SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND BLACK NATIONALISM:

AN APPLICATION OF

KARL W. DEUTSCH'S MODEL OF NATIONALISM

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Social Communication and Black Nationalism: An Application of Karl W. Deutsch's Model of Nationalism

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In <u>Nationalism and Social Communication</u> Karl W. Deutsch has developed a model to aid in the study of nationalism. The purpose of this model is to enable the researcher, investigating a national movement, to make some predictions concerning its outcome.

The purpose of this thesis was to test the adequacy of Deutsch's model for a study of black nationalism in the United States, and to see what, if any, predictions might be made concerning the outcome of such a movement. The thesis was developed in accord with Deutsch's basic framework: evidences from psychological and sociological research to indicate the amount of social cohesion in the black community; applications of various demographic data to determine the direction and rate of assimilation; and, discussion of other factors, e.g., educational facilities, which will further influence the direction of assimilation.

It was found that while there was some evidence of cohesion within the black community, the community felt that its values and goals could best be obtained in an integrated society. Population groups which will either actively support or oppose a national movement have grown rapidly since 1900, causing the black community to consciously define itself. Language, educational, economic and cultural factors

that occur within the black community tend to be weakly differentiated, if at all, from those in the general society. The only strong factor differentiating the black community was that of symbols.

It was concluded that Deutsch's framework is adequate for developing some insight into the future of black nationalism, but in order to make prediction possible better criteria for determining the assimilated population were needed. It was found that the integrationist trend in the black community seems to be strong, but that continued frustration in reaching goals might give impetus to a strong black nationalist movement.

INTRODUCTION

It is hard to imagine that even the most casual participant in American life has not developed a sense of racial awareness. This awareness has been marked by tensions between black and white communities, including the appearance of Negro leaders who address themselves to the possibility of national separation as a solution.

For the majority of white Americans it can be assumed that most of their information about black Americans, and black nationalistic movements, is from the mass media. Yet this source of information leaves some serious gaps in attempting to assess what is occurring; it provides little information on the actual or potential strength of black nationalism.

It therefore seems appropriate to apply the model of national development formulated by Karl W. Deutsch in <u>Nationalism and Social Communication</u> to a study of black nationalism in the United States. The deficiencies Deutsch found in his general consideration of nationalism exist in the study of black nationalism, i.e., a wealth of empirical data and qualitative descriptions without quantitative measures and methods of prediction.

Deutsch began his study with a survey of the literature on nationalism and nationality. From this survey he was able to distill those
elements which are a part of nationality; a relationship to the physical
environment, a common history, interlocking habits and roles which are
part of social institutions, and an attachment to symbols. These elements were seen to form a configuration of social behavior which is

related to each individual's personality. It was also found that an individual might be able to change his nationality or his position within it; however, such a change would be slow and could not be anticipated within a single generation. Lastly, it was determined that nationality and nationalism originated and developed within a historical context. 1

For a major portion of his study, that portion which will be of concern in this paper, Deutsch considers nationality in terms of community. This enables Deutsch to arrive at functional definitions of a people and of nationality. A people is seen as those individuals linked by complementary habits and facilities for communication. These people can form a social, political, and economic alignment primarily based on a complementarity of social communication. The complementarity of acquired social and economic preferences and the potential for economic and psychological rewards also contributes to pull people together. It is the alignment of individuals from different social classes and occupations to regional centers and around a leading group which forms a nationality. 3

¹Karl W. Deutsch, <u>Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality</u> (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966) pp. 27-28.

Deutsch defines community as the set of persons who are the carriers of the habits and channels of culture. Other concepts of community have been developed for the purpose of political and sociological investigation; these concepts are summarized by Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963) pp. 21-51, and by Conrad M. Arensberg, "The Community as Object and Sample," The Community: A Comparative Perspective, ed. Robert M. French (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1969) pp. 7-21.

³ Deutsch, p. 101.

Having established this fundamental relationship between nationality and social communication, Deutsch then proceeds to determine those factors and tests which might be applied to evaluate the process of national assimilation. Through a discussion of these factors, and a partial application of these tests, this paper will attempt to evaluate the progress and potential for black nationalism in the American Negro community.

Chapter I will survey the nature of the Negro community. The discussion will briefly consider the development of the community, concentrating on those aspects which separate the black community from the general American society. Consideration will also be given to the community's system of social stratification and patterns of leadership. Finally, the chapter will summarize in more detail educational and occupational opportunities, since these two areas are needed as a background to other sections of this study.

Chapter II will examine research that has been done on interracial groups to determine how much social cohesion there is within the black community, and if intracommunity communication is more effective and desired than communication directed outside the community.

Chapter III will partially apply Deutsch's quantitative measures to determine the direction and rate of national assimilation. Because of certain limitations in Deutsch's framework, and because of the difficulties involved in accurately compiling some desirable data, this chapter will only indicate broad trends.

Chapter IV will examine those factors which contribute to the community's viability and separate identity. This consideration will include an examination of the educational and employment opportunities

offered by the community itself as well as the cultural and political values held by the community.

Chapter V will assess the probable course of black nationalism indicated by the information gathered in this study, and recommend areas where further research should be undertaken. The limitations and assets of Deutsch's model will also be considered.

Although this study will not focus on black nationalism in terms of game theory 4, it will provide information applicable to such analysis through the identification of the participants, their apparent goals, and the means available to achieve these goals.

For a discussion of how Deutsch views the applicability of game theory to a study of nationalism, see Deutsch, pp. 275-276.

CHAPTER I

THE AMERICAN NEGRO COMMUNITY

Community Patterns

The concept of a Negro community can be perceived by a consideration of the dominant patterns in Negro communities of the rural South and the urban North. The communities in the rural South provided the first organized social life for most Negroes, and its folkways and institutions have been the basis for the culture that has emerged as the Negroes settled in the cities. From the southern cultural foundation the northern community evolved some distinct patterns, which are now beginning to appear in some southern cities.

In the rural South the family formed the basic social group. For the most part the family unit tended to be based on sentiment and habit and lacked any definite organization. Illegitimacy and common-law marriages did not violate community mores, and contributed to the rise of the matriarchal extended family.

Next to the family the church was the most important social institution; frequently the area served by a church defined the limits of a

¹E. Franklin Frazier, <u>The Negro in the United States</u> (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 228.

²Kenneth D. Clark, <u>Dark Ghetto:</u> <u>Dilemmas of Social Power</u> (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) p. 22.

Frazier, pp. 214-215. For a further discussion of these and other factors contributing to the Negro matriarchal family see Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy, ed. Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancy (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967) pp. 51-71.

community. Beyond its religious function the church was the center for recreational activities; often its building served as the local school. Closely connected with the churches were burial societies, which assured their members a proper burial; later these were taken over by lodges or formed into lodges.⁴

Except for a few public programs, schools were of little importance. Children attended sporadically when they could be spared from the farm, and they tended to drop out after a few terms. 5

Since families usually lived in cabins scattered in the open country, the region was not conducive to intense communication. The church, the lodge, and the school provided the basis for communal life, and it was around these institutions that the folklife developed. They passed on the history of the community and helped raise its aspirations.

We had so many things going for us: a way of worship that, in time, would have produced a Negro God; an Ark of the Covenant between the Almighty and us; although we shared the common language, we spoke a jargon of our own; and our social outlets satisfied the ambitions we then felt.6

Eventually rural poverty and the prospect of prosperity caused many to migrate to the cities of the North and South. By 1960, 73 percent of the nation's Negroes lived in urban areas. Nearly one-fifth of the total Negro population was concentrated in six cities outside the South.

⁴Ibid., pp. 216-217. ⁵Ibid., p. 218.

⁶Louis E. Lomax, <u>The Negro Revolt</u> (New York: New American Library, 1962) pp. 63-64.

⁷ New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. (technically considered a southern city by the Bureau of the Census). U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation, Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 1511 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966) pp. 3-4.

Initially the residential patterns of Negro migrants were similar to those of European ethnic communities, as the migrants crowded into low-rent areas to live with families, friends, or those with the same cultural background. However, unlike other ethnic groups, Negroes only infrequently left the community, and its boundaries expanded to contain the growing population within a highly segregated area. 8

Although the urban black community tends to be hetrogenous in terms of economic and educational backgrounds, 9 the predominant culture reflects lower-class patterns. For many residents the community is a place of defeat and decay. Inadequate education, underemployment, family instability, and a generally limited cultural environment are all interrelated and tend to lead to a vicious cycle of repetition, thus limiting the community's potential for change.

Many lower-class families have a distinct pattern which encourages members to be self-sufficient, while at the same time providing a milieu which makes escape from the lower class almost impossible. A common characteristic is the reversal of traditional sex roles. In the cities it is relatively easier for the poorly educated woman to find steady employment. When the man is able to find work, his earnings are often insufficient to support adequately his family. The resulting financial

⁸Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, <u>Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change</u> (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965) pp. 16-17.

⁹U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 3.

¹⁰ Harold Proshansky and Peggy Newton, "The Nature and Meaning of Negro Self Identity," Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development, ed. Martin Deutsch, Irwin Katz, and Arthur R. Jensen (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968), p. 203.

dependency on the woman may cause tensions within the family and eventually lead to the man's alienation from the family. 11

Ultimately the woman may become head of the family. With the mother assuming the responsibilities of both parents, parent-child interaction tends to decrease, and the child is likely to become dependent on his peers for social support at an earlier age than children from families with both parents present. 12

The neighborhood school system tends to reflect and intensify the community's problems. Teachers tend to expect little from their students and students to produce at the level of expectation. Also a teacher may find that his primary function is that of a disciplinarian. The result is a large number of students drop out, or complete school inadequately prepared to compete in the job market. 14

For those frustrated by these aspects of the community, the common roads of escape are the bar, the street corner, or the church. It is the church which is the most pervasive institution in the community. 15 With the transition into the cities the black church changed; it deemphasized its other-wordly orientation and became involved in social action. Ministers became active in community affairs, and some developed their churches into political bases. The urban churches began to grow larger as ministers measured their power in terms of

¹¹ Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the American Negro (Princeton: Van Nostrand Co., 1964) pp. 15-16.

¹² Proshansky and Newton, p. 204.

¹³Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁴Clark, Dark Ghetto, p. 124.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 174.

their church's membership and wealth. A number of lower-class members became dissatisfied with the larger, impersonal churches and formed store-front churches, which provided the closeness and emotional outlet of the rural southern prototype. 16

The Social Structure and Community Leadership

The system of social stratification in the black community appears to be going through a transitional period. Because of the relatively narrow range of income among members of the community, for a long time social values were more important than economic ones in determining class membership. Therefore, throughout most of this study class have employed occupational, economic, and educational criteria to define class membership. Therefore, throughout most of this study class distinctions will be made on the basis of a socio-economic framework. However, it should be assumed that within the black community, class is determined to a certain extent by behavior patterns.

There has been within the black community a small elite of the professionals and the propertied with sufficient income to maintain a high standard of living. This class has been set apart by its black

¹⁶ E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1964) p. 51-52.

¹⁷Frazier, The Negro in the U.S., pp. 281-283.

¹⁸U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Mobility in the Negro Community: Guidelines for Research on Social and Economic Progress. Clearinghouse Publication No. 11 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968) p. 3.

