"Black is beautiful" became a slogan for the rejection of the idea of the superiority of the Anglo-conformity model. "Blackness," writes Glazer and Moynihan, "is not simply the negative exclusion of white but the positive discrimination designed to strengthen and develop a distinctive group, with a distinctive history, defined interests, and identifiable styles of social life, cultures and politics" (1970:xxxix-xl).

The ethclass theory is discussed in some detail in the next chapter. Gordon defines an ethnic group thus: "Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permit and encourage members to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life-cycle" (1964:34). The ethclass develops at the point of the intersection of the ethnic group described above and the social class to which the ethnic members belongs (1964:51).

The homogeneous unit principle, also called the people principle, has been debated and critique more than any other element of church growth theory. The following references are key source materials for both sides of the debate: Donald McGavran, Ethnic Realities And The Church (1979); C. Peter Wagner, Our Kind of People (1979b); Orlando Costas, The Church And Its Mission (1974); Harvie Conn (ed), Theological Perspectives On Church Growth (1976); Wilbert Shenk (ed), The Challenge of Church Growth (1973).

The "culture of poverty" is a concept developed by social anthropologist Oscar Lewis. According to this theory slum dwellers are economically deprived and have little ability to defer gratification. They are strongly oriented to the present and exhibit fatalism and resignation. They do not know how to break the cycle and each generation repeats the same cycle over again (Palen 1981:367-369).
sense of moral responsibility regarding open housing. The second involved their survival in a changing community.

Restrictive Covenants

Before 1948 it was common practice to attach "covenants" to property deeds. These covenants were routinely tied to the land and passed from owner to owner. They prohibited the sale of the property to certain people. Even Ronald Reagan has been criticized for signing such a covenant. It was tied to the deed of a house he bought in Beverly Hills in 1941 (Ryan and Dixler 1984). Restrictive covenants were declared to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in the case of Shelley vs Kraemer in 1948. This was really the first step toward the open housing laws to come later (Greenberg 1959:279).

Growth of Cities

A second major historical issue was the growth of cities themselves. Expanded urban facilities such as freeways, shopping malls, and urban renewal programs uprooted large segments of the population from their communities. Romo describes how the historic Hispanic barrio in Chavez Ravine overlooking the center of Los Angeles was appropriated to build Dodger Stadium and subsequently intersected by freeways:

Freeways divided the neighborhoods without consideration for the resident's loyalties to churches,
supply of housing, (5) apprehension lest change in racial composition of a community will upset existing political balance, (6) vested interests in maintaining existing homogeneity of national-religious neighborhoods, (7) resentment against alleged efforts of the Federal officials to superimpose social changes upon a community, and (8) entrenched racial prejudice (1948:214).

Property Values and Ethnicity

One of the major arguments against housing integration is that property values go down when nonwhites move into an area.

Laurenti examined this argument in detail. His study dealt with the price in areas definitely influenced by changing racial communities compared to prices in stable white communities. He came to the conclusion that:

During the time period [1951-1960] and for the cases studied [seven cities across the country] the entry of nonwhites into previously all-white neighborhoods was much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price weakening. A corollary and possibly more significant finding is that no single or uniform pattern of nonwhite influence on property prices could be detected. Rather, what happens to prices when nonwhites enter a neighborhood seems to depend on a variety of circumstances which, on balance, may influence prices upward or downward or leave them unaffected (1960:47).

This study revealed that the prime variables in the pricing of homes in neighborhoods undergoing change are: (1) the way nonwhite entry is initiated and continued, (2) the
importance of understanding this argument, Appendix B of this thesis includes Tovey's entire dialogue.

Oscar Handlin, Harvard University professor and renowned authority on U. S. social history, presents another version of the freedom of choice argument. His argument is less stringent than most of those cited by Tovey. In Handlin's view, there will always be ghettos by choice. People like to live with their own kind - whatever that means to a particular group. There should not, however, be forced ghettos that people cannot leave. Neither should there be closed ghettos that people cannot enter. At the same time a new kind of ghetto should not be forced upon voluntary ghettos that have formed over time (U.S. News & World Report: 1963).

