laws to carry out the wishes of the people. If this is true, and the people oppose busing, then the laws requiring school busing should be repealed.

Although some efforts have been made to circumvent the law, busing regulations remain on the books and are being enforced. Obviously, somewhere there must be a body of opinion in favor of busing. Those who favor it seem to be the professionals who also have power to enforce regulations: lawmakers and the courts, sociologists, and educators. This extreme polarization of attitude between laymen and professionals is interesting. What has caused it? What are some of the predictable consequences? What are some possible resolutions of the difficulties?

Discrepancy of opinions among rational men is often a result of differing experience or information. Democratic governments which function on delegated authority can only function effectively when the citizen and his elected representatives are able to resolve these differences. Seymour M. Lipset, a well-known American sociologist, once wrote: “Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society All claims to a legitimate title to rule must ultimately win acceptance through demonstrating

Dr. Carrison is assistant professor of education at California State College. A slightly different version of this article first appeared as “On Busing: Legitimacy and Public Opinion” in School and Society, April 1972.





effectiveness." On both of these counts—public belief in the system and demonstrated effectiveness of the system—busing legislation has failed. There is an obvious gap between the information and/or experiences of laymen and lawmakers. It is important to first explore the reasons for the apparent *experience gap* and then the *information gap*.

Urban communities have had little, if any, successful experience with integration. Census reports indicate that during the past decades, our country has moved toward increased separation of ethnic, racial, and economic groups in residential housing, shopping centers, and recreational and education facilities. We have become strangers in a common land. The strange is unknown; the unknown engenders fear; and fear engenders hostility.

Those who oppose busing often do so on bases something like these: "So you force the kids to go to the same school. Then you look around the school: the blacks sit together, the whites are eating together, and the Mexicans are off somewhere by themselves. So what's the sense of it all?" Or even more demoralizing, "Are they trying to kill all the kids? Look at New York City or Chicago. The kids just form gangs and knife each other—no learning goes on." Fear of the unknown cannot be overcome overnight and increasingly it becomes apparent that personal observation and short term experience will not demonstrate the effectiveness of busing to the public.

On the other hand, Americans have experienced the convenience and often the success of the neighborhood school which is defended as a national tradition. Nevertheless, it is education that is the American tradition, not the neighborhood school. Legislation concerning education began in America 300 years ago, while the neighborhood school is barely 50 years old. Since the enactment of Massachusetts' "Old Deluder Satan Law" of 1647, Federal, State, and local laws set aside land for schools, legislated taxation for funding, teachers were hired, and children were sent to school. Often these schools were several miles from the homes of the students.

As large populations gathered in urban centers, neighborhood schools developed by accident, not by intention. Like their rural predecessors, these schools were established to educate. When schools do not perform the function for which they are intended, that is education of the young, then alternate ways must be found. When generation after generation grows up as hostile strangers or as functional illiterates, then it must be concluded that the neighborhood schools are

not educating. More than 30 years ago, rural America realized that its children were not being well educated in "neighborhood" schools. Accordingly, over the past decades, 70 percent of our Nation's school districts have consolidated and pooled their funds and their children. The result has been increased facilities, books, and equipment, a wider variety of course offerings, and better teachers. Rural busing legislation has gained support and become legitimate as people learned to believe in the system and as the system has demonstrated its effectiveness. Parents do not oppose the long hours of busing for they are convinced that the quality of their children's education has improved while the cost of education to them has not increased or has remained substantially the same. Conversely, urban and suburban parents see the cost of busing only as increasing their taxes with no immediately observable benefits.

The obvious next problem is the matter of racism. Rural parents do not have this problem. They are busing their children to a school which reflects the racial, ethnic, and economic composition of the entire area. Urban parents are not. Their children are being bused miles away into "enemy" territory. If a small child becomes ill during school hours, a working mother cannot easily call a neighbor to pick the child up. If a parent is fortunate enough to have both time and car available, there is still the anxiety of knowing that the child is ill in hostile surroundings. Furthermore, parents reared in a segregated Nation feel uncomfortable driving cross-town through the unfamiliar enemy camp.

Our lawmakers are also parents. They live in this country. They presumably underwent social and educational experiences similar to those of the lay public. Since the lawmakers have imposed busing legislation, we must assume that they have access to information for the decisionmaking process that is not readily available to the public. It thus becomes apparent that the problem is not so much an *experience gap* as it is an *information gap* or, in a deeper sense, a gap of understanding.

Decisions can only be made upon information that has been received and understood. Millennia ago most knowledge came from direct personal experience. Today, with advanced communication technology, most of what we know comes from vicarious information sources such as newspapers, radio, and television. We have become increasingly dependent upon the mass media to give us the information and understanding we need to make valid decisions.

Although one of the purposes of the mass media is to inform, too often it only succeeds in angering and confusing. A "sportscaster" style of reporting has evolved whereby daily news items reach the public ear in agitative staccato headlines. These vivid items of the present dull our sense of the past and delude us into thinking that everything happens instantaneously, like Venus springing full-grown from the head of her father, Zeus. We lose our sense of history because the present is so overwhelming. We are deprived of our right to know and understand the past chains of events leading to the present circumstance. We are robbed of vital past information which we need to understand in order to make valid present decisions. The message and the mode result in a kaleidoscope of unrelated, disturbing stimuli which the lay individual is at a loss to relate and understand. Knowledge and understanding which are available to the professionals are thus denied to the general public.

Prof. Melvin Tumin of Princeton has commented: "Modern mass culture, with its capacity for rapid worldwide dissemination of information, taste, and scandal, should be able to bridge the gap between trained minds and untrained consumers, so that today's scientific findings would, by tomorrow at the latest, be in the possession of laymen, at some decent level albeit popularized. But the mass media, including book clubs, seem more often to insure that the layman's version of science will be distorted, or shallow, or even downright erroneous, with the propagation of false doctrine being justified on the grounds that it is provocative and controversial."

Perhaps our Government has failed to be legitimate because the mass media have failed to bridge the gap between the trained minds of the professionals and the untrained minds of the consumers. Seventeen years ago, the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* was based upon information the judges had received from trained professionals. Research findings of behavioral and social scientist during a 30-year period influenced the judges to state: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law: for the policy of separating races is usually denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation. . .therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school."

It is very difficult to compose a staccato headline that represents 30 years of professional studies. Therefore, reasons for the decision and research reports did not reach the public. The public only received a headline: Schools must integrate!!! A great part of the reporter's task is to translate professional language into layman's language. When this task is neglected or distorted, a communication gap results. In a recent issue of a respected newspaper in a major American city, front page headlines and articles described violence and opposition to busing, including the President's promise of "minimizing" the law to the best of his ability. On the inner page of the same issue was an article headlined: *Report on Integration Benefits*. This headline would lead one to feel that in the past integration had had no benefits and, therefore, legislative and judicial decisions had been based on a whim. The article erroneously presented a research finding as new information: "... a report presented Monday to the Sacramento Board of Education indicated that integrated black children made greater gains in reading and arithmetic than blacks in segregated schools... There is a hint in the study of something about the expectations of the (students') peer group...."

This is irresponsible reporting. The "hint of something" that the reporter wrote about in the recent present was theoretically suggested by psychiatrists and social scientists over 50 years ago and has been substantiated by numerous research studies during the past 30 years. These studies have shown that children's learning and achievement are not necessarily determined solely by high IQ scores or better school facilities. Children learn if they feel that they are worthwhile human beings capable of learning and achieving. Conversely, learning is impaired if children feel they are not acceptable as human beings by the major society.*

Social scientists have also correlated individual children's school achievement with the values and attitudes of their classmates. Research results indicate that a child needs to feel accepted by members of his own age group. Accepted and approved behavior may range from theft and destruction to achievement of high grades and preparation for college. If the children of the poor are placed

*Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 64.

**Robert L. Crain, "School Integration and the Academic Achievement of Negroes", *Sociology of Education*, 44: 1-26, Winter 1971.

***Norman E. Silberberg and Margaret C. Silberberg, "Reading Rituals", *Transaction*, 8:46, July-August 1971.

in environments which reflect hope, in schools where children aspire and feel assured of success, they seem to respond positively to this peer influence. Test scores in achievement, self-concept, and aspiration have indicated significant improvement in these areas.**

Antipodal to these demonstrated gains are national test scores recorded during a 5-year period under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. After almost one billion dollars had been spent yearly on compensatory education programs in schools that were virtually segregated, before and after tests suggest that "... only 19% of the children in such programs improve their reading significantly; 15% appear to fall behind more than expected, and more than two-thirds of the children remain unaffected—that is, they continue to fall behind."***

Although the foregoing findings from research are difficult to put into short exciting headlines, it is even more difficult to couch historians' theories in provocative phrases. Toynbee felt that some of the reasons civilizations perished over the millennia were national isolation and a caste society. Today, with our increasing suburban segregation of age, economic, racial, and social groups, we have many of the elements of a caste society. We also risk losing the hybrid vigor and exchange of differing cultural experiences that made us a great Nation in the past. Much of our opportunity for common experiences is disappearing from the scene. In the past, the automobile was welcomed for the geographic mobility and increased contact with others which it provided. Today, this is not true. The dirt roads connecting the main streets of America have been replaced by efficient freeways, highways, and thruways which efficiently transport us from our own group in one area to our own kind in another area, without awareness of the "other people". The "other people" have become, as Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America*, states, "invisible".

Because of the information explosion and the vast geographical expanse of our Nation, only the mass media can help bridge the limitations of personal experiences and provide the information and understanding needed to achieve a healthy and progressive society. Public opinion legitimately opposes busing, if only because the mass media have not adequately transmitted to all Americans the information available to the professionals who comprise our lawmakers, jurists, sociologists, and educators. This results in an unhealthy polarization of attitude and purpose between laymen and professionals which is detrimental to our national welfare. ■





A-95: DETERRENT TO DISCRIMINATORY ZONING

by Igor I. Sikorsky, Jr.

Zoning is a tool fashioned by the dying to house those yet unborn. It does not preserve but rather embalms. For zoning is a tool utilized by the white middle class in their studies on land use and conservation, sewers, and projected community growth to fulfill their own prophecies and to create white, middle class suburbs in perpetuity. Too few of us recognize it as one of our most blatant expressions of institutionalized racism.

Those in civil rights work know that zoning and planning are usually major tools of discrimination, coupled with *de facto* segregation, real estate practices, and residency requirements in Federal housing. Planning is utilized to preserve the pattern of economic and racial segregation rather than to encourage the growth of more heterogeneous communities. This is particularly frustrating since vast sums pour out of Washington, principally through the Departments of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), securing the future of more segregated suburbs and making impossible the vision of a free, balanced, and mobile American society.

In Connecticut we have watched the Federal Government literally spend millions to help build a new society, continuously growing more segregated. To combat this, the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities recently began to make use of a new tool to highlight its objection to such practice. A-95, or the Project Notification Review System, is this new instrument.

A-95 is the designation of an instructional memorandum circulated by the Federal Office of Management and Budget Control which authorizes various State and regional agencies to review and comment on all applications for Federal funding. This procedure is designed to facilitate coordination of State, regional, and local planning and development, but it also provides a review procedure to assure that Federal funds are expended in a way most beneficial to the whole community. In addition, A-95 is a means

Mr. Sikorsky, an attorney, is chairman of the State of Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities.

of challenging Federal grants that do not adhere to the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

By capitalizing on the bureaucratic system itself, in order to challenge Federal grants to municipalities guilty of discriminatory zoning and planning, it has been possible to exert a considerable amount of pressure in reducing the barriers to economic and racial integration at town, regional, and State levels.

The authority for the A-95 procedure originates in Title IV of the Inter-Governmental Cooperation Act of 1968 and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. An analysis of these statutes clearly shows that the social and economic health of communities as well as "human resource development" are important considerations and requirements; that the overall objective of all Federal programs is the general improvement of the living environment. It is this language which opens the door for the substantial human and civil rights comment on many Federal programs.

The A-95 process requires applicants for Federal grants to give notification of their anticipated application to the State and appropriate regional planning offices, hereinafter referred to as State and Regional Clearinghouses in light of the broad scheme of regional development. The application is then referred to other State or local agencies which might have an interest. They in turn consider it in a review capacity only. This review and comment capacity can be delegated to a development commission, a board of education, or a human-civil rights-related agency, with or without enforcement powers. Each agency is empowered to review and comment on the proposed application in view of its specific needs and desires.

The singleness-of-purpose that distinguishes a human rights agency from other "reviewers", such as boards of education and development commissions, is that of analyzing the discriminatory nature and impact of any program. "Social health, human resource development, and social welfare" are the criteria for assessment as to whether a project meets the qualifications for Federal funding. In order to make use of this important opportunity and, indeed, to fulfill their intended purpose, municipal, State, and regional human rights agencies should request that they be included on the list to be notified by the State Clearinghouse.