Puritan heritage, which emphasizes respectability, and its education at select Negro universities. 19

For many years this elite was an important segment of the community's leadership. These prestige leaders tended to limit their racial activism to national organizations; within local communities their interest centered more on philanthropic endeavors. Recently this leadership has been challenged by new leaders "not for the decisions they made but for the decisions they did not make, not for the battles they lost but for the battles they did not fight." The techniques used and the successes gained have been somewhat alien to a large part of the community, thus creating opportunities for other leaders to come forth and mobilize the community more effectively. 22

The middle class shows the greatest range of behaviors, which at various points approximates the values and behaviors of both the upper and lower classes. Within the class structure of the community, the middle class has been made up by the white collar and skilled workers with incomes adequate to meet their basic needs comfortably. Traditionally this class has upheld respectability within the family; they have been active within the institutions of the community such

¹⁹ Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Structure: The Black Establishment," Negro Mood and Other Essays (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964) pp. 72-73.

James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (New York: The Free Press, 1960) pp. 256-257.

²¹Bennett, p. 78.

Leadership in Conflict (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964) pp. 126-127.

as the churches and the lodges. Generally class members have exhibited a high degree of racial consciousness and a desire for racial solidarity. 23

Currently the middle class is in a period of transition due to the changes in the social and economic structure. (This transition may be viewed as the integration of the economic and behavioral criteria of social stratification.) The greater accessibility of non-segregated facilities to Negroes has resulted in less involvement with community institutions. This decrease in participation, coupled with an increased concern about personal mobility, has weakened the feeling of racial solidarity. Also, the traditional attitude of the necessity of respectability is not as consistently maintained, partially because class membership has been opened to those who feel that money is the sole criteria for social advancement.²⁴

The largest concentration of Negroes is in the lower class. These families and individuals have difficulty in earning an adequate income, and are often unemployed or underemployed. Essentially there are two types of behavior exhibited by class membership. One segment is moderately cohesive, with their lives largely focused on the church and church activities. These lower-class churches tend to be otherworldly, and while morality is preached, deviations are tolerated on

²³St. Clair Drake, "The Ghettoization of Negro Life," Negroes and Jobs, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968) p. 120.

²⁴ E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class (New York: The Free Press, 1957) p. 127.

the basis that the "flesh is weak." The other segment of this class is highly disorganized, and contains many of the community's criminal and derelict elements. 25

While some writers indicate a widening gap between the middle and lower classes, ²⁶ cooperation between these classes cannot so easily be discounted. What seems to be true is that middle-class persons may provide leadership and support for movements that affect and align the lower class. The tactics adopted and the goals sought by the middle-class leadership may be viewed in relation to social costs; and, therefore, differences in programs can be expected to vary from individual to individual and from community to community. ²⁷

The basic tactic which has been a part of the "new leadership" in the Negro community has been that of confrontation. Since there are differences in the frequency and degree to which this tactic may be used, there is a constant pressure on the leaders. The community has by its own actions reminded the leader that "no matter how great his past accomplishments, if a leader did not produce new examples of progress, even more militant leaders would arise." 28

Goals that are sought seem to fall into two major categories:
welfare goals which seek improved conditions within the community, such
as better housing and schools; and status goals which seek black

²⁵Drake, pp. 117-118.

²⁶A more detailed discussion of this is found in Frazier's <u>Black Bourgeoisie</u>, pp. 224-229, 235-236. Other authors who express this viewpoint include Killian and Grigg, pp. 126-127, and E. U. Essien-Udom, pp. 15-17.

participation in the general society on an equal basis. ²⁹ At the present time the community's leadership seems to be divided on which set of goals should be sought. Changes within the community's civic life strongly contribute to this conflict in goals.

Desegregation has proceeded to the point . . . where some Negroes have benefited while others have not . . . A second dimension of civic life is the general diversification which has occurred . . . diversification of income, occupation, and education. Few civic issues will affect each group or strata equally; most issues, on the contrary, promise costs for some groups as the price of the benefits they hold out to others. A third dimension emerges from the fact, frequently commented upon, that the prolonged existence of segregation inevitably results in the creation of organizations which profit by segregation and which would be jeopardized by desegregation and dispersal. 30

Education and Employment

The areas of education and employment in relationship to the black community need to be examined in more depth. At this point the discussion will only focus on these areas in a broad sense, in order to clarify specific points which will be considered in later sections of this study.

Studies have indicated that Negro Americans have continued to place their hopes for full acceptance into the American society on education. 31 However, the education available to most Negroes remains "'less available

²⁹Wilson, p. 185.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 199-200.

³¹ Pettigrew, p. 186.

less accessible, and especially less adequate." Whether these aspirations for better education will be met is determined partially by the adequacy of the schools and partially by the ability of the family and the subculture to sustain the student. 33

The development of the educational system which serves the Negro community has been primarily influenced by social forces outside the community. Most Negro children are educated in the public schools, with a majority of them attending schools which are predominantly black. However, the decision-making apparatus, which determines policies and practices within the school system, largely exists outside the black community; the political bodies, legislative bodies and school boards, and the central administration for a school district tend to be made up of people with interests apart from the black community. The result has been thoroughly documented; through the application of any number of variables the schools which are predominately Negro are found to compare unfavorably with those which are predominately white. Here if the schools were able to maintain comparable standards, one might question if this concentration of decision-making power outside the community permits the school system to evolve into an

^{32 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 190 citing A. D. Noel, "Group Identification Among Negroes: An Empirical Analysis," <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>, 20 (1964.

³³ James P. Comer, "The Social Power of the Negro," <u>The Black Power</u> Revolt, ed. Floyd B. Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968) p. 79.

³⁴U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967) I, 2-7, 31, 39.

³⁵Patricia Cayo Sexton, "City Schools," <u>Negroes and Jobs</u>, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968) pp. 223-224, 235.

³⁶U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, <u>Racial Isolation</u>, pp. 25-31. Sexton, pp. 227-230. Clark, <u>Dark Ghetto</u>, pp. 117-125.

institution which meets the needs and aspirations of the community.

So long as schools serving the black community remain inadequate, those with aspirations to become part of the American mainstream are likely to be frustrated.

The most important influence outside the school system in determining the child's ability and motivation in school is the family. The family's social and economic structure will effect the child's attitudes and performance in school. The child from a disorganized family will tend to perform less adequately in school. More obvious difficulties occur when the child is brought up in a family subject to economic stresses: the child may be encouraged to, or feel the need to, seek employment at the earliest opportunity; he is likely to come from a culturally impoverished environment, which may cause difficulties if the teachers assume certain skills, such as "reading readiness," have been developed prior to entering school.

Beyond the family, peer group influences seem to have some affect; however, the better performance of a child in a school of a higher social class may reflect either this response to the interaction with his classmates or his response to the higher expectations of his teachers. Adults, outside the family, may also affect the child's educational progress. It can be assumed that the child will be influenced by the rewards, if any, which he might realistically expect through education, and his knowledge of adults in the community and their achievements will offer models for him. ³⁷

³⁷For a more detailed discussion on these points see: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, <u>Racial Isolation</u>, I, 77-79; Sexton, pp. 268-277; Clark, Dark Ghetto, pp. 127-133; Charles E. Silberman, pp. 202-212.

Closely related to education are occupational and employment opportunities. If education is seen as a means for entering the American mainstream, it is probably because education is seen as the means toward achieving economic and/or social status through employment.

In the United States Negroes have been concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. This concentration has occurred because of inadequate education and various forms of racial discrimination.

These jobs often involve substandard wages, great instability and uncertainty of tenure, extremely low status in the eyes of both employer and employee, little or no chance for meaningful advancement, and unpleasant or exhausting duties.³⁸

As long as such positions are the usual life-work of many Negroes the problems which can be expected to occur are self-evident. Recently, technological elimination of many unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, improved education, and a lessening of patterns of racial discrimination has opened positions to Negroes in skilled and white collar occupations. During this transitional period when better jobs are seen as open and possible, albeit certain educational gaps and evidences of occurrence of racial discrimination, there are several types of reactions which are seen to occur.

The Negro may adopt the behavior and aspirations of the broader society and seek employment which he perceives to be a way of "getting ahead". An extreme alternative may also be found among individuals

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968) p. 253.

who reject society's values and almost completely withdrew from social contacts. ³⁹ There is the possibility of creating a subculture "in which dignity and self-worth are sustained on the basis of criteria variant from the criteria of the general society." ⁴⁰

Essentially, education and employment may be viewed as a means of assimilation. In this particular discussion the focus has been on their role in assimilation into the white society; however, they may also be used to facilitate assimilation into the black community and greater identification with that community, and their use to this end will be discussed in a later section of this study.

³⁹Jan E. Dizard, "Why Should Negroes Work?" <u>Negroes and Jobs</u>, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968) pp. 408-409.

^{40 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 409.

CHAPTER II

COHESION WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Thus far the description of the Negro community has centered on the external manifestations of its culture. An examination of some sociological and psychological research will indicate the extent to which the black community is differentiated from the broader society. If it is found that individuals within the community communicate more effectively with each other than with those outside the community, it can be assumed that further development of the community will be undertaken by its participants.

The research that has been done on American Negro behavior has been limited, as it has concentrated on the urban lower class. However, since the researchers' concept of lower-class membership has reflected the economic criteria established for the general society, and since the black community has been described within the framework of economic deprivation, these findings will be applicable to this study.

Prior to considering specific areas in which social communication and learning can be tested, it is necessary to examine the Negro's self-concept. An understanding of this concept will partially explain the patterns of behavior in the community and tendencies toward some type of national movement. Also, it will offer a basis for appreciating apparent discrepancies in behaviors.

Proshansky and Newton, pp. 180-181.

Studies of Negro children have found that these children, even when they have a high degree of awareness of their own racial background, often have feelings of ambivalence about their identity; such feelings may become evident in poor self-esteem which may eventually evolve into self-hatred. Also the children tend to accept stereotypes of the social behavior and life styles of Negroes. These tendencies are significant since the child is accepting racial distinctions made by an adult world into which he is being socialized.

For many of the children, concepts and feelings about race extend into adult world distinctions of status, ability, character, occupations, and economic circumstances. Social distinctions made by whites which put Negroes in an inferior status tend to be accepted as "natural" or "inevitable". 3

To a certain extent this prevalence of low self-esteem is due to various forms of racial discrimination; however, the actual effect of racial discrimination on the individual personality does vary and cannot readily be measured because of the complexity of the human personality. Available evidence does indicate that the personality of a minority group member is influenced by his minority group status.

There are resources available by which the Negroes can use discriminatory patterns to achieve positive group identity and consequently group cohesion. The social system, and the white man, can be identified as the source of their difficulties. For those who have accepted

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²For a summary of the research on the development of self-image and its effects on behavior see Proshansky and Newton, pp. 182-212.

³<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 188-189, citing M. Radke and H.G. Trager, "Children's Perceptions of the Social Role of Negroes and Whites", <u>Journal of Psychology</u>, 29 (1950) p. 33.

Kenneth Clark, Prejudice and Your Child 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963) p. 47.

discrimination as a measure of their own worth, a transference of guilt to the white community may allow action. Even though the actions which are actually taken may vary in methods and goals, and are not participated in by many individuals, they are sources for group identification and give group members hope for the success of future actions. The third resource is the ability of the Negroes to identify with the aspirations and progress of a larger group, "the oppressed colored peoples of the world," which increases his sense of importance and purpose. 5

The Application of Deutsch's Framework

Deutsch suggests a number of tests to determine if a community, which has been defined as a complementarity of communication habits, actually exists. There are two sets of tests; those based on the transmission of information, and those based on the predictability of reactions. While these tests can allow some conclusions to be drawn about the compatibility of people, their usefulness is limited, since they can only measure the social learning up to the time of testing. Future experiences of an individual may alter his habits of communication, and very little can be predicted about those of his progeny.