Handlin's analysis is illustrated by examples of areas termed "ghettos that people don't want to get out of." A 1983 report says "America is no melting pot when it comes to housing patterns. Still popular: neighborhoods that bear the stamp of a particular age, ethnic or income group" (U.S. News & World Report: 1983a). The article reports on four neighborhoods of this type. One is of Eastern European background. Another is a black middle-class neighborhood. One is a carefully screened senior citizen retirement center. Another is a heavily guarded and restricted community of 180 people on the East coast. The residents have
they could not otherwise qualify for a loan. This amounted to a kick-back for the realtor and the loan officer. The realtors would hold the papers on the mortgage. They would evict the recent buyer for being as little as 15 days behind on a payment. They would then repossess the house and sell it again, doubling their profits. By putting this kind of package together, banks and loan companies managed to charge exorbitant rates without directly violating the law.

To make their mortgage payments, many low income families rented out rooms. This created overcrowding and initiated a cycle that ended up as a deteriorating neighborhood. The result was the creation of a new slum.

White realtors were not the only blockbusters. Black realtors and lending institutions were just as involved. They particularly affected middle-class black neighborhoods:

[Blockbusting] also disheartens middle-class Negro families who, in the usual sequence of events are the first to enter an all-white neighborhood, seeking a community of middle-class character. Most brokers...willing inject lower-class and 'problematic' elements into an evolving middle-class Negro or inter-racial community, thus thwarting the efforts of colored teachers, doctors, lawyers and businessmen to enjoy the benefits of a reasonable standard of community for themselves and their children.... Again, a middle-class neighborhood tends to break down into a slum (Rothman 1963:224).

Blockbusting was outlawed in 1969. Court action ordering reimbursement to blacks charged excessive prices for their homes took the profit out of it. With profits gone
Realtors out to make a fast dollar caused most of these problems.

Experiences like that of Hyde Park led to the practice of "redlining." This is the practice of showing potential buyers homes only in certain areas. Redlining raises another ethical issue for churches. Is selective integration really integration at all? How much responsibility does the church have in this kind of situation? What should its community role be? These questions are vigorously debated in theological circles.5

The Deerfield, Ill. Experience

Another example of the complexity of the housing issue and the role of the church is the experience of Deerfield, Ill. A Jewish pro-integrationist builder initiated a low-income building project. He deliberately chose the town of Deerfield. The key source of this experience is a book written in documentary style with the intriguing title But Not Next Door. The book details the day-to-day thinking processes and political manipulations of a white community's struggle with integration (Rosen and Rosen 1962). The book records conversations, both pro and con. It outlines the use of nearly all of Weaver's list of arguments given above. It demonstrates the course of both bigotry and tolerance in a traumatized village.
Church reactions. The Christian Century took many in the church community to task over proposition 14. The writer of a letter to the editors claimed that the real problems lay at the door of the churches. He felt they had not taken the initiative in educating their members regarding integration and changing times. "The truth is," he writes, "that Proposition 14 won by the vote of white Christians" (Sharpe 1965:435). He goes on to tell of his experiences as a precinct worker:

Over and over again I was rebuffed in my precinct work with the statement, 'These church leaders do not want colored people in their churches, by the same token I do not want them in my community and will therefore vote for this amendment' (435).

Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1968. It gave complete parity in housing to all segments of the population.

**SUBURBS AND THE ZONING ISSUE**

The major issues in housing during the 1980's mostly deal with underground redlining and the lack of enforcement of already existing laws (Newsweek 1980:108,109). A new issue has recently surfaced, especially in the suburbs - the issue of zoning laws.

Shipler calls zoning laws "one of white America's most sophisticated and resilient devices of segregation" (1970:80). Zoning laws include the right of a municipality
to build 190 rent-subsidized apartments on the land. Some 40 percent were for rental to blacks (Newsweek 1977). The village management board blocked the construction by refusing to rezone the area for multi-family housing. The city was sued on the grounds that refusal to rezone constituted unconstitutional racial discrimination.

The case went to the U. S. Supreme Court. That body ruled in favor of the village. It ruled that the racially disproportionate impact of a policy is without constitutional significance unless there is proof of a racially discriminatory purpose (Will 1977:80). The decision stated that racial quotas cannot be superimposed on community housing for the sole purpose of achieving an "arbitrarily defined" racial balance.