There are few Federal grants that do not have significant civil and human rights implications. Obvious examples are funds granted to housing authorities that continue to utilize residency requirements, and funds for sewer projects in towns which practice zoning discrimination. A-95 has no veto power as such, but it does force

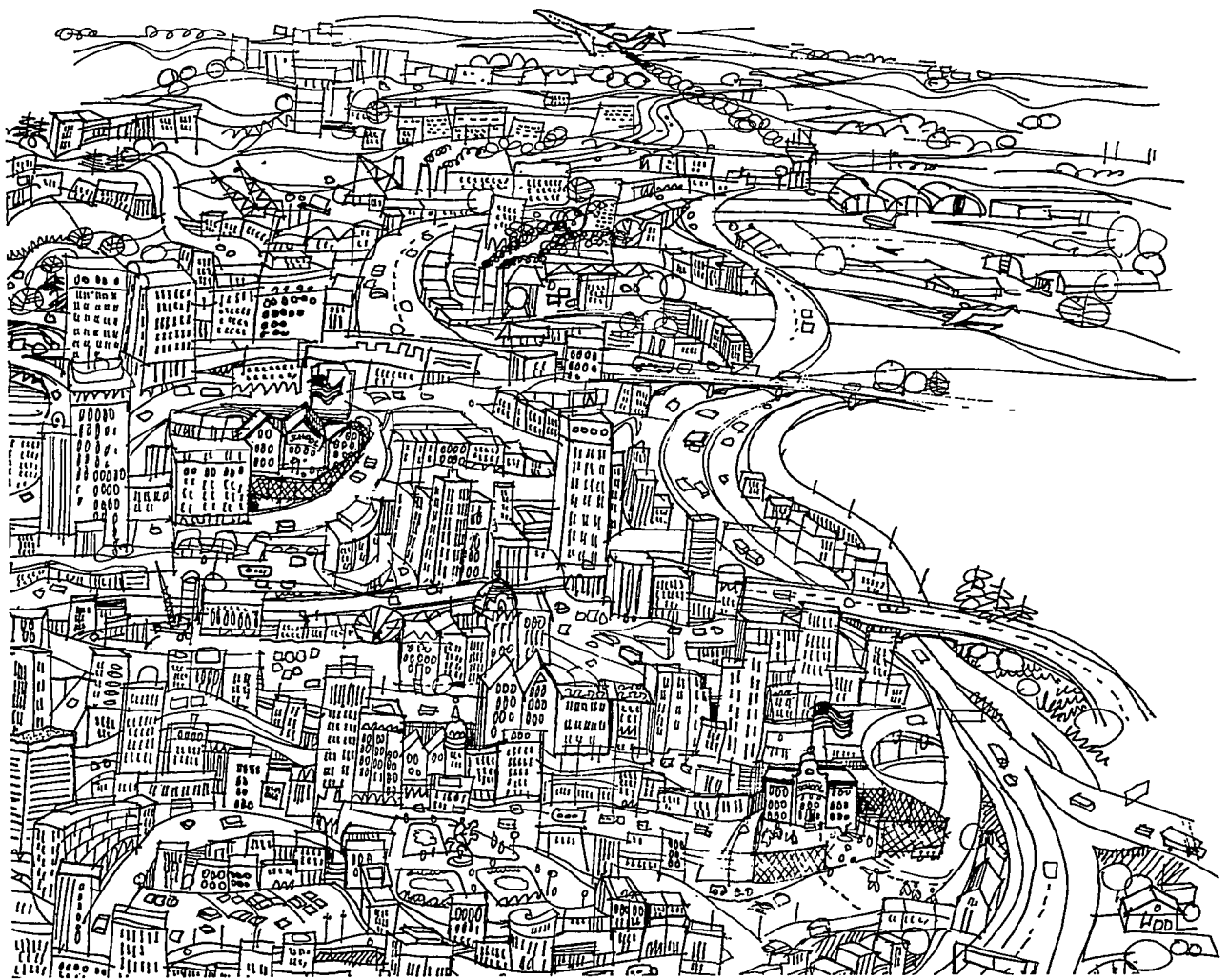
local communities, when challenged, to justify project grants in writing. Further, it educates municipal zoning and planning agencies to the realities of snob zoning and unfair residency requirements.

If a question is raised by any of the agencies, State or municipal, in reviewing the various fund applications, the Federal regulations require an effort to resolve the dispute. In Connecticut, this has meant face-to-face confrontations between officials of the community seeking the Federal funds and civil rights advocates objecting to exclusionary zoning policies. The regulations further provide that if any objections cannot be "resolved", the funds cannot be released at the State level. The issue must then be transmitted to the Federal Agency in Washington, D. C., which handles the disbursal of funds.

Since September 1971, the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities and municipal human rights and planning agencies throughout the State have had several opportunities to use the A-95 Process. As a result, a tremendous amount of leverage has been applied to implement human and civil rights goals. Following are illustrations of how the power which A-95 affords was put into practice in Connecticut.

BERLIN-NEW BRITAIN. New Britain is an industrial, decaying community with one of the highest unemployment rates in the East. Further, low-income housing seems to have been confined to the New Britain area by its surrounding communities, most of which have used zoning to exclude low- and moderate-income housing. The zoning regulations in effect in the suburban town of Berlin, for example, preclude any multiple-family dwellings. When the town of Berlin filed an application for approval of a sewer grant, the New Britain Planning Agency and the New Britain Human Rights Commission filed an objection to the grant on the grounds of exclusionary zoning practices. The grant was not cleared until Berlin pledged to revise its zoning in order to authorize apartments.

SIMSBURY. This town has also used zoning as a means of economic discrimination but in a far more subtle pattern. While apartments (and thus moderate-income housing) have been theoretically feasible, regulations have effectively restricted their use. The Connecticut State Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities filed an objection to a sewer grant on precisely the same grounds used in the Berlin case, charging that building lot requirements and single family dwelling requirements precluded all but the affluent from living there.



Negotiations between the Connecticut Commission and Simsbury selectmen and planners resulted in substantial concessions:

- 1) A pledge that the sewer plant would be designed to allow for and maintain low- and moderate-income housing development;
- 2) amendments to the zoning code that would provide for such housing;
- 3) assurances from the local planning commission that it would include new development of moderate-income housing in order to create a freer and more open and balanced community; and
- 4) an agreement to consider the adoption of a municipal ordinance for the formation of a local human rights commission.

These forward steps in community development would

never have occurred except for the forced negotiations.

The road to a humane and just society has been and is being paved with weak intentions. Discrimination is a system, a business, an institutionalized set of procedures, forms, and structures which have the direct effect of excluding whole segments of the population.

The Federal review process encompassed in A-95 is a means of throwing a bright light into the dark recesses of institutionalized racism. A-95 is a roadblock to the bureaucratic process and has the potential of becoming a bridge builder—a vehicle to repave sloppy and faulty roads built on discriminatory practices.

A-95, the Project Notification Review System, is currently being implemented with success in only a few areas in the country, but its potential for promoting free and open development of our cities and suburbs is significant. ■





BLACK AMERICANS IN SPORTS: UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR EQUAL ABILITY

by Norman R. Yetman and D. Stanley Eitzen

Since 1947, when Jackie Robinson broke the color line in the “national game” of baseball, the idea that organized sport has escaped the pervasive effects of racism has become one of the most cherished myths in American life. According to this myth, which is confirmed for most Americans by the prominence of Willie Mays, a Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, or a Gale Sayers, collegiate and professional athletics have provided an avenue of mobility for blacks unavailable elsewhere in American society and thus have “done something” for black Americans. However, an increasing number of social scientists, journalists, and black athletes have challenged this myth, charging that black athletes are exploited and that discrimination pervades the entire sports establishment. According to these critics, the existence of racism in collegiate and professional sports is especially insidious because the promoters of and commentators on athletics have made sports sacred by projecting an image of it as the single institution in America relatively immune from racism.

Several aspects of the athletic world have been alleged to be racially biased—recruitment policies, the assignment of playing positions, performance expectations, and rewards. One of the best documented forms

*Drs. Yetman and Eitzen are professors in the Sociology Department of the University of Kansas. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Graduate Research Fund of the university, and the material discussed here will appear in the author's forthcoming *Sport in America* (The Free Press). Copyright © 1972, Norman R. Yetman and D. Stanley Eitzen.*

of discrimination in both the college and professional ranks is the unequal distribution of blacks by playing position. This phenomenon, popularly known as "stacking", refers to situations in which minority group members are relegated to specific team roles and excluded from competing for others. The consequence is often that intra-team competition for starting roles is between members of each race (e.g., those competing as running backs are black while those competing as quarterbacks are white). Aaron Rosenblatt, for example, noted that while there were twice as many pitchers on a baseball team as there were outfielders, in 1965 there were three times as many black outfielders as black pitchers.*

An interesting interpretation of the stacking phenomenon has been advanced by John W. Loy and Joseph P. McElvogue. To explain the racial segregation that occurs in sports by position, they combined Oscar Grusky's notions about the formal structure of organizations (i.e., some organizational roles are more "central" to the organization than others because of their social interaction potential) and H.M. Blalock's proposition that the greater the degree of social interaction on the job, the greater the degree of discrimination.* Thus the more central a position to the action, the more likely it was that whites would be found in the position.



*Aaron Rosenblatt, "Negroes in Baseball: The Failure of Success", *Transaction* 4 (September 1967), pp. 51-53. Anthony H. Pascal and Leonard A. Rapping, *Racial Discrimination in Organized Baseball* (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1970) and Gerald W. Scully, "The Economics of Discrimination in Professional Sports: The Case of Baseball", Paper prepared for a Brookings Conference on Government and Sports Business (December 1971).

Their data for 1968 substantiated the hypothesis. For baseball, 83 percent of the persons listed as infielders were white, while 50 percent of the outfielders were white. The proportion of whites was greatest (27 of 28, or 96 percent) in the position of catcher, the most central position in baseball. In football, the positions most central on the offensive unit (center, guards, and quarterback) were 96 percent white in 1968. Our own analysis of the 1971 rosters of the National Football League (NFL) demonstrated that this strong relationship between role centrality and race has persisted. We found, moreover, that the greater the number of years in the league, the higher the proportion of white players in central positions (among those players in the league 1 to 3 years, 82 percent were white; 4 to 6 years, 90 percent white; 7 to 9 years, 96 percent white; and 10 or more years, 97 percent white. (This may be a consequence of the league having a smaller proportion of black players in the past. A better analysis would be to follow a cohort through their playing careers.)

This evidence demonstrates clearly that blacks are the victims of discrimination. The effects are more devastating than just limitation to certain positions, however, because playing in non-central positions has additional penalties. First, for the 17 of 26 teams returning the information to us, approximately three-fourths of all advertising slots (radio, television, and newspapers) allotted to pro football players in 1971 went to those in central positions. Second, non-central positions in football depend primarily on speed and quickness, which means in effect that playing careers are shortened for persons in these positions. For example, only 5.8 percent of the players listed in the *Football Register* in the three predominantly black positions—defensive back, running back, and wide receiver (62 percent of all black players)—were in the pros for 10 or more years, while 10.4 percent of players listed in the three predominantly white positions—quarterback, center, and offensive guard—remained that long. The shortened careers for non-central players has two additional deleterious consequences—less lifetime earnings and limited benefits from the players' pension fund, which provides support on the basis of longevity.

*John W. Loy and Joseph F. McElvogue, "Racial Segregation in American Sport", *International Review of Sport Sociology* 5 (1970), pp. 5-24; H. M. Blalock, Jr., "Occupational Discrimination: Some Theoretical Propositions", *Social Problems* 9 (1962), pp. 240-243 and Oscar Grusky, "The Effects of Formal Structure on Managerial Recruitment: A Study of Baseball Organization", *Sociometry* 26 (1963), pp. 345-353.

According to the Loy and McElvogue interpretation, the paucity of blacks in central team roles reflects the impact of wider societal stereotypes of blacks. Since it is widely assumed that blacks are intellectually inferior and incapable of leadership and that tension will be generated by placing them in leadership positions, blacks in sports are relegated to positions where the requisite skills are speed, strength, and quick reactions, not thinking or leadership ability. However, Barry McPherson has challenged the notion of "centrality", asserting that the unequal racial distribution of players occurs through a process of self-segregation; black male youths select those positions in which black sports heroes, who are among their leading role models, are most prominent.*



Although McPherson produces no empirical support for his explanation, it is conceivable that socialization variables contribute to the racial stacking patterns in baseball and football as noted above. Our own position is that this interpretation is plausible if socialization for sports roles is conceived to include negative, as well as positive, perceptions. That is to say, given discrimination in the allocation of playing positions (or at least the belief in its existence), young black males will consciously avoid those positions for which opportunities are (or are believed to be) low (e.g., pitcher, quarterback) and will select instead those positions where they are most likely to succeed (e.g., the outfield, running and defensive backs). As quoted by Jack Olsen in "The Black Athlete" (*Sports Illustrated*, Part

*Barry D. McPherson, "Minority Group Socialization: An Alternative Explanation for the Segregation by Playing Position Hypothesis", a paper presented at the Third International Symposium on the Sociology of Sport, Waterloo, Ontario, August 22-28, 1971.

IV, July 22, 1968), Gene Washington, all-pro wide receiver of the San Francisco Forty-Niners, was a college quarterback at Stanford through his sophomore year, then switched to flanker. Washington requested the change himself. "It was strictly a matter of economics. I knew a black quarterback who would have little chance in pro ball unless he was absolutely superb. . ."