After determining if there is a complementarity of communication habits, the possibilities for future development of the community need to be considered. Each member in a community will receive information from at least three sources:

⁵Proshansky and Newton, pp. 212-213.

⁶ Detailed information on the types of tests and their usefulness is found in Deutsch, pp. 107-115.

The standardized stream of experiences . . . from social and economic life; second, the peculiar stream of information from the past within his own community and from such present peculiar messages as may originate within it; and third, the feedback stream of information about the results of his own peculiar responses which he made in the light of the interplay of all three streams.

The survival and vitality of a specific community will then seem to depend on the relative weight of the standardized experiences as compared to the amount of recalled information within the community. Whether individuals remain a part of the community or become differentiated will depend on the occurrence of changes which promote more intensive communication, while providing more opportunities to pursue goals and values, than was previously possible. 8

In applying this aspect of Deutsch's model to the black community, this study will limit itself, as much as possible, to the information which has been collected concerning school desegregation. Since there are gaps in this information, other data will be used as applicable. This limitation on Deutsch's framework should better indicate the communication system of the community, since the data is relatively comparable; an indiscriminate application of the recommended tests could easily result in a highly distorted conclusion.

Also, it has been noted that education is linked to the community's aspirations to enter into the American mainstream, thus involving education to some extent in the black community's goals and values. Desegregation will lead to more extensive communication outside the community than could be expected to occur in a segregated situation.

⁷ Ibid., p. 117.

^{8&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 120.

⁹For information on Negro reactions to the white community in this respect see Pettigrew, pp. 27-55.

Consequently, the experiences with school desegregation are very likely to play an important part in determining the eventual outcome of the black community.

Performance in Desegregated Schools

Information which has been collected to date shows that Negro children tend to perform better in desegregated schools. However, this improved performance may be due more to the access to better schools than to the interaction with white classmates and teachers. One study of a desegregated school system found the greatest gains were made by children who remained in segregated classrooms. 10

For several years following desegregation, Washington, D.C. reported yearly gains by its students, the majority of whom were Negro. Yet these improvements seemed to reflect the success of an improved educational program, since the use of homogeneous groupings resulted in quasi-segregation.

From this data, and other data which has been collected, 12 it is impossible to draw any conclusions about whether Negro children perform

¹⁰ Irwin Katz, "Factors Influencing Negro Performance in the Desegregated School," Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development, ed. Martin Deutsch, Irwin Katz, and Arthur R. Jensen (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968) pp. 259-260, citing F. H. Stallings, "A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools," Journal of Negro Education, 28 (1959) pp. 439-444, and conclusions drawn by L. W. Knowles, "Kentucky," Civil Rights U.S.A. - Public Schools, Southern States (Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1963) pp. 19-56.

ll<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 260 commenting on C. F. Hanson, "The Scholastic Performances of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia," <u>Harvard Educational Review</u>, 30 (1960 pp. 216-236.

¹² For further studies refer to Katz, pp. 259-262.

better when working with each other or with children of another racial background. However, this information raises some questions concerning the child's response to his environment, especially in the context of its racial make-up.

There is an indication that Negro students are more likely to be affected by the student environment than are white students. The student then can be anticipated to be influenced by the social class composition and the racial composition of the school. In regard to social class composition, it was found that student performances were consistently better in schools which had a middle-class student body, as compared to those with a lower-class student body. When the effect of improved facilities and of self-selection, i.e., the better student selecting the better school, were controlled, the schools' social make-up was still found to be relevant in determining performance. 13

When the schools' social composition is studied in conjunction with their racial composition, relationships are somewhat less distinct. The lower-class Negro will perform at nearly the same level in a predominately white lower-class school or in a middle-class all-Negro school; his best performance will tend to occur in a middle-class predominately white school. The performance of middle-class Negro children follows the same pattern. For the most part children, within schools of the same social composition, will perform better in either all-Negro or predominately white schools than in predominately Negro or evenly balanced schools. 14

¹³U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, <u>Racial Isolation</u>, pp. 84-89.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 89-91.

The child's interaction with his white classmates seems to be relatively important in determining his academic progress, and may partially explain why his performance is better in the all-Negro or predominately white schools. The effect this interaction will have depends on the child's self-image, the prestige he assigns to whites, and the type of response either elicited or anticipated from the interaction.

Most research assumes that Negroes generally hold whites in high esteem. Even when a passionate hatred of whites is detected, usually among Negroes who most hate themselves, the principle "that you cannot hate what you do not love" seems to hold. Furthermore, it has been found that the Negro child develops a cautious attitude in interacting with whites, apparently weighing the risks prior to seeking involvement. The stressful situation which occurs can be expected to be alleviated by acceptance or heightened by rejection. Obviously the outcome of this interaction will affect performance; what is less obvious, but evident, is that Negro performance seems to improve with interracial interaction depending on the degree of stress.

Within the context of the school system, one study found that among schools with a majority of white students Negro students scored well when there was a greater cross-racial acceptance; whereas, they tended to score poorly in those schools which could be classified as "merely desegregated." 17

Performance in Small Groups

One group of researchers has done extensive study on the reactions of Negro college men in various bi-racial situations. The first series

¹⁵A summary of research is provided by Pettigrew, pp. 36-37.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁷Katz, pp. 261-262.

of experiments placed the men, matched on the basis of ability, on bi-racial teams. It was found during the course of the experiment that the Negroes made fewer contributions and were likely to defer to the opinions of their whte teammates; they also had more interaction with their white teammates than with each other. In evaluating their performance Negroes rated themselves lower than the white participants, even when this was not the case; they preferred to have each other for future teammates; and they were less satisfied with the experience. 18

In a follow-up experiment using pairs of students and an administrator, high- or low-threat variables were added. In the low-threat condition Negroes performed better in the presence of whites than they did with other Negroes present. However, in the high-threat situation their performance improved in the all-Negro grouping and it decreased in the presence of whites. 19

A similar situation occurred using a Negro subject and varying the race of the administrator. The first series of tasks were presented as a test of physical coordination; the subjects doing the most difficult problems performed better with a white administrator. (On less difficult problems no significant difference associated with the race of the administrator could be found.) When the difficult problems were presented as a test of intellectual competence, the subjects performed better with the Negro administrators, and their performance with a white administrator was decidedly lower than on the previous series. 20

¹⁸Ibid., p. 272.

¹⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 274-277.

^{20&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 276-277.

Conclusions

Although this information is insufficient to permit definite conclusions, some tendencies are evident. The efficacy of Negroes seems to be influenced by the racial composition of a given group; whether this influence will be beneficial or detrimental depends on the amount of stress. In low-stress situations Negroes perform better in mixed groups; whereas, in a highly stressful situation they tend to perform bettern in all-Negro groups. This may be due to the motivation to perform well in the presence of whites, which will be offset when there is fear of failure or rejection. The evidence from desegregated schools is inadequate to fully support these findings. The study which indicated that Negroes did better in schools where there was cross-racial acceptance, a low-stress situation, strongly supports this conclusion. It is also possible that more detailed information would show that students in all-Negro schools tend to perform better than in predominately Negro schools because of increased tensions in the latter schools. All the data does seem to show that cross-racial communication in itself has no perceivable effect on performance.

The area of commensurability has not been detailed in this study. Both quantitative and qualitative information reflects a certain amount of Negro preference for each other's company. Along this line, it is significant to note that Negro interviewers consistently obtain less restricted responses from similar samples of Negroes, especially on race-related questions. A major reason for commensurability may

²¹Pettigrew, pp. 50-51. One prevalent tendency is for Negroes to indicate less militancy to white interviewers than they do to black.

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE MEASURES OF NATIONAL ASSIMILATION

Deutsch's Framework

Deutsch has recommended that certain data be collected in order to indicate the rate and direction of national assimilation. The nature of this data and how it is applied is determined by what is known about movements of a people to act upon their nationality. A fundamental process involved in initiating and sustaining such movements is related to social, economic or technological change; for such changes may enable a people to be mobilized for intense communication. Therefore, data which gives some information about social mobilization will assist in determining whether movements toward national assimilation will be continued or be reversed.

That data which is suggested to analyze this process concerns six rates of change in nine population groups. The nine population groups are: 1) the total population; 2) the mobilized population; 3) the non-mobilized (underlying) population; 4) the assimilated population; 5) the differentiated population; 6) the mobilized assimilated population; 7) the mobilized differentiated population; 8) the underlying assimilated population; and 9) the underlying differentiated population. Four of the rates of change are the natural rates of increase in the mobilized, in the assimilated, in the differentiated, and in the total

¹ Deutsch, pp. 125-127.

²<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 128-130.

population groups. The remaining two rates of change are the rates of entry into the mobilized and into the assimilated populations. 3

Once this data is collected some concept of the present and future strength of the nationalist movement can be formulated. The mobilized and assimilated population will tend to be the most active carrier of nationalism, and the mobilized and differentiated population will tend to be drawn into national conflict against them. The underlying assimilated populations is a potential resource for a nationalist movement, since they may become mobilized at a later date. The underlying and differentiated population may support national conflict, if they become mobilized prior to being assimilated.

The basic value of this data is to indicate a trend. As it will be seen, the framework suggested by Deutsch in regard to quantitative measures is limited; however, the value of such measures can be retained if they are accepted as indicators. Therefore, no elaborate application of his framework will be attempted, since such an effort would not produce valid data and thereby destroy the usefulness of the model.

Negro Population Groups and Their Rates of Change

In studying the American Negroes' movement toward black nationalism, data will be collected beginning from 1900. This year will be used since it will provide a moderate length of time over which to study trends; also, social mobilization of the Negroes, including the first major nationalist movement, became widespread only in the twentieth century.

³<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 148-149. ⁴<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 128-130.

Data will be presented, to the extent that it is available, at ten-year intervals.

The Mobilized and Underlying Populations. Table 1 indicates the size of the total Negro population and the proportion which will be considered either in the mobilized or underlying populations. Although Deutsch has suggested a number of overlapping sets which could be considered to constitute the mobilized population, for the purposes of this study the set of Negroes who are urbanized will be the mobilized population. This decision was made since it will provide sufficient discrimination between these two populations, and will also make future calculations feasible.

The Assimilated Population. Since Deutsch's analysis of the composition of the assimilated population is based on language, his basic framework must be deviated from in a study of the American Negro. In this study two sets of persons will be considered to give an indication of that segment which is conceivably assimilated.

The black community has been described as a lower-class community, especially in terms of American social stratification. This class pattern in the black community is recognized by black spokesmen espousing some type of black nationalism.

The economic relationship of America's black communities to the larger society also reflects their colonial status. The political power exercised over those communities goes hand in glove with the economic deprivation experienced by the black citizen.

⁵Ibid., p. 126.

⁶Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, <u>Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America</u> (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 16.

TABLE 1

Negro Population of the Conterminous United States

Decennial Years, 1900-1960

		Distribution, By Percent		
Year	Population (Rounded to Thousands)	Mobilized (Urban)	Underlying (Rural)	
1900	8,834,000	23	77	
1910	9,828,000	27	73	
1920	10,463,000	35	65	
1930	11,891,000	44	56	
1940	12,866,000	49	51	
1950	15,042,000	62	38	
1960	18,860,000	73	27	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Tables IA-1, IA-6.
Irene B. Taeuber, Population Trends in the United
States, 1900 to 1960. U.S. Bureau of the Census
Technical Paper No. 10 (Washington: Government
Printing Office, 1964) Table 3.