Church related journals were divided in their evaluations of the decision. Commonweal, a Roman Catholic journal, felt it was a bad decision. It was destined to "maintain an iron curtain separating the American city from the suburbs" and likely to "haunt the nation" for years to come (1977:99,100). America, another Roman Catholic journal, felt that the Supreme Court was right because the case was based on economics rather than ethnicity. It felt, however, that the courts ought to do more toward changing zoning laws. This kind of case should not recur in the future. Integration should become commonplace (1977:90,91). The
Figure 10

The Subsociety And The Subculture

Factors Combining to Form the Subsociety

Ethnic Group

race
religion
national origins

Social Class

Rural-Urban Residence

Regional Residence

\[ \text{The Subsociety with a particular Subculture} \]

Examples of particular subsocieties characterized by particular subcultures:

Upper-middle class white Protestant, southern urban
Lower-middle class white Catholic, northern urban
Lower-lower class Negro Protestant, southern rural
Upper-middle class Negro Protestant, northern urban
Lower-middle class white Jewish, western urban
Upper class white Jewish, northern urban

Other researchers have confirmed Gordon's model.
Steinberg, for instance, says "class difference is far more important than the fact of ethnic difference. Ethnic conflict is often only a surface manifestation of an essentially social class character" (1981:170).

During the 1960s, blockbusters and others compounded the problems when they integrated neighborhoods without regard to class structure. The influx of Southern rural
tions are becoming more common as nonwhites experience upward social mobility (Wagner 1979a:33).

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CHURCH OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY CHANGE

Is The Church a Vital Part of a Community?

Communities consist of networks. According to Naisbitt networks exist to foster self-help, exchange information, change society, improve productivity and work life, and to share resources. They are structured to transmit information in a way that is "quicker, more high touch, and more energy-efficient than any other process we know" (1982:92,93).

Naisbitt sees these networks as forming one of the key features of U.S. society in the future, over against the traditional role of hierarchies (1982:192).

From a sociological point of view, churches certainly fit the network category. They form one of the primary networks in a community.

Churches have, however, found themselves - or put themselves, according to one's viewpoint - in an ambivalent situation. Some were among the main supporters of integrated housing. Others have been among the main opposition to integration.
Glazer and Moynihan. In their well-known study on New York City, these two authors spare no words in placing moral responsibility on white Protestant churches. "It is the white Protestant on whom the moral injunction to form a community together with Negroes falls most heavily, at least from a theological point of view" (1970:60). The reason is that Protestant churches are already divided into black and white sections. You have, for instance, black Methodists and white Methodists. Jews and Catholics do not have this problem. They can absorb new community members in ways that are not readily accessible to Protestants:

Many Protestant ministers are aware of their responsibility and their failure, and there is a great deal of discussion and soul-searching as to what can be done. Community with the Negro will become more and more a Protestant problem as religion comes more and more to serve as the major legitimate basis for separate communities within the large community (61).

Carl Dudley. Dudley sees the church as lending to the instability of changing communities rather than being a stabilizing force. "The nation," he comments, "that was once supposed to be a melting pot has become a ladder, and the church provides the rungs" (1979:79). Dudley's point is that the church may offer some welfare-type services to a community in transition, but all too often it does not remain in the community as a living presence.

Walter Ziegenhals. Ziegenhals feels strongly that pastoral leadership has been noticeably weak in helping
personally involved in changing neighborhoods took a vigorously anti-open housing position.

From the viewpoint of the missionary responsibility of the church, the issue revolves around the church's priorities. Should salvation of the soul be its first priority? Should it focus primarily on the betterment of human life here and now? These are valid questions for the church to ask itself. The debate over the answers is ongoing. One of the best statements on the issue is document titled *Grand Rapids Report, No. 21 - Evangelism and Social Responsibility: Lausanne Occasional Papers* (1982). Space constraints do not permit further consideration of the issue in the present thesis.

**Ethnikitis**

From a practical perspective, changing communities produce a situation in churches for which Wagner coins the term "ethnikitis" (1979a:29). The term describes what happens when the dominant ethnic group in a community changes. Churches can control their reaction to the problem, but not the problem itself.