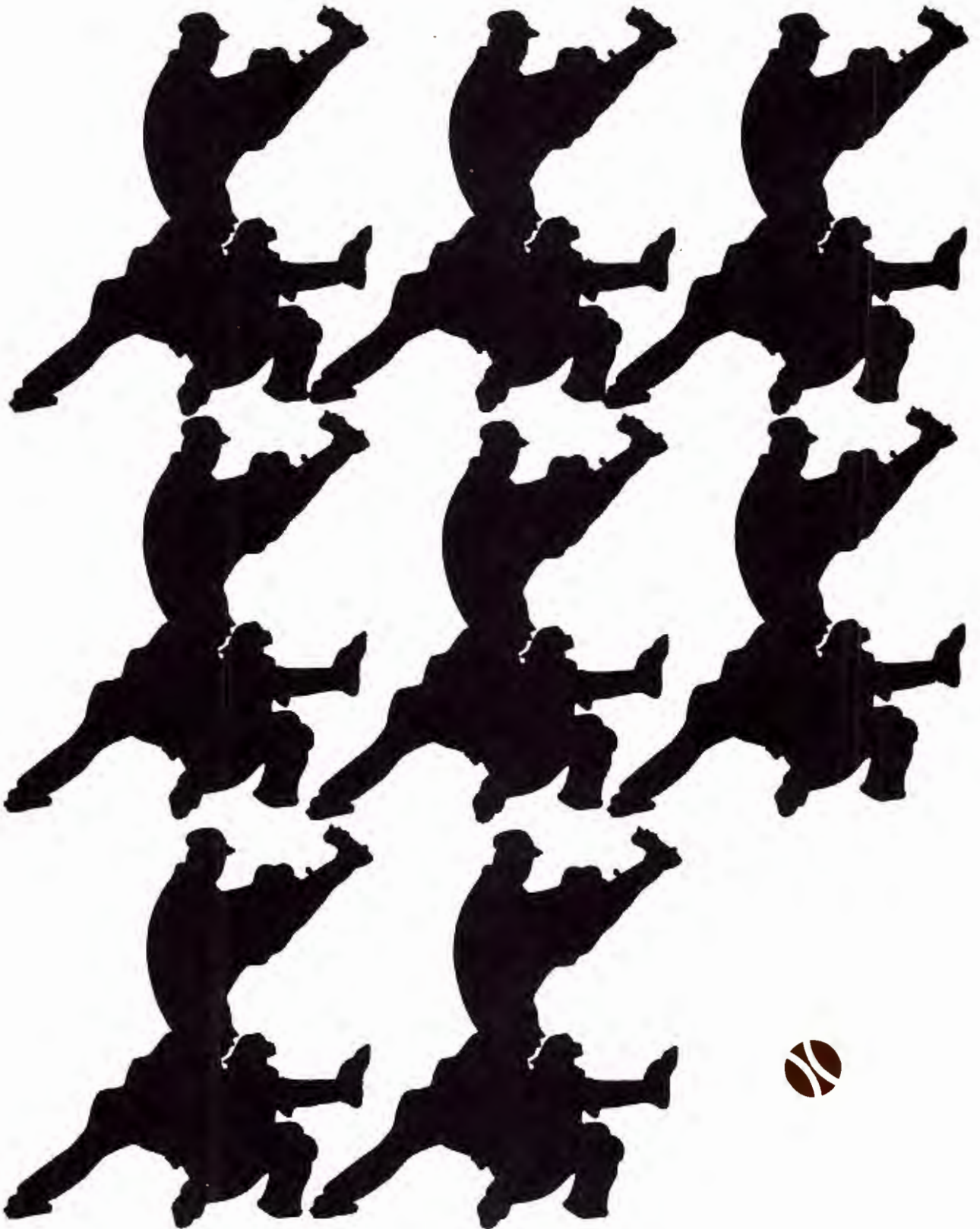
Another form of discrimination that allegedly occurs in professional sports is the discrepancy between the salaries of white and black players. At first glance such a charge appears to be unwarranted. Black players rank among the highest paid in professional baseball (seven of 10 superstars being paid more than \$100,000 in 1970 were black), and the mean salaries of black outfielders, infielders, and pitchers exceed those of whites. However, Scully reanalyzed data employed by Pascal and Rapping in an earlier study, and found substantial salary discrimination against blacks when performance levels were held constant, i.e., blacks earn less than whites for equivalent performance.

An obvious case of monetary discrimination becomes apparent if one takes into account the total incomes of athletes (salary, endorsements, and off-season earnings). Pascal and Rapping, for instance, citing the Equal Opportunity Commission Report of 1968, related that black athletes appeared in only 5 percent of the 351 commercials associated with New York sports events in the fall of 1966.* Our own analysis of the advertising and media program slots featuring starting members of one professional football team in 1971 revealed that eight of 11 whites had such opportunities while only two of 13 blacks did. Blacks also do not have the same opportunities as whites when their playing careers are finished. This is reflected in radio and television sportscasting where no black person has had any position other than providing the "color".

Officiating is another area that is disproportionately white. Baseball has had only one black major league umpire in its history. Professional basketball has only recently broken the color line in officiating. The same is true of football, which provides another case of racial "stacking". Blacks are typically found in the head linesman role—seldom in the role of head referee.

Although the percentage of black players in each of the three most prominent American professional sports (baseball, football, and basketball) greatly exceeds their percentage of the total population, there is ample evi-

*See also Ira Berkow, "Advertisers Shun Black Sport Stars", *NEA news release* (July 22, 1969).



dence that few opportunities are available to them in managerial and entrepreneurial roles. For example, the data from 1971 sources (*The Baseball Register*, *Football Register*, and *National Basketball Association Guide*) show that of the 24 major league baseball managers and of the 26 National Football League head coaches, none was black. Three of the 17 head coaches (18 percent) in the National Basketball Association (NBA) were black.

The virtual dearth of black coaches in professional sports is paralleled at the college and high school levels. Although many predominantly white colleges and universities have, in response to pressures from angry black athletes, recently made frantic efforts to hire black coaches, these have been almost exclusively as assistant coaches, and seldom has a coaching staff included more than one black. As of this writing not a single major college had a black head football or track coach, and only two major colleges (Northern Illinois and Arizona) had head basketball coaches who were black. This same pattern has characterized American high schools. Blacks, historically, have found coaching jobs only in predominantly black high schools. And, although the precise figures are unavailable, it would appear that the movement toward integration of schools during the 1960's would have had the effect of eliminating blacks from coaching positions, as it has for black principals and for black teachers in general.* So anomalous is a black head coach at a predominantly white high school in the South that when, in 1970, this barrier was broken, it was heralded by feature stories in the *New York Times* and *Sports Illustrated*, the latter in adaptation of a book on the subject.** And the situation would appear to be little different outside the South, where head coaches are almost exclusively white.

As for blacks in high executive positions in sports organizations, the evidence again points to discrimination. In 1971 no black held a high executive capacity in any of the 24 baseball organizations. There was one black in the baseball commissioner's office and one held an executive position in the NBA league office. Again it was a noteworthy event when former NBA star Wayne Embry was recently named general manager of the NBA Milwaukee Bucks, thereby becoming the first black to occupy such an executive position in professional sports.

**New York Times*, March 19, 1971, p. 1.

***New York Times*, May 18, 1970, p. 31; Pat Jordon, "The Man Who Was Cut Out for the Job", *Sports Illustrated* (October 11, 1971), pp. 19-22; Pat Jordon, *Black Coach* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1971).

A final form of discrimination in sport—one we will explore more fully—is unequal opportunity for equal ability. This means that entrance requirements to the major leagues are more rigorous for blacks—therefore, black players must be better than white players to succeed in the sports world. Rosenblatt was one of the first to demonstrate this mode of discrimination. He found that in the period from 1953 to 1957 the mean batting average for blacks in the major leagues was 20.6 points above the average for whites. In the 1958 to 1961 time period the difference was 20.1 points, while from 1962 to 1965 it was 21.2 points. He concluded that:

... discriminatory hiring practices are still in effect in the major leagues. The superior Negro is not subject to discrimination because he is more likely to help win games than fair to poor players. Discrimination is aimed, whether by design or not, against the substar Negro ball player. The findings clearly indicate that the undistinguished Negro player is less likely to play regularly in the major leagues than the equally undistinguished white player.

Since Rosenblatt's analysis was through 1965, we extended it to include the years 1966-1970. The main difference between blacks and whites persisted; for this 5-year period blacks batted an average of 20.8 points higher than whites.

The existence of racial entry barriers in major league baseball was further supported by Pascal and Rapping, who extended Rosenblatt's research by including additional years and by examining the performance of the races in each separate position, including pitchers. They found, for instance, that the 19 black pitchers in 1967 who appeared in at least 10 games won a mean number of 10.2 games, while white pitchers won an average of 7.5. This, coupled with their findings that blacks were superior to whites in all other playing positions, led them to conclude that: "... on the average a black player must be better than a white player if he is to have an equal chance of transiting from the minor leagues to the major." Moreover, Scully's elaborate analysis of baseball performance data has led him to conclude that "... not only do blacks have to outperform whites to get into baseball, but they must consistently outperform them over their playing careers in order to stay in baseball."

The findings of Rosenblatt, Scully, and Pascal and Rapping indicate that in major league baseball, at least, there is an unequal opportunity for blacks with equal ability. An obvious question is whether this type of

discrimination is found in other sports at the professional and collegiate levels as well. The thrust of the research reported here is to assess the allegation that black athletes are disproportionately overrepresented in the "star" category and underrepresented in the average or journeyman athlete category on collegiate and professional basketball teams. Whether the distribution of the races on basketball teams has changed over time also will be considered.

METHODS

A primary value of using sport as the focus of sociological research is that team and individual performances can be determined with relative precision and that the performance records are public information and easily accessible. Three sources of data were employed in this study. Information on college scoring averages of 4,120 players on 417 racially integrated teams was obtained from sports information directors of National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) member schools. The racial identification of the players was derived by examining the photographs in team press brochures and the *Converse Basketball Year Book*, which is published annually by Converse Sporting Goods. Finally, records for the NBA were found in the 1971-72 *National Basketball Association Guide*.

In a previous study we analyzed performances of players on 246 integrated NCAA 1970 basketball teams and discovered that two-thirds of the black players were starters. This situation was constant regardless of region, size, and type of school (whether private, denominational, or public) and NCAA classification ("university" or "college" division).*

For the present study we wished to obtain a historical perspective on the presence of blacks in organized basketball and to determine whether there have been changes in the positional patterns of black players over time. Consequently, we extended our analysis to include NCAA teams at 4-year intervals from 1954, the year of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that declared segregated educational institutions unconstitutional, to 1970. Prior to 1954, blacks were almost totally excluded from collegiate basketball squads at predominantly white institutions

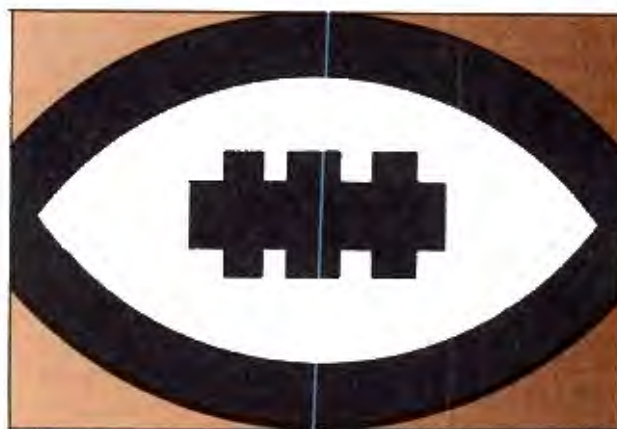
*Norman R. Yetman and D. Stanley Eitzen, "Black Athletes on Intercollegiate Basketball Teams; An Empirical Test of Discrimination", *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, Norman R. Yetman and C. Hoy Steele (eds.), (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), pp. 509-517.

and from the National Basketball Association.

Since our earlier analysis had demonstrated that the positional patterns of black athletes were virtually identical on NCAA university and college squads ("large" and "small" schools), and because major colleges were more consistently pictured in the *Converse Basketball Year Book*, we restricted our historical analysis to 126 major colleges that had an integrated team pictured in the *Yearbook* for the following years: 1953-54, 1957-58, 1961-62, and 1965-66. 1969-70 data were derived from our previous study. As we had done before, we requested final team and individual player statistics from a school's sport's information director for those years in which team pictures were available. Consequently, data were not requested for 4 years from all 126 schools; for a given year the data were requested only if the school's team had been pictured in the *Yearbook* and if it were integrated. Returns were received from 95, or 75 percent, of the schools. Of these, 86, or 67 percent, provided some useful information.

The first question that we wished to investigate concerned the extent to which basketball teams—collegiate and professional—were integrated during the period of 1954-1970. As in football and baseball, basketball was largely a segregated sport until the 1950's. Although there are records of black players on teams from predominantly white schools as far back as 1908, such instances were rare. In the professional game, the National Basketball Association remained an all-white institution until 1950, 3 years after Jackie Robinson had broken the color line in modern major league baseball and 4 years after blacks re-entered major league football after having been totally excluded since the early 1930's.*

Tables 1 and 2 document the striking changes in the



*A.S. Young, *Negro Firsts in Sports* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 238-250.

Table 1.

**Racial Composition of NCAA Basketball Teams,
1948-1970**

Year	Number of NCAA teams pictured in Converse Yearbook	Number of Black players	% of teams with Blacks	Black players as % of total	Avg. no. of Blacks on Integrated squads
1948	182	25	9.8 (18)	1.4	1.4
1954	184	83	28.3 (52)	4.5	1.6
1958	201	182	44.3 (89)	9.1	2.0
1962	239	241	45.2 (108)	10.1	2.2
1966	235	381	58.3 (137)	16.2	2.8
1970	253	685	79.8 (202)	27.1	3.4

Table 2.