¹The Bureau of the Census changed the definition of urban areas in 1950, so that data for 1950 and 1960 are not exactly comparable with that for previous years.

The black man in America was economically sick and that was evident in one simple fact: as a consumer, he got less than his share, and as a producer gave least. 7

Meanwhile, the great bulk of the black community sinks ever lower, increasingly resentful of its worsening position vis-a-vis the black elite as well as vis-a-vis the whites. As a result, the black masses are becoming politicized, are developing a class consciousness The Powell incident, by the very grossness of its racism, built a precarious bridge between the increasingly bitter, increasingly segregated black masses, and the increasingly affluent, increasingly integrated black middle class. Their interests were once again shown to be identical, even if involuntarily so.

For this reason the sets that have been chosen to measure assimilation will concentrate on those aspects commonly attributed to the lower class; since middle-class members of the black community are apparently expected to recognize and respond to their needs if they are to take part in a national movement.

The percentage of Negro males who hold employment usually designated as lower-class positions is found in Table 2A. These men, working in blue collar, service (private household help, restaurant workers, janitors, etc.) and farming positions will be considered to be possibly assimilated. Also in 1960, 8 percent of the employed men did not report their occupation; these men are arbitrarily being designated as possibly assimilated. Since the data for farmers includes farm owners there may be some distortion; however, since the rural patterns have played such a major role in the development of the black community, and

 $^{^{7}}$ Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1964) p. 313.

Robert S. Browne, "The Case for Black Separatism: 1967," <u>Chronicles of Black Protest</u>, ed. Bradford Chambers (New York: Mentor Books, 1968)
p. 230.

since Negro-owned farms tend to show small profits, 9 to consider farm owners as differentiated might cause even greater distortion.

Table 2B indicates the percent of Negroes considered as possibly assimilated on the basis of educational attainment. Because of the inadequacy of the public school system and the limited opportunities available for the undereducated, it can be assumed that the person who has not completed high school will be more depending on the community and therefore more supportive of its mores. This data has been collected from 1940, as public high school education became significant in the black community during the period between the First and Second World Wars. 10

The Differentiated Population. Deutsch considers the differentiated population to be the difference between the total population and the assimilated population. He recognizes the possibility that dissimilar experiences may work to separate a formerly similar community. Although he uses language as the measure of assimilation and differentiation, it is evident that Deutsch considers differentiation as involving much more than merely a shift in language. The differentiated population has moved away from the assimilated, which can be evidenced by such factors as the acceptance of different economic and social behavior patterns. Eventually the process of differentiation will sharpen the cultural boundaries of the two populations. Since at the present time it is

⁹Calvin L. Beale, "The Negro in American Agriculture," <u>The American Negro Reference Book</u>, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966) pp. 179-180.

¹⁰ Virgil A. Clift, "Educating the American Negro," The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966) pp. 369-370.

¹¹ Deutsch, pp. 120-122.

Possibly Assimilated Population

TABLE 2

Table 2A: Assimilated on the Basis of Occupation, By Percent

Occupation Group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
All Negro Male Workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Blue Collar Service Farm	33.8 6.9 56.1	42.5 7.1 46.7	45.5 9.4 40.7	39.0 13.7 41.5	52.2 14.3 23.6	54.6 14.6 11.4
Total Assimilated	96.8	96.3	95.6	94. 2	90.1	88.6 ¹

Sources: Marion Hayes, "A Century of Change: Negroes in the U.S. Economy," Monthly Labor Review (Dec., 1962) Tables 5 and 6. U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the U.S. Table IIB-4.

1 Includes 8 percent of the employed men who did not report their occupation in 1960.

Table 2B: Assimilated on the Basis of Education, By Percent

Years of School Completed	1940	1950	1960
8 years or less 1-3 years, high school	83 8	69 18	55 24
Total Assimilated	91	87	7 9

Sources: Jessie Parkhurst Guzman (ed.), Negro Year Book (Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Inst., 1947) p. 69. U.S. Bureau of Statistics, The Negroes in the U.S., Table IVB-3.

¹Data for 1940 are for Negroes 25 years and over; for 1950 and 1960 data are for Negroes 14 years and over.

difficult to measure accurately this degree of cleavage, the sets selected to indicate the possibly assimilated and possibly differentiated populations may cause significant distortion, especially in terms of the proportion of the Negroes considered to be possibly differentiated since these measures indicate more of a potential for differentiation than its actual occurrence.

In general white collar and professional employees can be considered to be differentiated. With the possible exception of white collar employees in black organizations, it can be anticipated that this group would feel varying degrees of alienation from the community. Although a number of professional organizations have formed on a racial basis, their actual assimilation into the black community seems marginal.

The area of education presents some difficulties as a measure of alienation. High school graduates may in actuality be either assimilated or differentiated, as might be those who did not complete college. However, these groups are more likely to have employment which marks them a part of the differentiated population. In general, it might be validly concluded that those who have completed college or gone further than college are differentiated.

Other Population Groups. 12 Table 4A indicates the distribution of the Negro population when assimilation is designated on the basis of occupation, and Table 4B indicates the distribution when this designation is based on education. Since there is a strong possibility that

 $^{^{12}}$ Information on the figures used to determine the composition of these groups is provided in Appendix I.

Possibly Differentiated Population

TABLE 3

Table 3A: Differentiated on the Basis of Occupation, By Percent

Occupation Group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
All Negro Male Workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professionals	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.7	2.2	3.1
Proprietors & Managers Clerical & Sales	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.7
	1.0	1.5	1.7	2.6	4.2	6.2
Total Differentiated	3.2	3.7	4.4	5.7	8.3	11.0

Sources: Marion Hayes, Tables 5 and 6. U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the U.S. Table IIB-4.

Table 3B: Differentiated on the Basis of Education, By Percent 1

Years of School Completed	1940	1950	1960
4 years, high school 1-3 years, college 4 years, college, or more	4 2 1	9 3 2	14 4 5
Total Differentiation	7	14	23

Sources: Guzman, p. 69. U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Negroes in the U.S. Table IVB-3.

Data for 1940 are for Negroes 25 years and over; for 1950 and 1960 data are for Negroes 14 years and over.

high school graduates are actually assimilated, Table 4B includes as parenthetical information the composition of the various population groups if high school graduates were considered as such. Calculations were made for 1940, 1950, and 1960, since reasonably comparable information is not always available for earlier years.

Rates of Change. In order to determine the future course of a nationalistic movement it is desirable to be able to predict changes within various segments of the population. However, as the measures used to indicate assimilation are incomplete, since so much of the black community's culture is evident in folk ways as well as class ways, only a few major trends will be noted. 13

The Negro population has tended to grow at a faster rate than the white population. ¹⁴ This growth pattern can be expected to continue, especially when it is noted that the median age for Negroes is 21 years as opposed to 29 years for whites. ¹⁵ Since 1915 infant mortality among non-whites has decreased from approximately 180 per 1,000 live births to 43 per 1,000; however, since 1950 the rate of infant mortality has been somewhat stable. Non-white life expectancy has continually increased since 1920, and the gap between the white and non-white population is considerably narrower, with non-white females having nearly

An extensive analysis of growth rates of the population would be of marginal value not only because of the incompleteness of the measures used to determine assimilation, but also because of the fallibility of methods of predicting population growth, Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966) p. 158.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵Richard M. Scammon, "The Demographic Profile and Where It Points," Newsweek, June 30, 1969, p. 18.

TABLE 4

Other Populations

Table 4A: Population Groups Formed on the Basis of Occupation, By Percent

Population Group	1940	1950	1960
Mobilized Assimilated	40	54	64
Mobilized Differentiated	5	7.	10
Underlying Assimilated	55	36	25
Underlying Differentiated	1	1	1

Sources: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race (Washington:

Government Printing Office, 1943) Table 8; Census of the Population: 1950 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953) Vol. IV, Pt. 3B, Table 8; Census of the Population: 1960 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963) Special Reports, PC(2)-1C, Table 9.

Table 4B: Population Groups Formed on the Basis of Education, By Percent

Population Group	1940	1950	1960
Mobilized Assimilated	49 (52)	54 (62)	56 (76)
Mobilized Differentiated	6 (3)	12 (4)	20 (8)
Underlying Assimilated	42 (43)	33 (34)	23 (17)
Underlying Differentiated	1 (1)	2 (1)	3 (1)

Sources: U.S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Characteristics of the Non-white Population by Race</u>, <u>Table 6</u>; <u>Census of the Population</u>: 1950, Vol. IV, Pt. 3B, <u>Table 8</u>; <u>Census of the Population</u>: 1960, <u>Special Reports</u>, PC(2)-1C, <u>Table 9</u>.

¹Totals may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

the same life expectancy as white males. ¹⁶ Therefore, it may be anticipated that the Negro population will continue to grow at about the same rate or higher as it did between 1950 to 1960 (a 24 percent increase).

Because of the large proportion of the Negro population which has been designated as assimilated, it can be assumed that much of the growth rate of the total Negro population is reflected in the growth rate of this population. Consequently, a continued increase in the natural growth rate of the assimilated population can be expected. This conclusion is further supported by the finding that women with the least education tend to have the most children; however, at the same time it must be kept in mind that the highest mortality rate is found in the lower socio-economic classes. 17

Although the differentiated population would experience a lower mortality rate than the assimilated, their growth rate cannot be expected to be as great through natural increase. Educated women tend to have fewer children, and the non-white female college graduate tends to have the lowest fertility rate of any segment of the American population. 18

The mobilized population has grown both through the entry of persons from the underlying population and through its own birth rate; since 1966 urban births have been more important in the growth of this

¹⁶ Taeuber and Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," pp. 154-158.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 153, 157.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 153-154, 157.

population than migrants into cities. ¹⁹ Since migrants tend to be young, the mobilized population is predominately young with a large number of people of child-bearing age and with a low mortality rate due to the absence of an older population. ²⁰

The rapid growth of the mobilized population shown in Table 1 gives some idea of the extent of Negro migration. Extensive migration into urban areas began in 1910 and has continued to be of importance, although there has been a slowing down of migration from 1966 through 1968 with about 110,000 migrants annually from about 370,000 annually during the previous six year period. ²¹

Two additional comments can be made about this mobilization. First, Negroes who move from rural to urban areas tend to be of low socioeconomic status, 22 and therefore, part of the assimilated population. Also, women in rural areas consistently show a higher fertility rate than their urban counterparts. 23 Because of the nature of the measures used to determine assimilation, it can be expected that these persons are more likely to become mobilized before they become differentiated, especially if occupation is used as an indicator of assimilation.

¹⁹ Jean M. White, "White Exodus from Cities Tripled in Last 2 Years, Census Study Shows," The Washington Post, June 4, 1969, p. 1.

²⁰Taeuber and Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," p. 120.

²¹White, p. 1.

²²Ibid., p. 129.

²³U.S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Census of the Population: 1960</u> (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964) Special Report PC(2)-3A, Table 27.

The map on page 42 gives the distribution and direction that the growth of the Negro population has taken since 1940. It will be noted from this map that there have developed a number of areas with a sizable concentration of Negroes, thus facilitating the opportunities for intensive communication among blacks.

Because of the nature of the measures used to indicate assimilation, any movement from the differentiated to the assimilated population would indicate some social regression. While this probably does occur to a certain extent, there obviously is a need for other measures if any meaningful concept of movement in this direction is to be found.

It should be noted that movement into the designated differentiated population is equally difficult to predict. Although many Negroes may obtain a better education, as evidenced by at least the completion of high school, this will not necessarily result in a proportional improvement in occupational and income status.