The typical pattern of ethnikitis reveals that people of one group move out when people of another group move in. A church in the area, composed primarily of people from the original group, finds itself transformed into a commuter
black church in Salt Lake City. The community around it changed when a large group of Pacific Islanders moved in. The church fathers are determined to maintain the ethnic makeup of the church. It is a clear case of ethnikitis.

Churches that began as urban ethnic enclaves during the mass immigrations at the turn of century now face new waves of immigrants different from themselves. Their own second and third generation children have mostly assimilated to one degree or another. The church may be suffering from old age, i.e. a high percentage of senior citizens as its active membership. Add a changing community to this picture and the results are often an inevitable death for "Old First Church." Wagner proposed four possible scenarios: (1) die a lingering death, (2) adopt a mission oriented philosophy of ministry, (3) sell the church and move away, (4) make a transition to a different kind of church (1979a:35, 36).

SOURCE MATERIALS ON CHURCHES AND COMMUNITY CHANGE

Churches need to have some source material on hand to help them through these problems. The following books represent a cross section of valuable materials on the issue.

Walter Ziegenhals' Urban Churches in Transition (1978) remains a primary source of means and methods for an effective transition. James and Marti Hefley chronicle the
Two recent works are noteworthy. One is Jerry Appleby's *Missions Have Come To America* (1986). Appleby shows how to develop a step by step plan for a multi-ethnic church. Earl Parvin's *Mission USA* (1985) outlines the history of ethnic outreach in North America. He discusses the major ethnic groups. The section containing lists of the names and addresses of organizations directed toward North American missions is one of the most valuable parts of the book.
Many church leaders worked vigorously for the defeat of proposition 14. Whether their members agreed with them or not is another story.
CHAPTER IV

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action refers to those plans and procedures mandated by law to assure that minority groups and women receive equal opportunities in employment, housing, and higher education as well as equal membership in private clubs. These opportunities must include ways to compensate for past discriminatory practices in society. This last provision applies even if a particular employer was never intentionally involved in any discriminatory practices.

This chapter discusses affirmative action in employment and admissions policies of institutions of higher learning.

HISTORY OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REGULATIONS

Affirmative action programs were created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act converted into law the declaration by Supreme Court Justice Harlan in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that the U.S. Constitution is color-blind. It also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to oversee the administration of affirmative action programs. Two sections of the Civil Rights Act deal directly with affirmative action. Title VI deals with non-discrimination in programs that receive Federal financing. Title VII deals with equal employment opportunities. In essence, these Titles make it illegal to discriminate in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or
The second definition is the meaning of "compensation." In affirmative action terminology this means reparations for past wrongs. The reparations may be in the form of extra "compensation" pay, all expense paid training programs, or preferential acceptance quotas to graduate school.

The third term is "preferential treatment." This phrase refers to the preference given to minorities in spite of the availability of more qualified individuals. It is up to the employer to provide opportunities through which the minority member can become qualified.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROBLEMS

The process of putting affirmative action into practice has given rise to a number of problems. As time has gone by, a debate has arisen over its original intent the ways it is enforced.

The major questions are: (1) Does equal opportunity imply the establishment of a numerical quota system? (2) Does equal opportunity include compensation for past wrongs and discrimination? (3) Do majorities have the same rights as minorities under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution?
results from the employer based on goals, and placed the burden of proof of nondiscrimination on the employer. A 1971 revision made it discriminatory to require higher qualifications for a new applicant than those required of the lowest qualified incumbent (Barron 1975:162). In essence, Order 4 declared the original "good faith" approach ineffective. Goals became numerical quotas in everything but name. This led to a debate over the relationship between job qualification, seniority in cases of layoffs, and minority quotas:

However, with the assistance of the courts, simple imbalance - under which the EEOC can do nothing - can be redefined as itself a showing of discrimination, which permits the EEOC or the Department of Justice to require everything: back pay for classes of individuals who themselves have suffered no discrimination, the setting of quotas for employment of individuals of specific groups for given jobs, and the like. The question one may ask is: When does imbalance, under which one can do nothing, become discrimination, on the basis of which one can do everything? (Glazer 1975:49).

Qualification Testing. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically allowed for qualification testing.

It shall not be an unlawful employment practice...for an employer to give and act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.... (Civil Rights Act, section 703 h).