**Racial Composition of Professional Basketball Teams,
1954-1970**

Year	Number of teams	Number of Black players	% of teams with Blacks	Black players as % of total	Avg. no. of Blacks/per total team
NBA 1954	9	4	44 (4)	4.6	.4
1958	8	11	87 (7)	11.8	1.3
1962	9	34	100 (9)	30.4	3.8
1966	9	57	100 (9)	50.9	6.3
1970	14	94	100 (14)	54.3	6.7
ABA 1970	11	80	100 (11)	57.3	7.3

racial composition of basketball since 1954. From the immediate post World War II situation (1948) when less than 10 percent of collegiate squads were integrated, to 1970, when nearly 80 percent contained members of both races, there was a substantial and impressive move toward integration. Not only were more schools recruiting blacks, but the number of black players being recruited at each school increased dramatically. The most substantial increase among collegiate teams was during the period between 1966 and 1970, which can be partly attributed to the breakdown of previously segregated teams throughout the South.*

* Cf. Frye Gaillard, "Crumbling Segregation in the Southeastern Conference", *The Black Athlete—1970* (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, 1970), pp. 18-40.

The changes in the professional game are even more marked, for blacks have clearly come to dominate the game—both numerically and, as we shall note more fully below, statistically. Although blacks comprise approximately one-tenth (11 percent) of the total U.S. population, they account for more than one-fourth (27 percent) of the Nation's collegiate basketball players and more than one-half (54 percent) of the professional players. The percentage composition of black players on college basketball teams is even more striking when, according to the *Chronicle of Education* (October 4, 1971), blacks comprised only 6.9 percent of undergraduate students in 1970 and that nearly half (44 percent) attended predominantly black institutions. Therefore, as contrasted to nearly two decades ago, organized basketball—on both the college and profes-



sional levels—has eliminated many of the barriers that once excluded blacks from participation.

Having determined that black players are disproportionately overrepresented on collegiate and professional basketball teams relative to their distribution within the general population, we wanted to examine more systematically the roles blacks played on these teams. Specifically, we wanted to determine whether they have been found disproportionately in the first five ranks (starters) and whether their average position ranking on a team has been higher than that of whites. We also wished to utilize historical data to determine whether the positional patterns had changed significantly in the years during which the percentage of black players had increased so dramatically.

We have operationally defined the top players according to their offensive productivity as measured by their scoring average. The five players with the highest scoring averages will be referred to hereafter as the top five, first string, top players, or starters. We believe that this method represents the best single measure that could be obtained, and that there is no appreciable bias involved in its use.

FINDINGS, COLLEGE BASKETBALL

The three tables below provide an answer to the question of whether blacks have been disproportionately represented in starting roles in college basketball. Table 3 presents the data, by year, on the percentage of players who were black for each of the 10 posi-

tions. Although the situation in 1954 is ambiguous, perhaps because of the small number of cases, there is a clear trend in each of the other years for starting positions to be overrepresented by blacks. Although there are a few minor deviations, for each year studied there is a progressive decline in the percentage of blacks occupying a position as scoring percentage declines. This is most marked in the distribution of black players in the Number 1 and Number 10 positions, respectively. While the black players comprised no more than 29 percent of all the members of integrated teams during the years 1958-1970, in each of these years nearly half of the leading scorers were black. Conversely, blacks were disproportionately under-represented in the Number 10 position.

Because of their overwhelming numerical superiority during the years examined, whites, comprising at least 70 percent of the total player population, dominate in each position (although in 1966 more than 50 percent of the Number 1 players were black). However, these data can be presented in another way—the distribution by rank for each race separately. Thus, rather than looking at the percentage of players in a specific rank who were blacks, we examined the percentage of black players (and white players) who were found in each rank. When examined in this manner, the linearity noted above remains; for blacks the percentage found in each rank position decreased as it became less valuable, for whites the percentage increased. Rather than presenting the data for all 10 ranks, we have organized Table 4 according to the distribution in the Number 1 rank and the total percentages of black players found in starting roles. These data reveal that between 1958 and 1970 no less than two-thirds—and as high as three-fourths—of the black players were starters. Moreover, black players consistently appeared most frequently in the leading player rank and, again with the exception of 1954, were more than twice, and often three times, as likely as whites to be found in that position. These data present solid evidence that, at least since 1958, blacks have been found disproportionately in the top five positions on college basketball teams and have been disproportionately underrepresented on the second five.

PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL

Nowhere else in professional sports have blacks come to dominate the game so completely as in professional basketball. As the data in Table 2 indicate, however, this has not always been the case. Table 5 reveals that, although in 1962 and 1966 blacks were

Table 3

Percentage of Blacks at Each Scoring Rank

1954-1970

Scoring Rank	1954		1958		1962		1966		1970	
	% Black	N ^a = 17	% Black	N = 35	% Black	N = 56	% Black	N = 61	% Black	N = 248
1	18	(3) ^b	46	(16)	48	(27)	52	(32)	47	(117)
2	18	(3)	29	(10)	34	(19)	46	(28)	42	(105)
3	18	(3)	25	(7)	27	(15)	39	(24)	40	(98)
4	12	(2)	29	(10)	18	(10)	26	(16)	36	(90)
5	12	(2)	11	(4)	36	(20)	26	(16)	26	(64)
6	30	(5)	17	(6)	11	(6)	16	(10)	27	(66)
7	6	(1)	14	(5)	13	(7)	20	(12)	18	(45)
8	6	(1)	11	(4)	14	(8)	13	(8)	20	(49)
9	6	(1)	11	(4)	7	(4)	18	(11)	17	(41)
10	12	(2)	6	(2)	7	(4)	7	(4)	17	(39)

^aRefers to the total number of integrated teams.

^bRefers to the number of black players at each position.

Table 4

Percentage of Players in Leading Scoring Ranks, by Race, 1954-1970

	1954	1958	1962	1966	1970
% of the Blacks on the starting five	57 (13)	69 (47)	76 (91)	72 (116)	66 (474)
% of the Blacks in leading rank	13 (3)	24 (16)	23 (27)	20 (32)	16 (117)
% of the Whites in leading rank	10 (14)	7 (19)	7 (29)	7 (29)	8 (131)

Table 5

Percentage of Black Professional Players in Starting Roles, 1958-1970

	1958		1962		1966		1970	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
	55	(6)	56	(18)	55	(27)	50	(43)
Total Number of Blacks in NBA		11		32		49		86

Table 6

**PERCENTAGE OF NBA PLAYERS BY RACE IN EACH
SCORING QUARTILE**

1957-58				
	black		white	difference
Upper quartile	25.0	}	27.7	- 2.7
Upper middle	41.7		21.7	+20.0
		66.7	49.4	+17.3
Lower middle	8.3	}	26.5	-18.2
Lower quartile	<u>25.0</u>		24.1	+ 0.9
	33.3	50.6	-17.3	
	100.0		100.0	

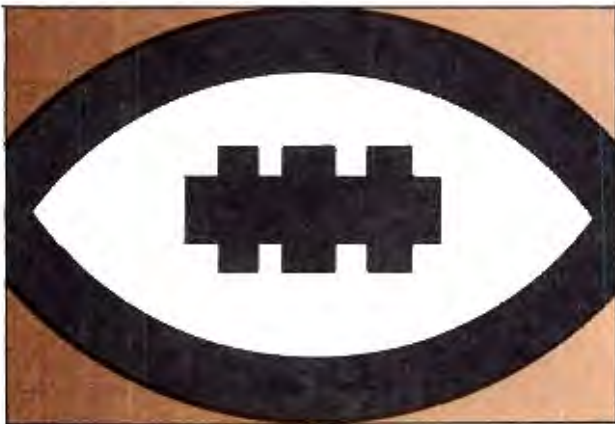
1961-62				
	black		white	difference
Upper quartile	32.4	}	21.8	+10.6
Upper middle	38.2		19.2	+19.0
		70.6	41.0	+28.4
Lower middle	23.5	}	25.6	- 2.1
Lower quartile	<u>5.9</u>		33.3	-27.4
	29.4	58.9	-28.5	
	100.0		100.0	

1965-66				
	black		white	difference
Upper quartile	29.8	}	20.0	+ 9.8
Upper middle	28.1		21.8	+ 6.3
		57.9	41.8	+16.1
Lower middle	24.6	}	25.5	- 0.9
Lower quartile	<u>17.5</u>		32.7	-15.2
	42.1	58.2	-16.1	
	100.0		100.0	

1969-70				
	black		white	difference
Upper quartile	30.5	}	17.9	+12.6
Upper middle	25.3		24.4	+ 0.9
		55.8	42.3	+13.5
Lower middle	25.3	}	24.4	+ 0.9
Lower quartile	<u>18.9</u>		33.3	-14.4
	44.2	57.7	-13.5	
	100.0		100.0	

slightly overrepresented in starting roles, the differences are not so pronounced as they were among college teams. Indeed, it would appear that any differences that may have occurred in the past are diminishing.

Since the number of players and teams is much smaller than was the case for collegiate basketball, the data for professional basketball have been organized somewhat differently. Following Rosenblatt's approach in analyzing major league baseball teams, we compared the scoring averages of black and white players for 1957-58, 1962-63, 1965-66, and 1969-70 (data for the scoring averages of all players in the league were unavailable for 1953-54). Although scoring averages were identical for both races in 1957-58, blacks outscored whites in the remaining years by an average 5.2, 3.3, and 2.9 points, respectively. It is apparent that



since 1962 the magnitude of these differences has declined as the percentage of black players in the league has increased.

In Table 6 these data are presented according to the scoring quartiles in which the players were ranked, looking at each race separately, with the goal of obtaining a percentage distribution for each quartile or half by race. It is here that the distribution of black players among the leading scorers is most marked. It is shown that in each year the percentage of black players in the league who were in the top half of league scorers was greater than for whites. Again, however, there appears to have been a progressive but significant decline from 1962 to 1970. This would indicate that as the NBA becomes increasingly dominated by blacks it has also become increasingly egalitarian. Although the pattern of preference for white players persists, the differentials have narrowed substantially. This is in contrast to the situation in professional baseball, where the mean batting average for blacks has remained 20 points greater than the

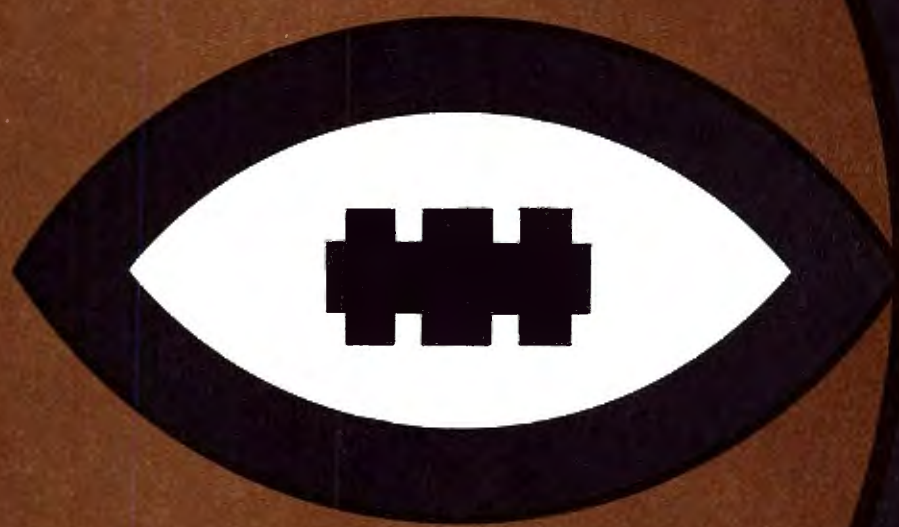
average for whites for nearly two decades.

One reason why the initial NBA scoring averages in 1957-58 were equal may be that, except in extraordinary cases where players (primarily big men such as Wilt Chamberlain and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar) have dominated the game as rookies, few players have achieved stardom immediately. Most players have to acquire considerable professional experience before becoming league leaders in scoring. In 1958, blacks were relatively new to the league, the 11 blacks then in the NBA having played an average of only 2.5 previous seasons. In several instances those blacks who were later to become superstars were, because of their inexperience, well down the ranks of scoring (e.g., Sam Jones, who in 1970 was one of 10 players voted to the silver anniversary NBA all-star team, averaged 4.6 in his rookie season, ranking 74th of 92 players in the league).

CONCLUSIONS

Although the patterns are not so strong among pro as among college teams, these data have consistently shown that black players in organized collegiate and professional basketball have been found disproportionately in starting roles. Several possible explanations for this phenomenon have been advanced. First, it has been suggested that blacks are naturally better athletes and their predominance in starting roles can be attributed to their innate athletic superiority. As sociologists, we are inclined to reject interpretations of black athletic superiority as genetically or physiologically based, although our stance must be an agnostic one, since there is too little evidence on the question. What is important to note here, however, is that although a genetic interpretation is a logical (if not entirely convincing) explanation of the disproportionate percentage of blacks found on college and pro teams, it cannot explain their prevalence in starting roles. Even if blacks possessed genetically based athletic superiority, they should not be systematically overrepresented in starting positions, but should still be randomly distributed throughout the entire team. As Jim Bouton, a former major league baseball player who has challenged the racial composition of major league baseball teams, has written, "If 19 of the top hitters are black, then almost two-thirds of all hitters should be black. Obviously it is not that way."* An Interpretation based on the natural superiority of blacks must, therefore, be

*Jim Bouton, *Ball Four* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1970), p. 302.



rejected.