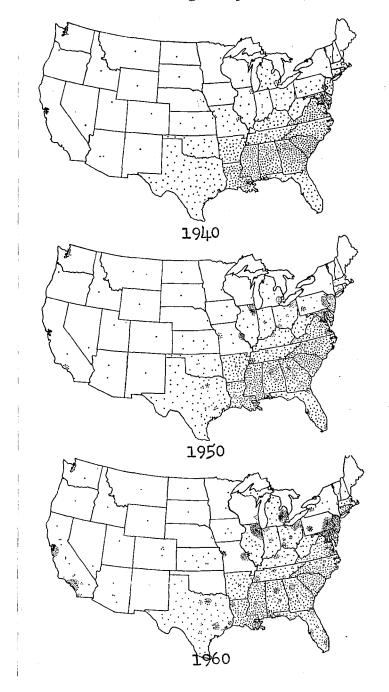
Educational advancement seems fairly certain to continue at a rapid pace, with high school graduation becoming increasingly common and college graduation more frequent. Just how rapidly improvements in educational background can be translated into rising occupation and income levels depends on the business cycles, actions of the Federal Government and other quite unpredictable factors. 24

Conclusions

Within the limits of the data presented some broad tendencies can be seen. Well over half the black population can be considered mobilized assimilated; not only can this population be expected to find itself in

Taeuber and Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," P. 159.

MAP 1
Distribution of the Negro Population, 1940-1960



Source: Charles Silberman, "The City and the Negro," The Negro in Twentieth Century America: A Reader on the Struggle for Civil Rights, ed. John Hope Franklin and Isidore Starr (New York: Vintage Books, 1967) p. 509.

Each dot represents 10,000 Negroes; a single dot in a state indicates that there are less than 10,000 Negroes in that state.

conflict with the white population, but also with the growing differentiated population. In fact, because the differentiated population has grown to the point that it is a noticeable group in the black community, it can be reasoned that this has put more pressure on the assimilated population, especially their leaders, to define those elements which constitute "blackness."

The past sixty years have seen a rapid mobilization of the black community, with much of this mobilization evidenced in the growth of the mobilized assimilated population. The rates of change in the black population indicate that the mobilized assimilated population will remain as a major segment of the black community for some time to come. Within the scope of the measures used to determine assimilation, it can be seen that the future of the black community in relation to the white will be greatly determined by actions of the white community. If the growth of the differentiated population has brought about a more intensive effort on the part of the black community to define itself and to undertake concurrent actions to maintain itself, the role of action by the white community seems more important. Therefore, it seems that the white community will largely determine the rate of differentiation, and the time which elapses during this process will permit the assimilated population to clearly define itself.

CHAPTER IV

BALANCES OF FACTORS AFFECTING NATIONAL ASSIMILATION

The final segment of Deutsch's model of national development considers those factors which affect the rate of assimilation. He divides these factors into six balances: similarity of communications habits; facilities for learning and teaching; frequency of contacts; material rewards and penalities; values and desires; and symbols and barriers. A study of these balances, and of the interplay among them, will assist in determining the nature and speed of national assimilation.

Similarity of Communications Habits

The process of assimilation is facilitated if there is similarity and compatibility in the linguistic or cultural habits of the persons in the given groups. Even if linguistic similarities, such as similar vocabularies, and grammatical structures, seem to favor assimilation, they may be offset by cultural differences or incompatabilities.²

By the end of the eighteenth century American literature was using a distinctive dialect for Negro speakers. There are a number of elements that form this speech pattern. Probably the most prevalent element is the phonology; for while the intonations used by the Negro appear similar to those of the lowest class whites, there are special

¹Deutsch, pp. 156-162.

²Ibid., p. 157.

characteristics which distinguish the two groups. This "Negro" intonation is seldom lost even by the educated southern Negro.

The other element that is frequently cited as a part of a Negro speech pattern is the grammatical structure, which includes such features as a confusion of person, use of the present verb form in the past tense, and omission of the verb to be. Although this grammar is sometimes seen as being class-related, at least one linguist has developed evidence that this usage is derived from the Gullah and Jamaican Creole dialects. 5

Linguists seem hesitant to designate other specific features to

Negro speech; however, there is an admission that the untrained listener
will note differences:

There are seldom any unique patterns which would distinguish Negroes from white speakers . . . An effect of racial segregation, however, is to create conditioned varieties of English that are characteristic of the segregated group, so that the popular identification of speech on racial lines is not always without substance. 6

Some blacks view their speech as being unique; they point out some additional elements not considered by the linguists when they write about "colored people's languages." It seems to be this language,

³H. L. Mencken, The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. Fourth ed. and two supplements, abridged by Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963) pp. 275-276.

⁴Ibid., p. 275.

⁵Beryl Loftman Bailey, "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology," American Speech, XL (October, 1965), 171-177.

⁶Carrol E. Reed, <u>Dialects of American English</u> (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1967) p. 19.

whether it be considered dialect or jargon, which is a part of black culture.

Black people do have a language of their own. The words may be English, but the way a black person puts them together and the meaning that he gives them creates a new language. 8

With the aid of colloquialisms, malapropisms, battered and fractured grammer, and a considerable amount of creativity, Colored English, the sound of soul, evolved. 9

Not only is this language considered to be part of the black community, but also in some ways it is meant to close off contact with the white community:

Whenever a soul term becomes popular with whites it is common practice for the soul folks to relinquish it.
... To many soul brothers there is just no such creature as a genuinely hip white person. 10

Spoken soul is distinguished from slang primarily by the fact that the former leads itself easily to conventional English, and the latter is diametrically opposed to adaptations within the realm of conventional English.11

Currently black national movements seem to place little emphasis on language as an area of separation from the white community. Partially this may be due to a continued use of a non-standard English by many Negroes. Educators have attempted to remedy this situation by teaching conventional English as an added language skill which should be used at

⁷Examples of a distinct jargon are found in the writing of several black nationalists; basically their use concentrates on a slang vocabulary and a rhythmic presentation. Examples can be found in Cleaver, pp. 26-27; and Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X Speaks, pp. 4-17.

⁸Julius Lester, <u>Look Out</u>, <u>Whitey!</u> <u>Black Power's Gon' Get Your</u> Mama! (New York: Dial Press, 1968) p. 91.

⁹Claude Brown, "The Language of Soul," <u>Esquire</u>, LXIX (April 1968) p. 88.

^{10 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 160.

certain times, i.e., for job interviews; students are not criticized for the use of their own dialect and are expected to continue to use it whenever they feel it is appropriate. 12

The Negro who is intent on advancement within the general society, is likely to discard the dialect: "The semi-Negro -- the soul brother intent on gaining admission to the Establishment . . . -- is anxiously embracing and assuming conventional English." Other Negroes may eventually use conventional English as the preferred language; if this occurs there may then be more concern about the role of language in the black community and attempts to preserve and strengthen the use of a dialect.

The term "soul" probably best describes another important element in the communications of the black community. 14 Although difficult to define, "soul" seems to imply an understanding and trust between blacks which makes interaction comprehensible on both the verbal and non-verbal levels.

Facilities for Learning and Teaching

An educational program is a necessary component in a national movement, for as people become assimilated it is necessary for them to learn a new language or culture. In order to evaluate the effect of educational facilities on the process of assimilation, such factors as the

¹² New York City, Board of Education, <u>Non-Standard Dialect</u> (Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968) p. 19.

¹³Brown, p. 162.

¹⁴ For further discussions of "soul" see "Report from Black America," p. 22; "An Introduction to Soul," pp. 80-87; Bennett, pp. 47-58.

availability and quality of teaching facilities and teaching techniques should be considered. 15

In the black community the concern with education has developed along two lines. One direction has involved the interest in community control of local public schools; however, this effort seems to be more political than educational in orientation; i.e., the desire of a people to control the institutions which serve them. ¹⁶ The other direction has concerned itself with classroom content, which, in its developed form, is presented as a "black studies program." Essentially this approach seems to involve a vague concept of cultural nationalism and a specific desire to make education relevant and responsive to the needs of the black community.

I think the whole question of the demand for a black studies program falls under the heading of what we would call a movement, a tendency, an ideology of "black cultural nationalism." This phenomenon is emerging today among the young black intelligentsia, the young black student, and the young black activists. . Though these activities have espoused cultural nationalism, it is understandable that at this moment the historical roots and implications of cultural nationalism in our society are quite unclear to some members of the younger generation.

Black studies must be geared to the question of black institutional development on all levels -- political, economic, cultural and social. 17

¹⁵ Deutsch, p. 157.

¹⁶ Peter Schrag, "The New Black Myths," <u>Harpers</u>, Vol. 238 (May, 1969) p. 42.

¹⁷ Harold Cruse, "The Integrationist Ethic as a Basis for Scholarly Endeavors," Black Studies in the University: A Symposium, ed. Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster and Donald H. Ogilvie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) pp. 6-7.

The black student is faced with an education system which is not relevant . . . to his own experience, his own community This is because it has strayed away from the community and of course the home. We feel that the only hope in trying to bring about viable educational change and a fuller participation of the black race is through involving the black community, wedding, so to speak, the black community and the black student. 18

In response to Negro leaders, as well as educators and some legislators, the nation's major school systems have adopted texts and courses
which reflect the country's pluralistic society and the role which blacks
have played in it. These programs range from those which incorporate
black history into the regular history courses to those which have a
number of black studies electives. 19 At the elementary and secondary
levels the most serious difficulty seems to be the availability of
adequate texts. There has been at least a fourfold increase in the
number of "integrated" texts since 1966; 20 however, many of these are
felt to be poorly done -- the result of "exploitation" by the publishers. 21

¹⁸ Nathan Hare, "A Radical Perspective on Social Science Curricula," Black Studies in the University: A Symposium, ed. Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster and Donald H. Ogilvie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) p. 108. "We" refers to the group which developed a black studies curricula at San Francisco State College in 1967.

¹⁹ A number of programs are described by Garven Hudgins, "Course in African Culture Sweep Nation's Campuses: Latest Move is Made by Harvard," The Sunday Star (Washington) Feb. 16, 1969, p. C-2.

²⁰Prince E. Wilson, "Some Aspects of the Education of Black Americans, 1968," <u>In Black America, 1968: The Year of Awakening</u>, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D.C.: United Publishing Corp., 1969) pp. 90-91.

^{21&}lt;sub>Hudgins</sub>, p. C-2.

The adoption of black studies programs by private and public universities has included a wide range of approaches and responses.

Currently programs range from a course in black history to Afro-American studies majors to a Center for Afro-American Studies (Cornell).

Students on both black and white campuses have organized th make a number of demands for additional black studies courses, programs taught and controlled by blacks, and separate colleges within the universities.

A widespread attempt to implement even basic black studies curricula are faced with inadequate resources:

There are a lot of colleges concerned about black studies programs, and everybody is in search for a black person to be associated with that program Now, from the interests of the national black community I see this as eventually producing diminishing returns. If we spread outselves thin all over the country, and each school has their black man . . this merely means that we're not getting the job done . . . Can you group up and encourage foundations to facilitate the kind of black group and black host institution to spend two years . . . however many years are necessary, to at least try to seriously investigate the black experience?

I understood very much when Professor Kilson said, look, I have enough trouble preparing three lectures a week without trying to draw up a curriculum dealing with the black experience . . . But I would suggest . . let's create something really new in higher education by cooperatively setting up some kind of a program where black intellectuals can come together to really do the work that's needed. There's no literature to build a black studies program on.²³

²² Programs and related student protests are discussed by P. E. Wilson, pp. 116-131; Hudgins, p. C-2; "Conciliations -- And Cops,"

Newsweek, Sept. 22, 1969, pp. 60-68; "Black Mood on Campus," Newsweek, Feb. 10, 1969, pp. 53-59.