As affirmative action programs progressed, the idea of using tests as a qualification for employment came under fire. The landmark case was Griggs v. Duke Power Company (1971). The Supreme Court applied Title VII to invalidate
Philadelphia. The program required contractors who bid on Federal contracts over $500,000 to pledge specific goals for minority hiring. The plan set specific numerical quotas for the Philadelphia area (U.S. News & World Report 1969b). By 1973, 19 percent of the work force had to be from minorities groups (Stern 1970:390). The validity of statistical evaluation as a measure of discriminatory practices was upheld in the courts. This led to the establishment of plans in which the words "goal" and "quota" became, in essence, synonymous terms.

*Arguments Against Quotas.* Nathan Glazer presents the arguments of those who agree with equal opportunity, but not with statistical quota systems. "Every employer worth his salt," he writes, "knows that [proportional hiring quotas] are the solution that the EEOC and the OFCC and the rest of the agencies are urging upon him, while they simultaneously explain that they have nothing of the sort in mind" (1975:59). Glazer claims that the Federal Government has taken this route because of two assumptions. He sees both as overdrawn. The first assumption is that white prejudice goes so deep that it will not eliminate discrimination without specific quotas. The second is that institutional barriers such as seniority systems and qualification testing automatically exclude minorities. Writing in 1975, Glazer argues that as a result of the Civil Rights Movement the position of minorities has improved notably. Preferen-
Kaiser Aluminum. Brian Weber, a laboratory technician for Kaiser aluminum, applied for a company training program to become a general repairman. The new position would pay more, provide better hours and offer more job security.

Kaiser Aluminum had an affirmative action plan. It called for placing one minority worker for each white worker in training programs. The plan would continue until the percentage of minorities in skilled jobs matched the percentage of minorities in the surrounding communities. Weber was not chosen. He filed a class action suit based on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. He won at lower court levels, but the Supreme Court reversed the lower courts. It ruled that the affirmative action plan at Kaiser Aluminum was legal.

The Weber ruling upheld volunteer affirmative action plans and the validity of quotas. It ruled that private employers can legally repair the wounds of past discrimination, even if they themselves are not guilty. In other words, it upheld the legality of reverse discrimination (Newsweek 1979:77).

Problem Two: Does Equal Opportunity Include Compensation For Past Injustice and Discrimination?

The term "reverse discrimination" in technical governmental language means that current practice must compensate for past wrongs, in other words, pay reparations for the past (Executive Order 11246:1965). This was
which make possible a democratic society, and (3) the final results that reverse discrimination is supposed to produce are not likely to materialize (1978:4).

Glazer takes much the same position in his opposition to numerical quotas in affirmative action programs. He contends that people take advantage of group affiliation because of what they can get out of it, not because of any loyalty to the group. As a result new lines of conflict are created by government action. New resentments and angers arise and new turfs have to be protected on both sides of the line that divides protected and affected from nonprotected and nonaffected (1975:75,76).

Thomas Sowell, a black conservative, takes a similar position. Citing polls showing that many blacks also oppose affirmative action, Sowell says:

The repudiation of the numerical or preferential approach by the very people it is supposed to benefit points out large gap between illusion and reality that is characteristic of affirmative action. So does the cold fact that there are few, if any, benefits to offset all the bitterness generated by this heavy-handed program (1978:40).

His solution is a return to the straight equal-treatment laws of the 1960s before the advent of numerical quotas.

Arguments in favor of reverse discrimination. John Alexander advocates the opposite point of view. "In an ideal world," he says, "color would be unimportant. But we don’t live in an ideal world. We live in America where 38.7
'equal opportunity' were injured to make sure they couldn’t compete (1978:13).

Alexander realizes there is a problem with this argument. Why should an individual who is in no way responsible for the past have to pay reparations? Why should a person pay for his grandfather’s sins? His answer is that when society owes a debt, individuals in that society are responsible to pay, even if they do not realize it and are disadvantaged because payment is due:

So it seems to me that it is fair after all to ask whites in general to bear the burden of sins they may not themselves have committed. We did get a head start in the race even if we didn’t get it by ourselves cheating (1978:14)

He recognizes that in real life his argument means that some whites will bear an unequal share of repaying the debt. Most whites will repay nothing. He acknowledges the unfairness of that situation. Nevertheless, he still feels "an unequal, even unfair, distribution of the burden is better than leaving all the burden on the blacks" (1978:14).