A second possible explanation is discrimination in recruiting practices. Harry Edwards has charged that college coaches, in their recruitment of blacks, seek to obtain only those players who are almost certain to be starters.

*A black athlete generally fares well in athletic competition relative to other incoming athletes at a white-dominated college. The cards are somewhat stacked for him, however, because few black high school athletes get what are typically classified as second-and-third string athletic grants-in-aid. One simply does not find black athletes on 'full-rides' at predominantly white schools riding the bench or playing second-or-third team positions. Second-and-third team athletic grants-in-aid are generally reserved for white athletes.**

This appears to be a plausible explanation of the data for both college and professional players. On the one hand, the coach may be consciously or unconsciously prejudiced and may find the idea of having black team members repugnant, but nonetheless he may recruit black "star" players because their presence will enhance his team's performance. In this situation the black player who is capable, but not outstanding, is liable to be overlooked, while his white counterpart is not. In addition, coaches are sensitive to criticism of their coaching policies by powerful alumni, booster organizations, and fans. In a situation where these groups are perceived by a white coach as bigoted, even if he himself is not, it is likely that his recruitment of black players will be calculated to minimize criticism of his coaching policies. Therefore, black team members are more likely to be outstanding athletes, for the performance of average ballplayers would be inadequate to counterbalance the criticism their presence would create. For many years a "quota" system, limiting the number of black starters, operated informally in both college and professional basketball.**

The selective recruitment of only those blacks certain to be starters may be undertaken consciously or unconsciously, but it would appear seldom to be

* Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

** William F. Russell "Success is a Journey", *Sports Illustrated* (June 8, 1970), pp. 81-93.

acknowledged by a coach. However, one of the Nation's most highly successful college coaches, one who has been acclaimed as a recruiter adept at communicating with young black ballplayers, has advanced a sophisticated rationale for the reason three of the four blacks on his 1970-71 squad were starters. "The ghetto environment of the black demands that he be a star, if he is to participate at all," he explained. "He could never justify an understudy's role to himself or to the brothers he left behind in the playground. Thus there is no point recruiting blacks who will not start."** Whether this impressionistic theory of black sport role socialization is valid or merely a justification for selective recruitment must be more fully assessed.

Another explanation that has been advanced to explain the disproportionate number of black starters is that of structural inequalities—especially educational and economic—that are found in the larger society and have disproportionate effects on black, as contrasted to white, athletes. Thus, athletic ability, talent, and associated skills are not the only criteria by which a potential college athlete is selected. Academic ability is also a crucial factor to be weighed in the decision of whether or not to award an athletic scholarship. One of the major problems in the recruitment of an athlete to compete for a college or university is that he may be academically unqualified for the academic demands that a college athlete must face. Since the quality of elementary and secondary education received by blacks has been demonstrated to be inferior,** a greater percentage of potential black athletes would tend to be marginal students.

Moreover, most universities reflect a white middle class cultural bias that represents a substantial hindrance to students from backgrounds other than white and middle class. Thus, while a coach may offer a scholarship to an outstanding player who is a marginal student or to a marginal player who is an outstanding student, he will most likely hesitate to offer a scholarship to a marginal player who is also a marginal student. These factors are important ones for the college coach to weigh, and, although racial factors may not enter into these calculations directly, the effects of these kinds of policies will be felt disproportionately by blacks.

*Quoted by Robert Lipsyte in the *New York Times* (March 1, 1971), p. 37.

**James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966).

This appears to be a plausible interpretation of the data and, indeed, there are undoubtedly situations in which these kinds of considerations have operated. Fortunately we possessed some data that enabled us to test how significant a factor this may have been in explaining our earlier findings. As part of our original request of sports information directors, we requested information on the grade-point averages (GPA's) of the players. We received information on all members of 110 integrated teams. If the argument that academic potential is a significant variable influencing the relative recruitment of marginal black players is valid, then one would conclude that the GPA's of second-string black players would be higher than those of first-string blacks, for whom the academic considerations would be a less crucial factor.

We found that the average GPA's of the 106 starting blacks in our sample was 2.26 (on a 4-point scale), whereas the average of 98 second-string players was 2.33. Although this slight difference is in the predicted direction, it did not even approach statistical significance. Thus, although these considerations may have been operative in specific cases, they must be dismissed as factors in substantially influencing the distribution of the data.

The limited access of blacks to institutions of higher learning may also be instrumental in contributing to the patterns described above in another way. Each competing educational institution has only a limited number of athletic scholarships to dispense each year and these are awarded to outstanding players. However, often a squad will have players from the student body—"walk-ons"—who have not been recruited by the coach but who "try out" for the squad and make it. Because blacks comprise an extremely small proportion of the student bodies at predominantly white institutions, most such non-scholarship athletes will be white. Thus, a team may be composed of several outstanding black and white players on scholarship and several mediocre players who are white.

A final explanation of the disproportionate black prowess in both college and professional basketball resides in the structural limitations to which black children and adults are subjected. Since opportunities for vertical mobility by blacks in American society are circumscribed, athletics may become perceived as one of the few means by which a black can succeed in a highly competitive American society; a male black

child's and adolescent's primary role models are much more likely than a white's to be athletic heroes.* And the determination and motivation devoted to the pursuit of an athletic career may therefore be more intense than for the white adolescent whose career options are greater. Jack Olsen, in his *The Black Athlete*, quotes a prominent black coach:

People keep reminding me that there is a difference in physical ability between the races, but I think there isn't. The Negro boy practices longer and harder. The Negro has the keener desire to excel in sports because it is more mandatory for his future opportunities than it is for a white boy. There are nine thousand different jobs available to a person if he is white.

On the other hand, James Green of the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, has questioned whether the lure of a professional career completely explains the strong emphasis on athletics among blacks. He argues that the explanation that blacks manifest a "keener desire to excel . . . because it is mandatory for his future . . ." simply reflects the commentator's own future orientation. An alternative explanation of strong black motivation, according to Green, is the positive emphasis in black subculture that is placed on the importance of physical (and verbal) skill and dexterity. Athletic prowess in men is highly valued by both women and other men. The athletically capable male is in the comparable position of the hustler or the blues singer; he is something of a folk hero. He achieves a level of status and recognition among his peers whether he is a publicly applauded sports hero or not.

Whatever the factors operating, the conclusion that black athletes encounter discrimination in collegiate and professional basketball seems inescapable. Despite the myth to the contrary, equality of opportunity for those of equal skills is not operating. This conclusion has implications that extend beyond the sports world. If discrimination occurs in so public an arena, one so generally acknowledged to be discrimination free, and one where a premium is placed on individual achievement rather than upon ascription, how much more subtly pervasive must discrimination be in other areas of American life, where personal interaction is crucial and where the actions of power wielders are not subjected to public scrutiny. ■

This article has benefitted from the comments of Ken Kammerer, George Sage, Jim Green, Tom Johnson, and Gary Ross as well as from the assistance of Mary Lou Kraft, Ron Lowe, Steve Siegel, Nancy Simons, Sandy Speckman, and Betty Steffens.

*The prominence of sports stars among role models of black adolescents has been suggested by Joseph Himes, "Negro Teen-Age Culture", *Annals*, 1961.

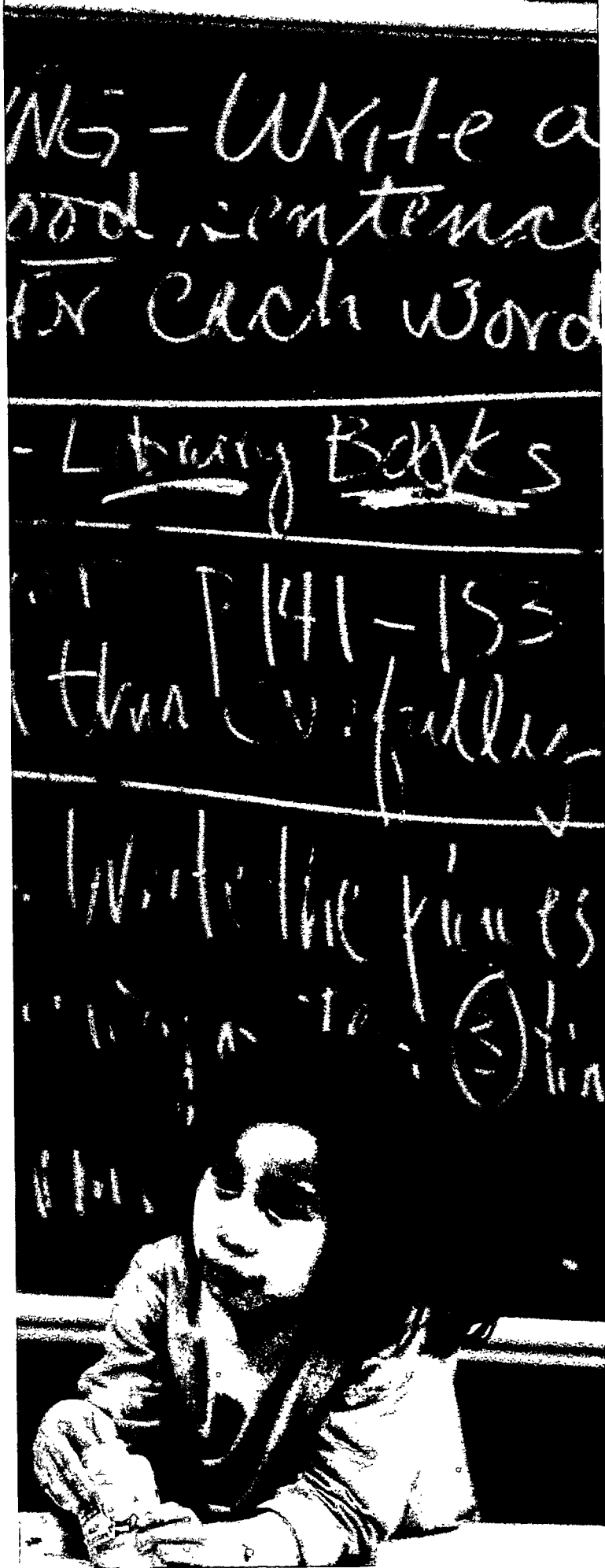
All They Do Is Run Away!

by Katy and Armin Beck

The problem of the "daily racial insult", not a thing of the past, is in fact one which is the cause for much concern among some teachers and some students, particularly in desegregated schools. When black and white children get together at school it is often under the eye of a watchful teacher who is alert to prevent or curb racial slurs or innuendos. But what if you're neither black nor white, and the teacher, in observing a restless day in the classroom of a desegregated school, says: "They're really behaving like wild Indians today, aren't they?" If you're an Indian child, what do you say now? Chances are, nothing. You go off, confused, and probably cry a little, but there's nothing for a child to say. If it's brought to her attention, the teacher says something like, "I didn't mean anything personal; she's too sensitive!" Surely, those are words that have been heard before, in a different racial context. But, as many teachers have discovered in their concern over black-white relationships, they themselves are sometimes not quite sensitive enough.

Dr. Beck is an associate professor in the College of Education of the University of Illinois. Mrs. Beck is a former teacher and school board member.

AUGUST 1972



We are white parents who have children in a northern school system that deliberately desegregated itself several years ago. No court involvement; just heavy community pressure. In our family, besides several white children, are a 6-year-old daughter, an Asian (Filipino) child, an 8-year-old American Indian (Chippewa) girl, and a black child, a 4-year-old boy. All are in school except our youngest son, who starts next year.

Our expected school concerns initially were with his enrollment in school because of his black skin. That may yet come. As it turned out, however, we were too complacent about our two daughters. They each are subject to almost daily racial insults from other children in the school—on the bus, on the playground, in halls, and in classrooms. Because of that, we have observed what happens in such situations.

Our Oriental child, a beautiful, bright, and delicate first grader, came home one day and said, "Why do they always run away from people like me?"

"Do you mean from little first grade girls?"

"No, they don't like Chinese-Japanese people. I don't know why."

"People don't call you names any more, do they?"

"Yes, they still do, but not all the time. Now they run away from me. I try to be nice and friendly, but all they do is run away. Why?"

Another day our youngest daughter came home from school and said, "They don't like Chinese or Japanese children; I'm Filipino, but they don't know that. Maybe if I tell them, they'll be friends." We fear, however, that once they know she is an Asian American, they may be confused for awhile, but that won't stop the racial cruelty that brings on tears and incredulosity. The stereotypes are too deeply rooted.

Our daughters were in kindergarten when we first noticed negative actions and feelings leveled toward them. For example, as the youngest got on the bus, children would start to chant, "Ching-ching chinaman, sitting on a fence," and she, of course, would shed some tears, if not there, then later in the safety of her own room. We have always maintained a good relationship with the school teachers and other officials. And when these incidents were brought to their attention, they were very apologetic, while vowing to develop more programs on Orientals.

Not satisfied with that answer, we mentioned the sort of cruel behavior our girls had experienced to an Oriental acquaintance of ours who also has children a bit older. Her view was, "Of course we recognize this type of situation. The same thing happens to our

children. At first, we tried to do something about it in the school, but that only made matters worse. So we've stopped trying to change the school. We go to the Parent Teacher Association (PTA), we do everything we can to support them privately, but not publicly. We hope you do the same."

That discussion curtailed our vocal show of concern very much. Here were parents who had concluded that the hurts resulting from drawing attention to their children's dilemma are more painful for the children than the hurts their children receive from racial insults. Here we were, parents who had seen some progress made in both city government and in schools toward equality of educational opportunity, and who believed that this progress came about by striking at any institutions which allow lethargy and the comfort of the status quo to the detriment of its people. And we were being told to "cool it". We did, therefore, refrain from further discussion with the school officials concerning incidents involving our children. We bowed to the superior experience and knowledge of the Oriental parents; we knew very little about race relations in a nonblack, nonwhite context.