²³Gerald A. McWorter, "Deck the Ivy Racist Halls: The Case of Black Studies," <u>Black Studies in the University: A Symposium</u>, ed. Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, Donald H. Ogilvie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) pp. 71-72.

An effort has been made to coordinate and control the development of black studies programs by the Institute of the Black World, a part of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Atlanta. The institute has held a summer workshop to analyze the content of black studies, established a five-university consortium, and urged black students at Northern schools not to make demands which create a "black brain drain."²⁴

A potential resource for the strengthening of black awareness would seem to be the nearly 120 black colleges which educate some 150,000 students. While efforts have been made by students to change the middle class white academic goals at these colleges, serious financial difficulties will probably impede any potent black cultural force from arising in the near future.²⁵

Frequency of Contacts

The range and frequency of cross-cultural contacts by an average individual will affect the progress of a national movement. For, as an individual increases such contacts, as opposed to communications within his own group, he is apt to feel a need to adopt new forms of behavior. ²⁶

This study has investigated several aspects of the black community which make it possible to arrive at some general conclusions about the frequency and range of contacts within the community. It has been

²⁴"Black (Studies) Vatican," Newsweek, Aug. 11, 1969, p. 38.

²⁵See P. E. Wilson, pp. 95, 116-119, for a description of student efforts to change black colleges. Approximately \$1,000 yearly is available to feed, house, and educate each student on black campuses.

²⁶Deutsch, p. 158.

pointed out that Negroes, especially in urban areas, tend to be concentrated within a given area. Through the application of given criteria, it has been found that a majority of Negroes can be considered to be mobilized and assimilated, and thereby in the forefront of any national movement. Consequently, it can be assumed that communication within the community will have a significant impact by making the entire community aware of the assimilated group's culture. Whether this awareness can be translated into behavior changes would seem to depend on the nature of the contacts and the groups involved. 27

The greatest impact of the areal concentration of the Negro population can be anticipated to occur among the community's children.

Their playmates will nearly always be black, and the neighborhood school arrangement will continue this pattern of association. Since most Negro children attend public schools; it must be assumed that all children will experience contact with children from assimilated families.

The evidence presented concerning interracial contacts among children and youth indicates that such contacts may have either a beneficial or detrimental effect, depending on the amount of stress. At this point two observations concerning cross-cultural contacts seem plausible. First, as the Negro derives satisfaction from interracial contacts he will seek to enlarge such contacts while at the same time

²⁷Since the criteria for determining assimilation and differentiation were class-related, it can be expected that Deutsch's frequency of contacts balance, cannot sufficiently explain movement to or from assimilation. Everett M. Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation (New York: The Free Press, 1962) pp. 311-314, lists the major findings of research on the adoption of innovations which should be considered in order to arrive at a more realistic appraisal of the influence of various persons and groups on assimilation.

he will make any necessary adjustments in his behavior. Second, it may be that the white domination of major social institutions, especially in the realm of education and employment, will increase the number of interracial contacts; however, whether such contacts will significantly alter behavior patterns would seem to depend on the content of the communications and whether positive benefits are derived. It may be that economic necessity would require the Negro to increase his cross-cultural contacts, yet if these contacts yield little personal satisfaction, he may become more sensitive to and act more in accord with the behaviors demanded by the black community.

Presently it seems impossible to go beyond general observations about the frequency of contacts, and to present specific inferences based on these observations may lead to fallacious conclusions about their effect for the reasons just noted. However, a consideration of what conscious efforts have been made or advocated to increase communication within the community would provide information of how communication can be used, and what networks are available, to direct and clarify the community's behavior in a nationalistic context.

Probably the most elaborate programs to increase communication within the black community were included in the "Black Manifesto" which was issued as part of the black reparations drive. This statement demanded \$500,000,000, part of which would be used to set up major publishing houses in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York, to develop television stations in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C., and to establish a national training center to teach skills

needed in communication, such as movie making. These demands not only indicate the acknowledged importance of communication <u>vis-à-vis</u> the mass media in establishing a black consciousness, but also point out areas which have been inadequately developed to meet the black community's needs.

The major black participation in the mass media has been through the Negro press. In 1968 there were 150 Negro newspapers with an estimated circulation of 1,200,000; only two of these papers, one in Chicago and one in Atlanta, were dailies. ²⁹ The probable effect of the Negro press on the black community is even less than these figures indicate. Most Negro papers are considered to be "out of touch with the times" as they tend to emphasize social and club news with little or no in-depth coverage of community concerns. Young Negro journalists with a sense of social consciousness have responded to the desire of big city papers for more blacks on their reporting staffs. ³⁰ It therefore appears that the Negro newspapers do not function as an actual force in the development of black consciousness; their potency as a potential resource in such a development seems dubious. It may be that whatever stimulation the newspapers provide for directing and

²⁸ James Forman, Manifesto: To the White Christian Churches and the Jewish Synagoges in the United States of America and All Other Racist Institutions. Adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan on April 26, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: People Against Racism, 1969) p. 5.

²⁹Luther P. Jackson, Jr., "The Sound of A different Drum: Race in the News," <u>In Black America</u>, 1968: The Year of Awakening, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D.C.: United Publishing Corp., 1969) pp. 320, 328, citing figures released in the <u>Editor and Publisher Year Book</u>, 1968.

^{30&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 328.

clarifying the behaviors of the black community may be done through the Negro reporters and columnists on white-controlled city papers.

The four magazines published by John H. Johnson seem to have a greater impact on the black community (in 1968 Ebony reach 2,500,000 households). Recently Ebony has used the "Black Mystique" to attract advertisers:

The American Negro's Blackness goes deeper than his skin . . . the Negro finds white-oriented advertising colorless, unrealistic, unbelievable; . . . the Negro responds to advertising in which he can see himself. 31

Of these major black magazines (<u>Ebony</u>, <u>Jet</u>, <u>Tan</u>, and the <u>Negro</u>

<u>Digest</u>) only the <u>Digest</u>, which contains little advertising, approaches black militancy in its content.³²

In the broadcasting industry there are 528 stations which direct their programming at the black community; however, only a handful of these stations are black-owned. 33

Essentially the broadcasting industry shows the same pattern of development as the Negro press. This is especially apparent in the television industry, which is owned and controlled by whites. While Negro performers are being used more frequently, partially in response to pressures exerted by the community and the Federal Communications Commission, it is evident that the image and the information which

³¹ Ibid., p. 329 citing a New York Times advertisement, Nov., 1968.

³² Ibid.

America, 1968: The Year of Awakening, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D.C.: United Publishing Corp., 1969) p. 314.

they put forth is determined by management's policies. 34

Material Rewards and Penalties

A major factor affecting the rate of assimilation is the availability of material rewards. If assimilation seems to bring benefits, such as employment and promotional opportunities, increased income, status and security, it can be expected that there will be significant motivation for the individual to embrace a national identity. On the other hand, if assimilation makes such benefits seem less likely or non-existent, there will be little incentive to identify with the assimilated population. 35

Prior to the Civil War free Negroes in the South often established small businesses in personal services. After Emancipation this trend continued, and former slaves opened businesses related to their acquired skills.

Most Negro businesses have continued to reflect this shoestring origin. In 1968 blacks owned only 45,000 of the five million businesses in the United States; ³⁶ most of these businesses have been confined to small neighborhood operations: food stores, restaurants and bars, gas stations, second-hand shops and hardware stores, personal services,

 $^{^{34}}$ For further discussion of black involvement in the broadcasting industry see Patterson, pp. 313-314, and articles by Dorothy Gilliam and Lewis Shayon.

³⁵ Deutsch, p. 158.

³⁶Robert B. McKersie, "Vitalize Black Enterprise," <u>Harvard Business</u> Review, 46 (Sept.-Oct., 1968) p. 89.

beauty and barber shops, cleaners and undertakers. The smallness of these businesses has placed them at a competitive disadvantage within the general community; they also must rely on a quick cash turnover making it difficult to service a large number of credit purchases.

Usually they are located in poor neighborhoods which cannot support a prosperous enterprise. 37

Since 1880 over a hundred banks have been organized by blacks to extend capital and credit to Negro businessmen. For the most part these banks have been unsuccessful and those banks that have survived have been small both in terms of assets and of employees. By 1968 only twenty of these banks were still in operation and had assets of \$200,000,000, as compared to the \$330,000,000,000 held by the over 12,000 banks in the nation. A number of reasons have been offered to explain the high rate of failure, with the basic cause seeming to be the nature of Negro businesses, which limits the scope and liquidity of these banks.

Within the past few years the slogan "Black Capitalism" has been used in an attempt to create action toward revitalizing Negro business activity. Three types of programs are included in this effort: businesses organized in the black community by major industries; businesses organized by black businessmen; and, capital and

³⁷Frazier, The Negro in the U.S., p. 141.

³⁸ Eliot Abrams, "Black Capitalism and Black Banks," The New Leader March 17, 1969, p. 14.

Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, p. 41.

technical assistance from government sources, foundations, and church groups. 40

Efforts by major industries have followed two patterns: the establishment of plants in which the parent company maintains control and hires blacks, and other minorities, at as many levels as possible in accord with their education and experience; the establishment of plants in consultation with the community with the eventual goal of transforming control to community investors. At the present time these approaches have been adopted by a limited number of companies and have been in operation too short a time to draw any conclusions concerning their potential effect on the community.⁴¹

The organization of new business enterprises by blacks has received limited stimulation through government and foundation assistance. An increase from \$25,000 to \$335,000 in the maximum amount the Small Business Administration could lend an individual and a reduction in the matching requirement from 100 percent to 15 percent or a "reasonable amount" has increased the opportunities for blacks to open up businesses. However, government aid seems largely limited to a potentiality; the two major agencies, the Small Business Administration and the Office of Minority Business Enterprise tend to overlap, and both have had to

Edward D. Iron, "Black Capitalism -- 1968," <u>In Black America</u>, 1968: The Year of the Awakening, ed. Patricia W. Romero (Washington, D.C.: United Publishing Corp., 1969) p. 218.

^{41 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 219-220 give information on some of the programs which have been developed.

⁴²Vincent Paka, "D.C.'s Riot Legacy: Black Firms," <u>The Washington</u> Post, July 7, 1969, p. B-2.

contend with inadequate funds for loans and grants. 43 The present scale of such programs seems unlikely to solve the community's economic problems and tends to arouse doubts among community leaders:

To me black capitalism means one or two people are going to get rich. We need black economic development that helps everyone, not a few. 44

It would seem that this type of economic development, which would also stimulate national assimilation, would be typified by the development of enterprises similar to Pride, Inc., a Washington, D.C. based project. This program has employed approximately 2,200 persons, both full-time and part-time, the hard-core unemployed and talented blacks, during its first two years of operation. During this time the program received \$6,600,000 in federal monies. The project hopes to soon cut the federal unbilical cord in order to increase its independence and local influence. Although it is too early to assess the ability of this type of operation to become economically important, if it does succeed it could become a model for other communities. Such a development might not only be important in an economic sense, but also in a political sense, especially since Pride has involved some of Washington's better known political activists.

While these efforts, which increase the economic position of the black within a black community, are still limited, increased activity

⁴³"Black Capitalism: Still a Promise," <u>Newsweek</u>, August 4, 1969, p. 75. Also see Irons, pp. 220-226.