We do know now, however, that our relative silence has not improved the relationships, but we do not know if it would have been better if we had insistently raised the issue. Since these earlier discussions with our friends we have been given a different point of view by several Orientals in the teaching profession. Their feeling is that stereotypes must be exposed regardless of the possible discomfort. Only in this way can they be dealt with by most of us. There will still be unkind remarks but it will eventually be only the exception as practiced by a few unkind persons, not the rule as practiced by many through ignorance rather than malice.

Another question we have tried to deal with is who "they" are. The girls always say "They don't like . . .", and then finish in behavioral terms. Who are "they"? In this situation, at least, "they" are both black and white children, indiscriminately separate or together.

Could it be that black children, most of whom know so well firsthand what the "daily racial insult" is all about, have assumed some of the same insensitivity toward other minorities as many white persons have historically possessed? Could it be that children who are neither white nor black are really viewed as less acceptable, less desirable as play and work friends, or even as having less humanity or intelligence? What is the arena in which such behavior can flourish?

The public elementary school which our children



attend is an exceptionally good one; perhaps one of the best in the country. It is a "laboratory" school with an outstanding bi-racial staff and administration, with the most exciting individualized learning programs imaginable. Our children love school with the exception of the unpleasant instances mentioned. Yet, there is the nagging thought in our minds that it should be better; that there should be a humanness about interactions that would transcend both skin color and relationships between black and white children; that the hundreds of hours over the past few years which the staff have given to the examination of their own and their students'

inter-personal racial relations have not been enough. What is the problem and how could it be solved?

As many PTA's do, last year brochures were sent home urging people to attend the meetings at school. Good programs were planned; and, in my opinion, officials of the PTA are the finest people a school could have. Nevertheless, here is a description of one of the brochures. There were pictured caricatures of four children of different races, each one saying something to let the parents know that the children wanted them to attend. The white child had long hair, a nice smile, and said, "Yeah, yeah, yeah," the type

of words that were often heard on the pop music stations in our area: white popular music. The black child had an Afro haircut, a nice smile, and had his fist raised in a gentle-appearing way, while he said, "Right on brother." These two caricatures were supportive of positive aspects of the culture. In all probability, neither black people nor white people would feel demeaned by these pictures. The third child was an Indian. Although he, too, had a nice smile, he wore an Indian headdress and said, "Ugh!" The Oriental child's spoken words were, "Ah soo!"

Many white children in the school have long hair and at least when they listen to their transistors, snap their fingers and sing "Yeah, yeah, yeah".

Many black children have Afros, raise their fist on occasion, and say "Right on".

These two are caricatures, but not harmful ones. But no Indian children that I know of come to school wearing a headdress, and certainly by the time they're in kindergarten, they can say more than "Ugh". A demeaning caricature, to say the least. And no Oriental children we know try to communicate with their parents, teachers, or classmates by saying "Ah soo!"

All four pictures were stereotypes with an element of truth in them, but two at least gave a positive supportive image to children. The other two were caricatures of relics of days long past.

When this was brought to the attention of the PTA, the response was one of mortification and personal apology to us. Friendly as it is, however, apology is not the answer. Somehow, we felt relationships must get beyond skin color and get into those of a common humanity.

At the height of our daughters' problems this year, a day concluded with tears and fighting. Our oldest daughter, who has already learned to take pride in being Indian, is physically what her sister is not. She plays football as well as any other second-grader and better than most. She is of necessity a good physical and ideological defender of her sister. This particular day several children were picking at our youngest daughter after school. Our oldest daughter along with her brother (an older white child in our family) intervened, and the children turned on her. By the time she got home, she had been punched and thoroughly frightened.

The problem lay again, at least partly, in the fact that the girls are neither white nor black. The school has programs and a curriculum in Indian lore, where several classes build tepees, make clothes that Indians used to wear, weave beads, and have a speaker from

the nearby Indian Center. But this doesn't help an Indian child today, any more than it has helped the Sioux as a nation to regain some of the wealth and beauty of the Black Hills for their own use.

Our hunch, however, is that as the school children build the tepees and listen to the lore, they are, in their own minds, making relics of the Indians attending schools and living on reservations. Descendants of each racial group or nationality who came to this country over the past hundreds of years live in the present and in the United States. We are not viewed, for example, as running around in armor today and running people through with lances; or in wooden shoes strenuously scrubbing the roofs of our houses. Those are interesting parts of ethnic history to be read with excitement and pride. But in relating to one another, we should see ourselves as we are today, in a world of which we are now part. The newly developing black studies programs seek to give pride in black history, while also providing a forum for black persons to define their place in today's modern world. But we still tend to hang onto a view of the Indians, Orientals, or Spanish people as we thought they were long ago and far away. It is good and important that our schools attempt to make the historical perspectives of these peoples more accurate. But we also must learn about people as they are today in order to know them.

If the schools are going to teach about reservation life, and they should, they must be willing to go beyond the romance of the peace pipe. They should examine the poverty, racism, and ethnocentrism to which today's Indians are subjected, and they must examine the people who do the subjecting. The fact, for example, that only white people are allowed to live in the towns on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota should be examined. It is not enough to praise the Indians for feeding Pilgrim settlers. The Indians' attitude toward early settlement in this country must be taken into account today. They willingly shared land and goods with the white men and tried to teach them to cooperate with nature instead of working to subdue it.

With that kind of understanding in the schools white Americans will no longer look upon Indians as in past but in modern, realistic terms. Thus, Indians of today can begin to cope with the ethnocentric behavior toward them simply because this behavior will lessen.

The school's reaction to the problems encountered by our younger daughter has been somewhat the same. "We'll take up and emphasize the study of China or

Japan, their history, and their people." But our daughter isn't Chinese, she's Filipino. She doesn't live in the Orient, she lives here. We want the school to study Asian cultures, just as we want them to study African cultures and even white Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultures. However, it should not do so because the teachers think it, by itself, can help the children. It can't. It will make them cultural exhibits, perhaps, or relics, but it will not help them to be treated as flesh and blood human beings. The schools' responses, not only where we live, but generally, have been inadequate to the problem.

Is there anything that can be done about these problems? Should they be attacked? Or should we say of the children, "You're too sensitive. This is what life is all about. You'll get used to it?" We think there should be more than that; we think these are serious problems that are damaging to all children, and that schools and parents alike should be about the business of resolving them. This is especially true of desegregated schools because the writers, at least, and our colleagues and friends believe that successful participation in American life means that both the oppressor and the oppressed be aware of what's happening to them. This awareness comes about not through sublimation of the problem, but through active discussion. In fact, it will probably be necessary, at least for awhile, for parents to insist that the schools become concerned with human relations and that they work with teachers in this endeavor.

Second, in-service training programs should be broadened and extended. We note a serious deficiency developing in desegregated schools around the country. Some faculties feel that they are now experts in race relationships, having worked in desegregated schools and probably having had some in-service programs in race or human relations. Since they are now allegedly experts, the school feels that such in-service workshops can be considerably reduced or dispensed with.

We do not agree. The programs of the workshops we examined have never gone beyond black and white relationships into questions concerning people who are neither black nor white. Further, examination of the condition and treatment of nonblack/nonwhite people in all of North America has almost never been undertaken in the schools. There is a rapidly emerging wealth of material from which to draw, particularly for information and understanding about the Indian, the Puerto Rican, and Mexican American conditions, and their relationships with the majority group.

Third, based on the sensitivity and understandings

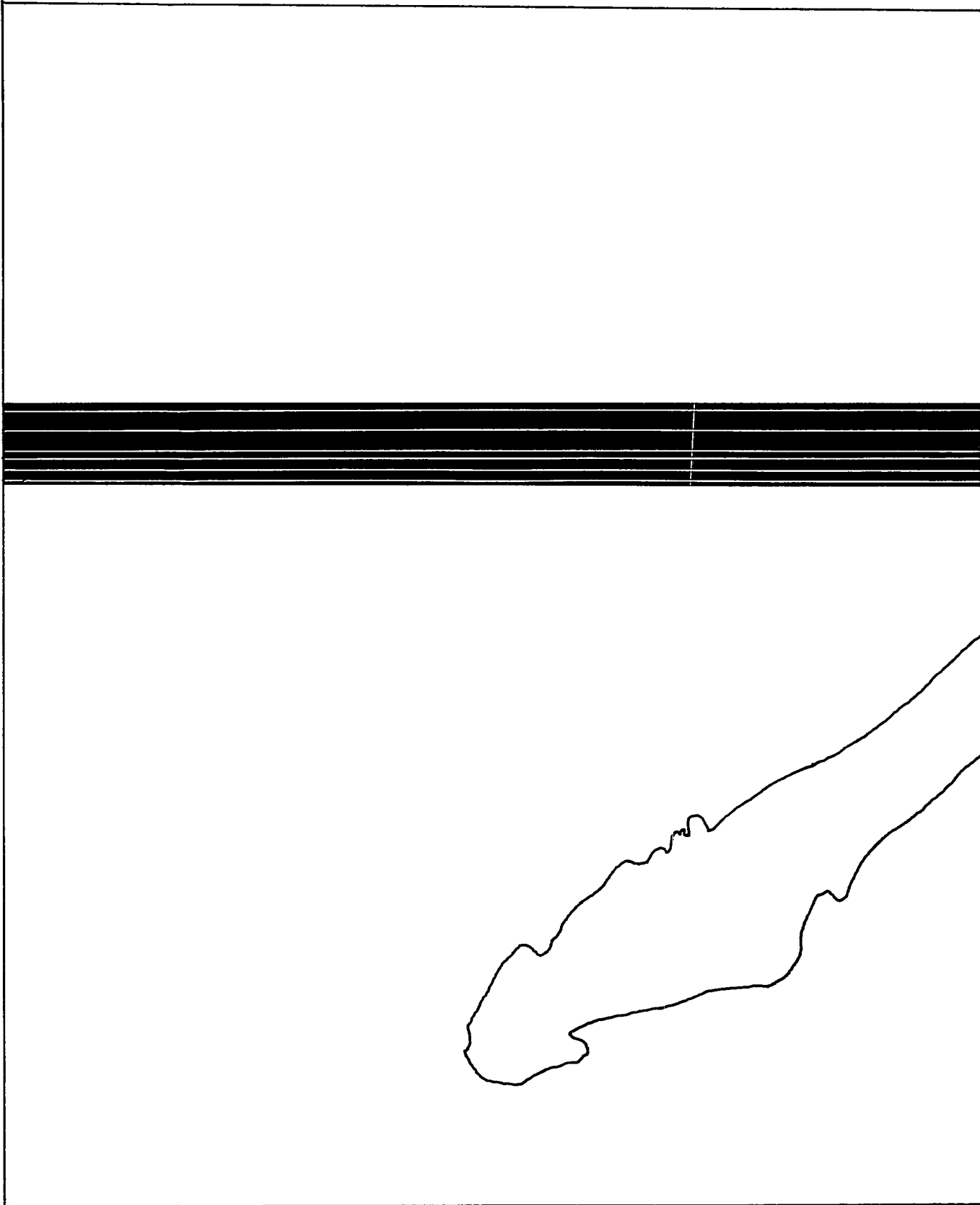
gained from such study, in-school curriculum, from pre-school through high school, should be modified and developed to bring it into line with the reality of the conditions of all people. It is no longer acceptable for Spanish Americans to be discussed as the "manana" people; nor Oriental Americans as quaint; nor Indian Americans as pets or savages. They are not past or present relics; they are living today. The curriculum and other school activities should reflect this fact.

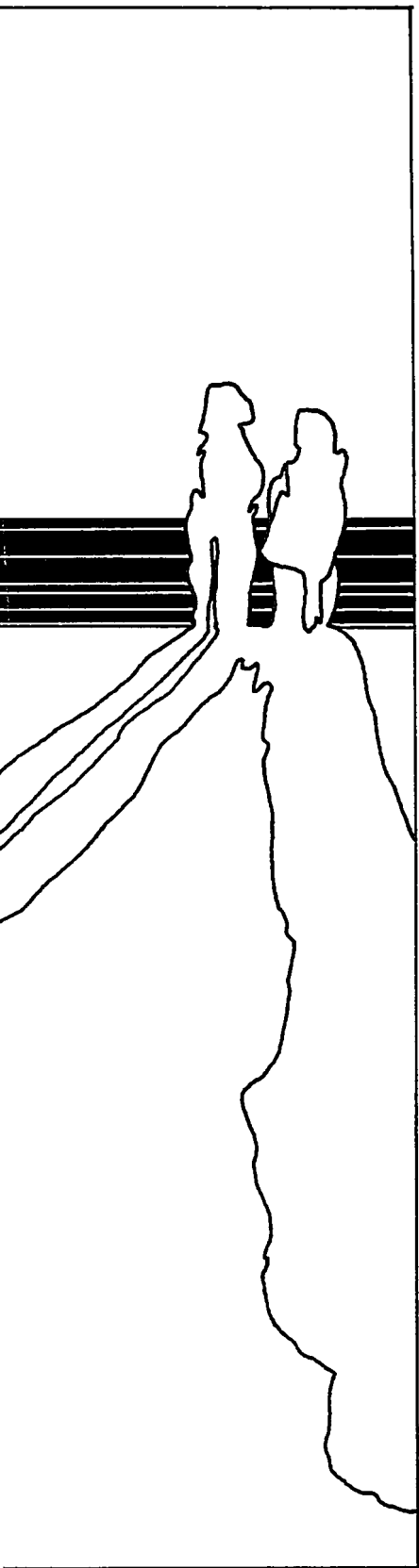
Programs in these areas should be developed by the "experts" in these fields. School personnel are surely competent at creating devices and activities in social studies or cultural studies, but just as surely the subject matter to be included belongs to the real experts. In art, for example, we turn to those artists who have taken an interest in education for their input on course content. In Jewish Studies, we turn for information to the rabbis who are devoting their lives to the understanding of Judaism and the fostering of Jewish Studies. So, in Spanish American heritage we need content from the experts: Spanish American community leaders. In Indian American heritage, we need communications with Indian leaders, both on and off the reservations. These people know about their cultural heritage as anthropologists and others outside the culture never can. They know what will give a child inner pride in his racial or ethnic background. They also know as no one else can what their heritage gave and can continue to give to the mosaic of American culture.