⁴⁴"New Faces, New Voices, New Style," <u>Newsweek</u>, June 30, 1969, p. 31 quoting Robert Hall of Watt's Operation Bootstrap.

⁴⁵Peter Braestrup, "Pride's Job Program Goal: 'Piece of Action' for Ghetto," The Washington Post, March 23, 1969, pp. D-1, D-3.

has been taking place to bring more blacks at all levels into white-dominated enterprises. Until recently the combined and often interrelated factors of inadequate education and racial discrimination seriously limited the Negro's competitive position in the labor force. The enactment of fair employment legislation and job training programs has increased the potential for economic integration into the general community. For the most part whether such measures can improve the situation depends on the degree of implementation, the rate at which job vacancies are opened or jobs created, and the access to formal and informal channels of recruitment. 46

The most extensive effort to provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed has been undertaken by the National Alliance of Businessmen. In less than two years they have placed 229,679 persons in jobs with a retention rate of 54 percent, which is nearly the same rate for the white and blue collar labor force as a whole. Federal grants are provided to the 18,500 participating companies to provide training with the average training program lasting for eighteen months. In general the program has emphasized intensive recruitment efforts, assistance in getting through the application procedures, and help in adjusting to the first few months of work. That this program has required some adjustment by the employers is evidenced by the comment of one participant: "'Until recently, most of these people wouldn't have been permitted past the gatekeeper.'"

⁴⁶ Arthur M. Ross, "Will the Negro Succeed?" Employment, Race, and Poverty, ed. Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967) p. 583.

^{47&}quot;How to Hire the Hard Core," <u>Newsweek</u>, September 8, 1969, p. 65 quoting Paul W. Kayser of PepsiCo, Inc. and NAB President.

Whether these programs will continue depends on the continued health of the economy since the costs of training the hard-core unemployed are considerably higher than those of training regular employees. 48 If such programs are successful it can be assumed that they will pose a strong force against assimilation into a nationalistic movement.

In the American economy there is one set of rules and values for all. If the Negro is to succeed, he will have to compete in accordance with these established rules, and he will have to make it all the way into "first class" industries and occupations where competition is strong and pressures are severe. He will have to sacrifice certain privileges and immunities which have gone along with acceptance of a servile status — a monopoly over designated "negro jobs"; a condescending tolerance, on the part of whites, of slack performance, petty thievery, and other symptoms of indiscipline; the cast-off garments of white employers, and so on. 49

Values and Desires

Through the socialization process individuals learn to prefer and value various modes of action and types of goals. The balance between these common and conflicting values between two cultures will affect the rate of assimilation, as persons try to bring their cultural patterns into focus with those of the predominating culture. This balance also determines the influences which can be exerted by material rewards, since the rewards must be seen as such to have an influence. 50

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁴⁹Ross, p. 580.

⁵⁰ Deutsch, pp. 159-161

In studying the culture of the black community in relationship to a black nationalistic movement two aspects will be examined. First, the cultural values of the American blacks as viewed by black nationalistic spokesmen. Second, evidences from other sources indicating the significance of these values within the total cultural context of the community. In analyzing the statements of black spokesmen it should be remembered that they are not only pointing out cultural values, but also that they are working "to create new values and to build a new sense of community."

The approach of creating new values is necessary as the American Negro has been acculturated into the dominate white culture. ⁵² For while the legacy of slavery may have worked to differentiate the Negroes, it also left them with many cultural gaps which could be adjusted by making adaptations from the white American society. ⁵³

Within the past few years the major wants of the black community have been incorporated into the meanings given to the slogan "Black Power." A vague phrase with many interpretations, this slogan has

⁵¹ Charles V. Hamilton, "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It," The Rhetoric of Black Power, ed. Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brochriede (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) p. 181.

⁵² E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Cultural Contacts in the Modern World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965) p. 316.

⁵³W. E. B. DuBois, "Three Centuries of Discrimination," Black
Power: The Radical Responses to White America, ed. Thomas Wagstaff
(Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1969) p. 19. For further discussions of the influence of slavery on the Negroes' culture, both in a centrifugal and centripetal sense, see Frazier's The Negro Church in America, Stampp's The Peculiar Institution, DuBois' Black Reconstruction in America, 1960-1880, and Silberman's Crisis in Black and White.

been used to express the myriad desires of American Negroes since it was popularized by Stokely Carmichael in 1966.

Essentially black power has as its fundamental goals: the growth of black political power and the development of black leadership; the building of black economic power and the mobilization of black consumer power; the improvement of the self-image of black people. 54 The inclusion of these elements occurs in varying degrees in the writings and speeches of black spokesmen.

Essential to the modernization of structures is a broadened base of political participation. More and more people must become politically sensitive and active Black people will choose their own leaders and hold those leaders responsible to them . . . Broadening the base of political participation . . . has much to do with the quality of black participation as with the quantity. We are fully aware that the black vote . . . has been pulled out of white pockets and "delivered." . . . That vote must no longer be controllable by those who have neither the interests nor the demonstrated concern of black people in mind. 55

The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. ⁵⁶

Black Power is also a call for the pooling of black financial resources to achieve economic security. While the ultimate answer to the Negroes' economic dilemma will be found in a massive federal program for all the poor . . . there is something that the Negro himself can do to throw off the shackles of poverty. Although the Negro

⁵⁴ Floyd B. McKissick, "Programs for Black Power," The Black Power Revolt, ed. Floyd B. Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968) p. 178.

⁵⁵Carmichael and Hamilton, p. 43.

⁵⁶ Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X Speaks, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Press, 1965) p. 28.

is still at the bottom of the economic ladder, his collective annual income is upwards of \$30 billion. This gives him a considerable buying power that can make the difference between profit and loss in many businesses.

Through the pooling of such resources and the development of habits of thrift and techniques of wise investment, the Negro will be doing his share to grapple with his problem of economic deprivation. If Black Power means the development of this kind of strength within the Negro community, then it is a quest for basic, necessary, legitimate power. 57

White folks do not need anybody to remind them that they are men. We do! This was his one incontrovertible benefit to his people.

Protocol and common sense require that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak up for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scene in our fight. This is the essence of Negro politics. But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles. That's the way to win back your self-respect. That's the way to make the white man respect you. And if he won't let you live like man, he certainly can't keep you from dying like one. 58

Black people manifestly must have the sense of pride and self-respect which can only come through the tradition of self-directed efforts at self-sufficiency. 59

As it has been pointed out, it has been necessary for black spokesmen to create new values. The above citations give some indication of how such a creation is taking place and the direction in which it is going. The political and economic values, which could have been presented in individualistic terms, have emphasized community solidarity.

^{57&}quot;Martin Luther King, Jr., Writes About the Birth of the Black Power Slogan," The Rhetoric of Black Power, ed. Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brochriede (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) p. 38.

⁵⁸ Ossie Davis, "On Malcolm X," The Autobiography of Malcolm X, ed. Alex Haley (New York: Grove Press, 1965) pp. 457-458.

⁵⁹ Nathan Wright, Jr., "The Crisis Which Bred Black Power," <u>The Black Power Revolt</u>, ed. Floyd B. Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968) p. 115.

To a certain extent this approach may be more of a means than an end, since it would seem more likely to mobilize support. Also this approach has served to confront a problem that has traditionally hindered the black community -- its fragmentation and inability to work together for common goals. 60

Other values which are stressed are primarily achieved through a manipulation of symbols. The question of negative self-concept has been discussed as a problem in the black community, and it has been mentioned that one means of overcoming this is by group action against a common "enemy." The emphasis on various symbols, such as the lack of manhood, point out common cultural patterns which may be exploited to motivate people to action. 61

Studies which are available indicate that the predominate values and desires of the American Negro are seen by him to be attainable in an integrated society. Insofar as such studies are accurate, it must be assumed that cultural differences are not perceived by most community members to hinder their attainment of their goals. A national survey conducted in 1969 found that blacks cited jobs (51 percent), education (39 percent) and housing (36 percent) as their top priority problems. Three-fifths of the respondents felt that in the past five years their employment and their children's educational circumstances have improved; one-half felt that their housing was better. At the same time 78 percent responded that they would want

⁶⁰ Carmichael and Hamilton, pp. 37-38.

 $^{^{61}}$ The use of symbols and their cultural context in the community will be discussed in the following section.

their children in an integrated school (9 percent disagreed) and 74 percent would rather live in an integrated neighborhood (16 percent disagreed). 62

To a certain extent assimilation vis-à-vis racial integration may be considered as a goal. The above survey found that 78 percent disagreed with the statement that "Negroes will make more progress by running their own schools, businesses and living in their own neighborhoods than by integration" (13 percent agreed). A 1967 survey in Detroit (467 blacks) found 87 percent favored racial integration when given a choice between "racial integration, total separation of the races or something in between." Earlier surveys which have been conducted also support this conclusion.

Being a Negro in America is less of a racial identity than a necessity to adopt a subordinate social role. The effect of playing this "Negro" role is profound and lasting. Evaluating himself by the way others react to him, the Negro may grow into the servile role, in time; the person and the role become indistinguishable. The personality consequences of this situation can be devastating -- confusion of self-identity, lowered self-esteem, perception of the world as a hostile place, and serious sex-role conflicts. 66

Essentially, it seems that Negroes can be considered to be a part of the general society and apart from it at the same time. The

 $^{^{62}}$ "Report from Black America," pp. 19-20.

^{63&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 20.

⁶⁴Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "The Meaning of Black Power: An Empirical Assessment," <u>Abstracts</u>, 64th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., Sept. 3-7, 1968 (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1968).

Pettigrew summarizes research findings which reconfirm the findings presented on the goals of the Negro community, including integration, pp. 33, 49, 185-186.

66
Ibid., p. 25.

tactics of a number of black leaders have been to capitalize on this apartness. Therefore in terms of societal change the acceptable alternatives to the black community would seem to be a racially integrated society, or, in lieu of that, a separate community with a similar culture.

Negro Americans are so firmly rooted in and shaped by their land that their revolution is attempting merely to guarantee full participation in the society as it otherwise exists. In short, they do not wish to deprecate or destroy that which they wish to join. 67

Symbols and Barriers

The final balance which is considered to determine the rate of assimilation is the function of national symbols and barriers. One aspect influencing the rate and direction of assimilation is the effect of symbols and barriers in determining the interaction between a minority and the predominant culture. This aspect emphasizes those symbols that may work to unify the two cultures but at the same time considers those social and symbolic barriers which work to keep them separate. The other aspect is the influence of symbols and barriers within the minority group which tend to inhibit their assimilation into the predominant group. ⁶⁸

In analyzing the development of nationalism in the black community it is this second aspect which needs to be considered. To approach this aspect of assimilation, it is necessary to consider those symbols and barriers both created and manipulated by black leaders, since they

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 193

⁶⁸ Deutsch, pp. 161-162.

both reflect the occurrence of these elements in the community and the effort to strengthen their usefulness in tiging the community together. 69

Probably the most interesting and pervasive symbol to be used within the past few years has been the concept of blackness as a positive characteristic. As it has been frequently noted with ample authority, the word "black" has traditionally been permeated with negative connotations. The force of such connotations has been evidenced by studies of Negro children when their awareness of their coloration and subsequently of their racial identity was related to low self-esteem. Recently there has been a persistent effort to stop the process of Negroes denying their color, which takes its most extreme form in "passing," to develop the attitude that their race makes them different and to visualize power in their blackness.

Once the concept of blackness becomes established, it then can be used to tie the community together.