Again, using material from the in-service training programs mentioned earlier, community programs should be developed. They are probably best done through the PTA's, the local media, and such organizations as the League of Women Voters and the NAACP. These groups assumed considerable leadership in the examination of black/white relationships in the past, especially in preparation for desegregated schools. There is no reason why they cannot do the same now, given a real concern on the part of the schools.

A final caveat is in order here. Neither schools nor parents should use this new-found concern as an excuse to diminish the black/white problem. Too much is undone in that area to begin to ignore it now. What we are hoping for, therefore, is not a replacement of concern from black to nonblack, but an addition. Concerns should be tailored to individual schools, even to an individual child.

So that no child suffers the experience of "the daily racial slur", it is indeed time that "they stop running away". ■





A NEW DIMENSION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAMS

by A. Glenn Mower, Jr.

A new dimension may be added to the civil rights program in the United States as a result of an international instrument now awaiting ratification by this and other Governments in the Western Hemisphere. This instrument is the *American Convention on Human Rights*, negotiated in November 1969 in a conference held in San Jose, Costa Rica, and attended by 19 members of the Organization of American States (OAS), including the United States.

The proposed Convention provides an opportunity to carry forward the long-standing efforts of those people of the United States who strive to insure that the basic freedoms of all persons within this country are protected. It also provides one more level of appeal—the international—for those individuals or groups who feel that their rights

Mr. Mower is a professor of political science at Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana.

have been violated.

Additional protection such as this may not appear to be any more necessary for the people residing in the United States than for those in Great Britain, another country with a long history of positive concern for fundamental freedoms. But the experience of the British with the European Convention on Human Rights indicates that there is a place for an International "Court of Appeal", even in the life of a country that has traditionally held human rights in high regard.

Furthermore, even a country which is most advanced in the matter of respect for basic rights is still imperfect in this regard and can, therefore, benefit from the stimulation that is provided by international standards and mechanisms. And, finally, no country can be sure that it is immune from moments of temporary hysteria, when rights are ignored, or from unintentional lapses from high standards on the part of Government officials

who, after all, are fallible human beings.

The American Convention on Human Rights also opens the door for effective cooperation by the people of the United States, through their Government, with the efforts of fellow Americans in the Western Hemisphere to live in dignity and personal security. This possibility exists by virtue of the implementary machinery described in the Convention, in which the United States would participate.

The Convention therefore promises much for all the peoples of the Americas. By accepting it, Governments will be making a new commitment to the people living in their territories that they will enjoy certain basic civil-political rights. Some of these are the right to peaceful assembly; to life, liberty, and personal security; to humane treatment; to a speedy and fair trial if accused of a crime; to privacy; to freedom of conscience and religion; to freedom of thought and expression; to property; to participation in government; to protection as a family; and to mobility without hindrance in the country of residence.

By ratifying the Convention, Governments will also be promising to make certain that their people enjoy the kind of social and economic life that is described by the OAS Charter in the standards it sets concerning these matters. This means, among other things, that efforts are to be made to insure a fair distribution of the national income; to modernize rural life and bring about reform in land tenure systems; to stabilize price levels; to provide fair wages, employment opportunities, and acceptable working conditions for everyone; to wipe out illiteracy and provide educational opportunities for all persons;

to bring people the benefit of modern medical science; and to provide adequate housing.

The Convention not only spells out the standards that are to prevail in the political, social, and economic life of the American people, but it creates international agencies to provide help in the difficult task of putting these ideals into practice. One of the most important of these bodies is the Commission on Human Rights, composed of seven persons elected by the OAS General Assembly. An Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has, of course, been at work since its creation in 1960 by the OAS Council; but now the Commission is to have the support of an agreed set of standards and other aids, such as a Court of Human Rights, as it continues its efforts to make the American people more aware of what their rights are and of what they can do when they feel that these rights have been denied.

If a person living in an American country whose Government has approved the Convention believes that one of the rights guaranteed in the Convention has been violated, and, if he has gone through all of his Nation's legal procedures and still has not received satisfaction, he may send a petition to the Commission on Human Rights of the OAS. If the petition passes the criteria established in the Convention, the Commission will then take the case and, through various procedures, try to work out a just settlement of the problem with the Government that is involved.

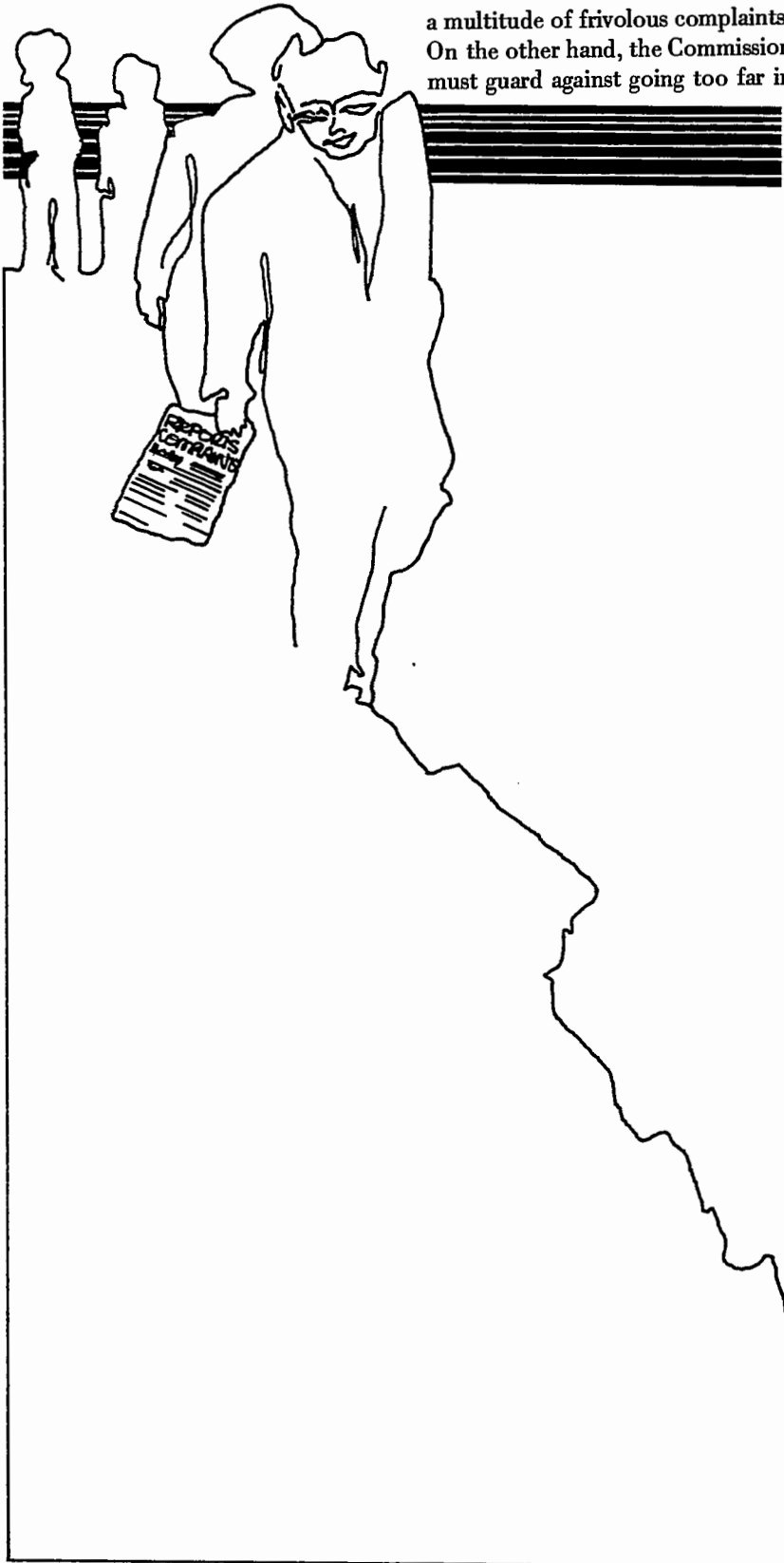
The first objective of the Commission, in a case it has accepted, is to assist the individual and the Government involved to reach a friendly settlement of the issue. If this fails, the Commission can take additional steps. It can make sug-

gestions to the Government, based on an investigation into the situation; it can submit the case to the Court of Human Rights (if the country concerned has accepted the jurisdiction of the court); if the facts of the case justify such action, the Commission can set a period of time within which the accused Government is to correct the situation described in the complaint; and, if necessary, it can publish its report on the situation, thereby bringing additional moral and political pressure to bear on the Government to correct the wrong that has been done.

The Commission on Human Rights will play a central role in the new human rights program in ways other than handling complaints. One such function will be taking responsibility for conducting studies and making reports regarding the status of rights in the American countries. The Commission has already shown that it wants to make these studies and reports meaningful by, for example, going into countries to conduct onsite investigations. If it continues and expands this positive approach, the Commission would produce reports and studies that will be helpful because of their frankness, realism, and practical treatment of problems.

How successful the Convention can be in bringing about a higher regard for human rights in the Americas will be contingent on many factors. The effectiveness of its Commission on Human Rights will be a major one. This organ of the OAS does not have an easy role to play. It must, for example, win the confidence of Governments, whose power over internal and foreign affairs is a practical reality that must be recognized. Such confidence cannot be won if the Commission harasses Governments with

a multitude of frivolous complaints. On the other hand, the Commission must guard against going too far in



protecting Governments from complaints; for, if it does, it may then be guilty of turning away people who really deserve to be heard.

The Convention, of course, does set some standards to guide the Commission as it decides whether or not to accept particular complaints. These standards, however, like all guidelines, can be interpreted and applied either conservatively or liberally. In other words, the Commission can decide how wide the door is to be opened to individual petitions; this ability places great responsibility upon the agency.

The extent to which the peoples of the Americas benefit from the Convention will also depend very considerably on the attitude and actions of the Governments of these countries. The obvious first supporting step by Governments is to ratify the Convention.

Ratification should not pose any serious problem for the Governments of this hemisphere, since the national constitutions of these Nations express the same dedication to basic freedoms as does the Convention. Moreover, the process of negotiation that went on at the San Jose Conference produced, in the words of a number of the participants, a Convention that the various Governments could live with. Not all the delegations, of course, were happy with every provision within the Convention; but this is inevitable in any international project and does not alter the fact that the document produced at San Jose is one that was basically acceptable to the Governments represented there.

But the program cannot be a success unless Governments do much more than formally accept the Convention. If the Convention is to contribute to a better life for

all American people, it and its agencies must have the active, positive support and cooperation of their respective Governments.

Such support and cooperation mean, in the first place, that these Governments are willing to face their Nations' rights problems honestly and openly. If they are, then they will respond fully and completely to the Commission on Human Rights' requests for information, even to the extent of consenting to onsite investigations of human and civil rights situations in their countries. They will also participate, in good faith, in the Commission's efforts to bring about a friendly settlement of complaints brought to it.

If Governments are to take this favorable attitude toward the Commission's endeavors, it will be necessary for them to continue to move away from their traditional preoccupation with the idea of non-intervention. American Nations have long been opposed to any intrusion into their domestic affairs, regardless of whether this intrusion was by another country, alone, or by a group of countries operating through an international association. Recent years, however, have seen a gradual departure from this position, and an increasing willingness to see the benefit that can result from the activities of certain international agencies, even though these activities, strictly speaking, are a kind of interference in domestic matters.

Active support of the Convention and its agencies by Governments also has meaning for one very specific and practical matter: finances. It is the Governments of the American Nations who must vote the funds needed to support this part of the work of the OAS. Without strong financial backing, there will be serious problems in

going ahead with, for example, efforts of the Commission as it attempts to fulfill its mandate to "promote respect for and defense of human rights"... and... "to develop an awareness of human rights among the peoples of America."

Educational and promotional projects such as publications, radio and television programs, seminars, and fellowships can be very helpful in developing a better understanding of human rights; just how helpful such techniques will be depends, to a large degree, on the extent to which Governments are willing to make money available to the OAS and its Commission.

In addition to making it possible for the OAS and its agencies to carry on an effective educational program on behalf of human rights, Governments can and should make this kind of endeavor a part of their own national action plans. It has been said that Governments of American Nations have thus far done little to help their people understand what their rights are and what they can do to claim them. As the question of human rights receives more attention through the adoption of an international Convention, it is hoped that Governments would respond by giving this question a primary place on their own lists.

To give individual rights a higher national priority means doing so not only for educational purposes, but for the far-reaching purpose of linking human rights with the economic-social reforms that are needed if more of the people of the Americas are to enjoy a good life. The economic-social standards set forth in the OAS Charter represent the areas in which progress needs to be made. For such progress to occur, it will be necessary for Govern-

ments to take positive, sustained, and highly informed action. In taking such action in economic-social matters, however, these Governments must also be alert to the possible threats to civil-political liberties that may accompany aggressive attacks on economic-social problems. Governments, in other words, face the very difficult task of promoting and protecting both kinds of rights: economic-social and civil-political.

A sound assumption of the American Convention on Human Rights is that if human rights are held in high regard, people will live happier, more secure, and more productive lives. Another assumption is that human rights are everybody's business; and "everybody" includes both national Governments and international institutions. It also includes private associations, such as churches, schools, the family, labor and business groups, and political parties; for these groups can contribute significantly to making people more aware of what their rights are and what they can do to enjoy them more fully.

The Convention provides a basis for this broad kind of education; in fact, at least some of the delegates at the San Jose Conference were particularly concerned that the conference produce a Convention that would be "as simple as possible, so that the common man can understand it." It is important that all people become aware of the rights that they can enjoy and encourage others to learn about them. In the final analysis, the surest defense of basic freedoms is the knowledge that the people have concerning their rights and the determination that these rights will not be permitted to remain only scraps of paper. ■

Reading & Viewing

BOOKS

The Black Soldier: from the American Revolution to Vietnam, co-edited by Jay David and Elaine Crane. New York, William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1971. 246 pp.

A saga of tragedy and courage of America's black soldiers. These 19 selections illustrate the black soldier's, and later the sailor's and fliers, two-front war: the first conducted against his country's common enemy, the second against his Nation's racism.

Build Me a Mountain: Youth, Poverty, and the Creation of New Settlements, by I. Ira Goldenberg. Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1971. 498 pp.

In the 1960's, the War on Poverty dramatized the plight of "the other America". This volume is a documented 5-year study under Dr. Goldenberg's directorship of the New Haven Residential Youth Center, and its socio-psychiatric approach to a group of delinquent adolescents.

Chicano Manifesto, by Armando B. Rendon. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1971. 337 pp.

This is a history and description of the aspirations of the second largest minority in America—the Chicanos. With great insight and determination, the author has written a comprehensive manifesto that is not only an economic, philosophical, political, and spiritual history of

his people, but a call to action as well.

Freedom from Dependence: Welfare Reform as a Solution to Poverty, by Stanley and Glenn Esterly. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1971. 178 pp.

The authors point out that the disadvantaged poor need above all else a basic minimum income that they can count upon to relieve their deprivation and assure their clear right to a genuine sense of self-respect. They believe that the President's Family Assistance Plan is a significant step in the right direction, although it falls short of the type of humane income maintenance program that is needed. Here is a comprehensive treatment of the fundamental considerations concerning income maintenance useful to laymen as well as scholars.

Red Man's Land/White Man's Law: A Study of the Past and Present Status of the American Indian, by Wilcomb E. Washburn. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971. 280 pp.

This is a history of the legal status of the American Indians and their land, from the period of first contact with Europeans to the present day. Current pressures to win justice for the aboriginal peoples of the United States have produced much sympathy for the Indians, but any reasonable solution of their problems must rest on their claims in law and by rights. For this, a knowledge of the facts is essential, and Wilcomb Washburn's brief but authoritative study supplies them.

Red Power: the American Indians' Fight for Freedom, by Alvin M. Joseph Jr. New York, American

Heritage Press, 1971. 259 pp.

In 1970 President Nixon sent to Congress a message embracing a fundamental change in the Federal Government's disastrous attitude toward American Indians. The stage for this message had been set over the previous 10 years, during which time Indian militancy burgeoned—especially among the young—and Indian affairs changed more quickly and more profoundly than ever before. This unique book is a documentary history of that critical decade.

Report from Black America, by Peter Goldman. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1969, 1970. 282 pp.

This report, the third in a series of *Newsweek* surveys begun in 1963, spans the three most tumultuous years in modern American history—a time of warfare at home and abroad, of political assassination, and of social upheaval. Through the skillful blend of public-opinion sampling and journalistic probing that has become the hallmark of this series, the pattern of black opinion emerges—the depth is of individual emotion and the texture of ghetto life as a whole.

Resources for Social Change: Race in the United States, by James S. Coleman. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971, 119 pp.

This essay provides a systematic framework that will aid in implementing the process of gaining resources (power) among blacks in the United States. Although the volume concentrates exclusively on the problems of blacks gaining power in American society, many of the points introduced are of general relevance to the problem of bringing power to powerless groups.

The Rule of Law, edited by Robert Paul Wolfe. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1971. 254 pp.

At a time when many Americans are insisting on more rigid enforcement of laws, while others deny the legitimacy of the entire legal system, nine of America's foremost lawyers and social critics have analyzed the meaning of legal order in America. From the perspectives of philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and history, they consider the extent to which law maintains stability, resolves disputes, and protects freedom, and the extent to which it favors special interests and inhibits social change. This book develops a number of new perspectives on the law and legal institutions, asking new questions, demanding new answers.

STUDIES AND REPORTS

The Black Electorate: a Statistical Summary. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies. (*Research Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1972).

Crime and the Law. The fight by Federal forces to control public problem number one in America. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1971. 91 pp.

Ethnicity in America, by John Hope Franklin, Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Raymond W. Mack. New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1971. 47 pp.

Politics in America. Edition IV. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1971. 156 pp.

The Poor in 1970: A Chartbook. Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity. Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation,

1972. 70 pp.

Spanish Speaking in the United States: A Guide to Materials. Washington, D.C.: The Cabinet Committee on Spanish Speaking People, 1971. 175 pp.

FILMS

American Indian Series. In this series Robert Burnett, a former tribal chairman, tells the following story: "General Sherman once asked, 'What is an Indian Reservation?' and the answer was, 'An Indian Reservation is a parcel of land set aside for Indians and surrounded by thieves.'" As true today as it was then, the message and its current implications are emphasized time and again in these three 25-minute reels. In the first reel we see an example of how treaties are still broken to serve governmental and corporate interests. In the second the murdering Indian savage stereotype is addressed. The often brutal removal of Indians from their land to distant and unfriendly reservations is tied to the Ghost Dance and the fateful Indian uprisings of the late 1800's. Reservations as they are today and the people on them are the subject of the third reel. The inhumane conditions of reservation life and the incidence of suicide among young Indians are shocking beyond one's worse expectations. Although the second reel seems to wander a bit, with material on the Ghost Dance and the Massacre at Wounded Knee appearing unexplainably at both start and finish, the last reel is far and away the most important of the three, and makes the series worth viewing. It is in color, 16mm, and suitable for all ages. Produced by McGraw-Hill Films, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, New York 10036. ■

Book Reviews

IN THEIR PLACE: WHITE AMERICA DEFINES HER MINORITIES, 1850-1950, by Lewis H. Carlson and George A. Colburn. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.: New York, 1972.

Reviewed by Jack Alan Robbins

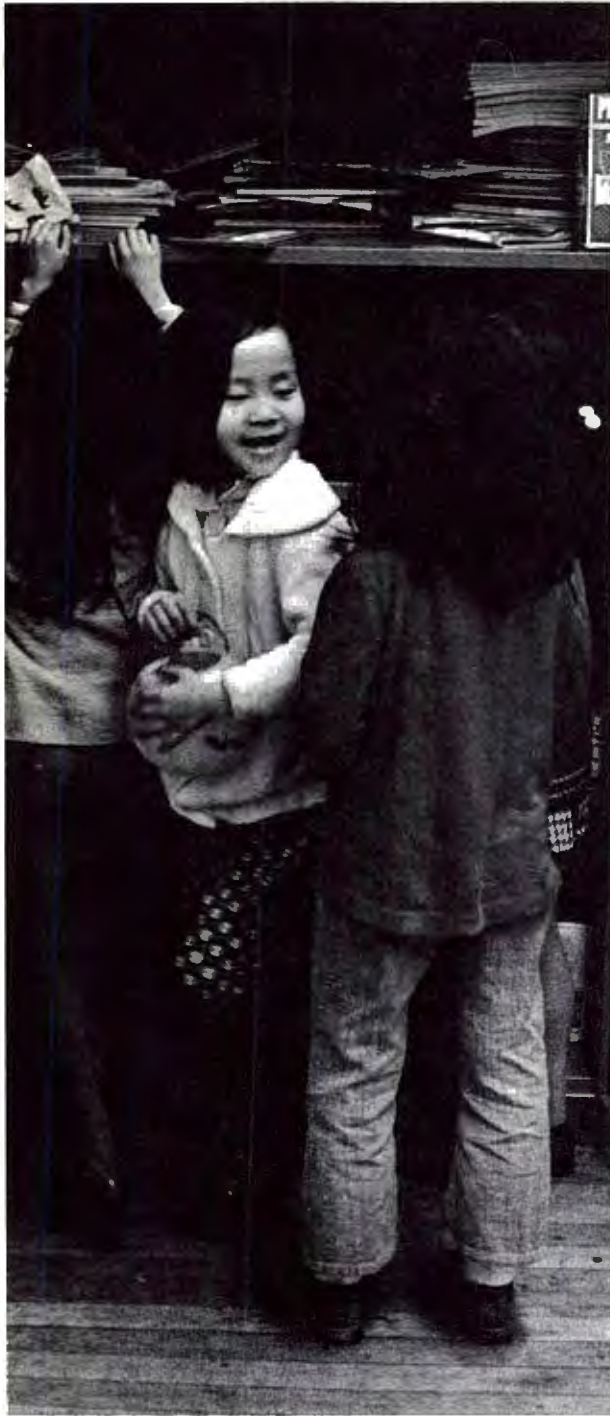
President Nixon's trip to China was an enlightening experience for many Americans. The most far-reaching significance of the television coverage of this trip was that the visual images of daily life in China on that 24" screen forced many Americans to re-examine their notions of China and the Chinese. Watching television we saw families returning from work and picking up their children at day care centers. We saw some homes and were able to envision what the daily routines would be for many Chinese families. Our prior stereotypes of an implacable foe, of ideological fanaticism, and of masses of barbarous hordes had to give way.

In the same manner over a much more prolonged period we have been re-examining our notions of our own minority groups in the United States. This process began in World War II but really gathered momentum after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on "separate but equal" educational systems. The changes in our views on minority groups are obvious, but how far have we gone and how far have we to go?

Lewis H. Carlson and George A. Colburn have allowed us to gauge this distance in an important new book: *In Their Place: White America Defines Her Minorities, 1850-1950*. For a decade now there have appeared a wealth of books on our minority groups with emphasis on where *they* are and where *they* are going. This has been essential as a step in the movement from self-perception to the articulation of objectives to the attainment of those objectives by whatever means. But through this perspective we have lost sight of that larger and dominant white majority.

Racism and discrimination are not the products of

Dr. Robbins is executive director of the Mount Vernon, New York, Commission on Human Relations.



our minority groups; it is the response of the white majority to these minority groups. The movement for the bettering of the conditions of the minorities, in terms of economics, politics, and culture, is only one-half of the job that has to be done. If that effort is to succeed, there must be a corresponding attack on racism and discrimination directly within the white majority. It

is to this task that Carlson and Colburn address themselves. *In Their Place* is directed to white America because, in the editors' words, "until whites understand why this country put its minorities 'in their place', there will be no escape from that 'place' by those still outside society's mainstream."

The editors have selected material from the speeches of Presidents and Congressmen, from Supreme Court decisions, from scholarly journals, popular fiction and mass-circulated magazines, and newspapers of the years between 1850 and 1950 that deal with our minority groups. They have ignored the extremist fringe of society where strong racist attitudes are to be expected. Rather, Carlson and Colburn have endeavored to reveal the attitudes that have enabled racism to flourish in the mainstream of our society and in our institutions. What emerges from this book is the fact that many if not most Americans never really accepted the notion of the "melting pot". Or, rather, that the "melting pot" concept did not extend to the Indians, the Afro-Americans, the Chicanos, the Chinese-Americans, the Japanese-Americans, the Jewish-Americans, and the immigrants.

A few examples from *In Their Place* will indicate the exclusionist intent of mainstream America. We have Teddy Roosevelt's statement to the effect that nine out of every ten good Indians are dead Indians. There is President Woodrow Wilson's defense of introducing segregation in Federal Agencies. A *Saturday Evening Post* editorial of 1930 argues against allowing in "Mexican peon laborers" because "the dilution of the people and institutions of this country has already gone much too far". In 1902 a leader of the Women's National Industrial League of America demanded the Chinese be excluded from immigration as a threat to the morals of American girls. For the Japanese-American there were the relocation camps during World War II. In 1922 President Lowell of Harvard spoke in support of a quota system on the admission of Jewish students. Kenneth Roberts, a popular journalist before becoming a novelist, in 1922 declared that the influx of immigrants from East Europe would result in a "mongrelization" of America.

For those of us who are actively working in the field of civil rights, this book makes depressing reading on the whole. That there has been change in the overall picture of minority group relations since 1954 allows us to read some of the documents with a sense of humor. This anthology will be particularly useful for high school and college students; they have grown up in the midst of years of ferment. *In Their Place* will enable them to view what has happened and what is happening from a wider perspective. ■

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

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal

developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress; and,
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.