Merriam points out two aspects of leadership which are essential in developing this framework. First, "political leadership is conditioned upon the prevalence of like qualities within the community it is exercised . . . The leader is original, perhaps, but not too original, otherwise he cannot be understood or followed or supported by his potential group." Second "modern leadership exhibits strikingly the importance of two factors, the command of symbolism and facility in organization." Charles E. Merriam, Political Power (New York: Collier Books, 1964) pp. 48-50.

 $^{^{70}}$ Pettigrew, p. 7. This aspect has been detailed in Chapter II.

⁷¹ Robert Conot, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness (New York: Bantam Books, 1967) p. 222. This process is also discussed by Alvin Poussaint, "The Role of Education in Providing a Basis for Honest Self-Identification," Black Studies in the University: A Symposium, ed. Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, and Donald H. Ogilvie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) pp. 196-199, and by Robert S. Browne, pp. 231-233.

Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness . . . The black community will have a positive image of itself that it has created . . . From now on we shall view ourselves as Afro-Americans and as black people who are in fact energetic, determined, intelligent, beautiful and peace-loving.72

In attempting to "reclaim their history" numerous references are made to the legacy of slavery.

When some people compare the black American to "other immigrant" groups in this country, they overlook the fact that slavery was peculiar to the blacks. No other minority group in this country was ever treated as legal property. 73

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the "Mayflower." You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the "Mayflower," you were brought here by the so-called pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. 74

The Afro-American cannot forget that his enslavement in this country did not pass because of pacifist moral force or noble appeals to the Christian conscience of the slaveholders.

It is in the nature of the American Negro, the same as all other men, to fight and to try to destroy those things

⁷² Carmichael and Hamilton, pp. 37-38. See also Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X. Speaks, pp. 4-17, which discusses not only black as a common unifying element but also differences between his concept of "Negroes" and "blacks."

 $^{^{73}}$ Carmichael and Hamilton, p. 25.

⁷⁴ Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X Speaks, pp. 4-5.

that block his path to a greater happiness in life. 75

Here slavery is seen as unique to the black man, and it not only separates him from the white but also was caused by the white man. Also it is pointed out that slavery was overcome through violence, which shows how the symbol can be manipulated toward justifying a specific type of action. It should also be pointed out that a number of the other symbols which will be discussed have been nurtured by the total Negro experience, but frequently, with ample justification, these symbols are traced back to the experience of slavery.

Psychological and sociological characteristics of that population which has been designated herein as assimilated have also been used as symbols. The emasculation of the Negro male is one such characteristic. Any number of factors have been cited as contributory to this emasculation: the existence of the matriarchal structure in the community which has been reinforced by government programs which demand little or nothing in return; ⁷⁶ the frequent economic need to accept servile employment, such as washing dishes or cooking, which is generally considered to be "woman's work;" ⁷⁷ and, the conscious and unconscious efforts made by Negro mothers to suppress their sons' masculine assertiveness, particularly in response to the need to prepare

⁷⁵ Robert F. Williams, "Self-Defense: An American Tradition," Chronicles of Black Protest, ed. Bradford Chambers (New York: Mentor Books, 1968) p. 198.

⁷⁶Conot, p. 223.

⁷⁷ Pettigrew, pp. 20-21.

them for the subordinate role expected and, to a certain extent, required by society. Recause of the complexity of the human personality this loss of male identity is not easily overcome by a black nationalistic movement. For some this emasculation may be overcome by placing the blame on the white community and by focusing on anti-white sentiments. However, there are a number of interracial and intersexual feelings involved which may conflict if opportunities occur which allow the individual to approach the oppressor. Probably the clearest example of this conflict is found in a poem written by Eldridge Cleaver while in prison for raping a white woman:

To a White Girl

I love you
Because you're white,
Not because you're charming
Or bright.
Your whiteness
Is a silky thread
Snaking through my thoughts
In redhot patterns
Of lust and desire.

I hate you
Because you're white.
You're white
Your white meat
Is nightmare food.
White is
The skin of Evil.
You're my Moby Dick,
White Witch,
Symbol of the rope and hanging tree,
Of the burning cross.

Loving you thus And hating you so, My heart is torn in two. Crucified.⁸⁰

William H. Grier and Price W. Cobbs, <u>Black Rage</u> (New York: Basic Books, 1968) p. 63. For a detailed discussion of emasculation and resulting behavior patterns see Grier and Cobbs, pp. 55-74; Pettigrew, pp. 17-24; Clark, pp. 70-74; and Silberman, pp. 116-120.

Essentially this emasculation and other problems related to self-concept are seen as solvable only through the development of black communities, i.e., communities completely controlled by blacks. 81

The use of the above-mentioned symbols serves to emphasize common bonds within the community and to motivate common action. For the most part the symbols which have been chosen have been developed to indicate the barriers inherent in black and white relations as well as to offer a framework by which action can be undertaken, i.e., through the development of a strong sense of community and through male assertiveness. Exactly what ends are to be and actually will be met by the use of such symbols seems to depend on the leader who uses them and the willingness of the community to follow him.

Conclusions

The evidence from the application of Deutsch's balance factors tends to give an indication of areas of strength and weakness in a movement toward black nationalism. An analysis of the similarity of communications balance indicates that language differentiation between black and white communities is weak, and little effort is being made at the present time to emphasize or strengthen those differences which do exist. A similar lack of distinguishable differences in values and

⁷⁹ Poussaint, "The Role of Education in Providing a Basis for Honest Self-Identification," P. 198.

Eldridge Cleaver, <u>Soul on Ice</u> (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968) pp. 13-14.

⁸¹ Alvin F. Poussaint, "The Negro American: His Self-Image and Integration," The Black Power Revolt, ed. Floyd B. Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968) P. 101.

desires has also been indicated; however, a concerted effort has been made by some black leaders to reorient the existing values and desires within a black context. This effort seems primarily to involve a manipulation of symbols and may, to a very large extent, be undertaken to enhance a given spokesman's power. Whether this factor will ultimately increase the rate of assimilation within the black community seems to depend on the leader's ability to achieve the ends proposed in a changed value system, and the failure of the white community to satisfy the dominant values and desires evidenced in the black community.

The balances concerned with educational facilities and material rewards indicate both strength and weakness. While black leaders have made extensive efforts to encourage "black" education and economic development with considerable community support, much of the progress that has been made in these areas has been in a white framework. For the most part black studies programs have been found in public school systems and in white universities; this gives the white community ultimate control in determining how far these programs can or will go. In the economic sphere the black community lacks the resources to undertake a vast economic change; therefore, the community becomes dependent on federal and industrial funds, which again takes ultimate control out of the community. At the present time it should be noted that the most intensive effort has been integrative in approach — the training of the hard-core unemployed to work in established industries and businesses.

The strongest balance seems to be the use of symbols and barriers.

Used effectively, this balanace can overcome factors of poor selfesteem through creating a sense of solidarity in the black community.

Whether the anti-white barrier which is engendered by the symbols will effect the rate of differentiation probably depends on the ability of the white community to counteract effectively the nationalistic forces analyzed in the other balances.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions concerning the balance of the frequency of contacts. As it has been indicated, this balance involves a number of complex processes, such as the effect of interpersonal communication systems and of mass media, which Deutsch framework does not adequately cover. With the exception of mass communication, which seems to involve the same problems found in the study of educational facilities and economic development, the framework and analysis developed in "Cohesion Within the Black Community" seems to offer a better evaluation of the effect of this process on assimilation than can be found within the context of this balance.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

On Black Nationalism in the United States

The evidences found in this study strongly indicate that whether a strong black nationalistic movement takes place in the United States depends primarily on the response of the white community. Psychological and sociological evidence shows that: the black community shares many cultural traits with the white community; the black community generally wishes integration and this desire is usually enhanced by contacts with whites; the Negro may actually work better with whites depending on his capabilities and the degree of stress he experiences in the course of the interaction. It has also been shown that those resources valued and desired by most Negroes are controlled by the white community; thereby creating a further incentive for integration; the importance of this is obvious when it is considered that the most valid measure of assimilation seems to be determined by socio-economic factors.

The major differentiating factor between the two groups has occurred from the experience of slavery, segregation, and discrimination. The current movement toward black nationalism capitalizes on these experiences to further separate the two communities. However, at the same time an effort is being made to increase the viability of such a movement beyond symbolic significance. The pressure to create relevant educational programs, to obtain economic strength, and ultimately to

obtain complete black control of black communities has had some concrete results. At the present time these achievements are relatively minor and probably could be easily co-opted by the predominant culture. However, it must be assumed that in the absence of a white response which adequately meets experessed needs in the black community, these initial efforts might grow in strength and give solid support to racial conflict.

On Deutsch's Model

To be adequately applied Deutsch's model requires a team of researchers with adequate resources for in-depth analysis. Yet it has been found that his framework can be adopted by a single researcher to make a general assessment of the direction and tendencies found in a given nationality. Probably the most important aspect of this model for either approach is the opportunity to bring together many related areas of information into a comprehensive pattern, since the development of nationalism and its eventual outcome cannot be explained by any one set of forces.

In this study it was found that Deutsch provided inadequate guidance for two aspects of his model. First, he does not offer any clear guidelines as to what measures might be adopted when the element of language does not differentiate two groups of people. Second, he does not consider of what value a study of the mass media is and how this might be incorporated into his concept of "frequency of contact." In this study it was found that the "frequency of contact" balance was over-simplified, and would probably have caused more fallacies in explaining its effect on the assimilation process that it would have correctly explained.

Areas for Further Research

Essentially every aspect of Deutsch's model which has been discussed in this paper could be expanded into a separate study; however, such an approach would ruin the value of the model. Insofar as this study is concerned there is a need to further explore research that has been done on interracial relations to offer more conclusive evidence if processes uncovered in research with youth can be generally found throughout the community, and, if not, at what point does the ability to work cooperatively with whites under favorable conditions diminish. There is also a need to examine further alternatives which might be used to measure assimilation, especially to see if the application of such measures would change the conclusions about the strength and development of black nationalism.

To a certain extent, time is the greatest need. Since a number of the developments discussed in terms of Deutsch's balance factors are relatively new there is inadequate statistical data to show how widespread these efforts are. Also, the passage of more time will not only provide needed statistics but should indicate which trends are being strengthened or weakened in the current movement toward a black nationality.

APPENDIX 1 CALCULATION OF FIGURES USED IN TABLES 4A AND 4B

The figures used in Tables 4A and 4B were calculated from data compiled and published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The published data give estimated figures, based on samples, on the employment and education of Negroes; included in this compilation is a break-down of information by urban and rural areas. By determining the proportion of the assimilated and differentiated populations which are either mobilized or underlying, it was possible to determine the size of the combined population groups. For example, to find the size of the mobilized assimilated population, the percent of the population designated as assimilated on each characteristic was multiplied by the percent of that population known to be mobilized.

Calculations from Bureau of the Census data from 1940 to 1960 provided the following figures which were used (M designates mobilized, and U underlying):

Characteristic	M	U	19:	50	196	50
(Percent Distribution)	191	+0	M	U	M	U
Education 0-11 years 0-12 years 12 or more years 13 or more years Occupation Assimilated occupation Differentiated occupation	54 55 82 79 42 83	46 45 18 21 58 17	62 65 86 85 60 88	38 35 14 15 40	71 82 87 88 72 92	29 18 13 12 28 8

¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943) Tables 6 and 8; Census of the Population, 1950 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953) Vol. IV, Pt. 3B, Table 8; Census of the Population: 1960 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963) Special Reports, PC(2)-1C, Table 9.

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