The United States Commission on Civil Rights argues that society has been guilty of discrimination, whether intentionally or not. Everyone is therefore responsible for making things right, including the past. The Commission also recognizes that some individuals will bear a greater burden of repayment than others. On the other hand, the cost and manpower needed to treat each individual case is prohibitive. Therefore, some innocents will have to suffer
Rights Act of 1964.\textsuperscript{5} The California State Supreme Court agreed with Bakke. It declared that racial discrimination is illegal "even if the race discriminated against is the majority rather than the minority" (\textit{Time} 1976:51).

The Bakke case presented a unique situation for the affirmative action program. Nearly all court cases up to that time had upheld that the history of past discrimination, either in society in general or individually proven instances, was the basis for affirmative action. The medical school at Davis, however, was brand new. It had no history of discrimination to remedy. Bakke argued that he was being directly singled out unfairly and therefore was a victim of intentional discrimination. Civil rights leaders were afraid that the Supreme Court might nullify all affirmative action programs (\textit{Time} 1976: 51).

The Supreme Court Justices were evenly divided in opinion until Justice Lewis Powell cast a deciding opinion in Bakke's favor.

Four of the Justices read Title VI through the eyes of the Fourteenth Amendment. They took it to mean that race cannot be the basis for excluding anyone from participation in a federally funded program. Since Bakke was excluded because of his race, they voted to order the school to reverse itself and accept him (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1979:2).
mia, feels that the ambiguity of the decision became an incentive for duplicity in university admittance policy (1978). Admissions committees, he says, will find ways to admit mostly middle class minority students who meet the image a university wishes to build. In his opinion, affirmative action programs do not really help those who most need the help.

The case solved a personal problem for Allan Bakke, but didn't do much to clarify issues raised by affirmative action.

CURRENT ISSUES IN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative Action and Job Seniority

One of the major current issues is that of job seniority in the event of layoffs. The accepted rule in business is "last-hired, first-fired." The issue is how this practice relates to affirmative action programs. Is it correct to lay off non-minorities with seniority and retain minorities in order to uphold a quota system?

By 1983 a series of decisions had been handed down in lower courts upholding affirmative action over job seniority. A classic case was one involving reverse discrimination in the EEOC itself. The EEOC's own promotion policies discriminated against white male professionals. The judge called it "a clear case of the cow stepping in the bucket" (U. S. News & World Report 1983b).
systems are acceptable because they are handy ways of measuring effectiveness. One report notes that as the population grows older, white male opposition to affirmative action in hiring is shifting in favor of affirmative action in age discrimination (Newsweek 1985:69).

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND THE CHURCH

Affirmative action has not affected the church in the same way as have changing communities and the changing nature of U.S. society. Church journals discuss the issue and groups dedicated to social action are generally supportive of affirmative action programs.

John Alexander, an evangelical dedicated to social action, supports reparations for past wrongs of society based on texts such as Ex. 22:1,5,6 that stress restitution. He does not support hiring practices based on merit because:

As a Christian I believe in 'by grace alone' rather than 'by merit alone.' Perhaps I'm improperly mixing religion and the working place, but I don't think so. I think it's shallow to judge people by their merits or to display your qualifications so you'll get a job. What we all merit is to go to hell, not medical school. The good news is that God has freed us from all that, and God has freed us by grace not by rules. It doesn't do much good to teach by grace alone in church if then in the real world we practice by works alone (1978:15).

In a recent analysis of the future of the church in America, Christianity Today recognized the pluralism of U.S. society. "It is our duty," says the article, "to challenge
1 Preferential treatment in this context means that employers must develop programs specifically designed to recruit minority workers, e.g. by visiting black colleges and universities, recruitment through minority organizations and media, and the use of minority employees to recruit others. Invalidated tests and educational requirements are to be discarded and training programs instituted to specifically prepare minority individuals (U. S. Commission On Civil Rights 180,181).

2 "Community" was defined in International Brotherhood of Teamsters vs. United States (1977) thus: "Community is a concept that may have varying applications. Many colleges and universities recruit their students and teachers from a national 'community.' Many employers seek workers only from the region in which their facilities are located."

3 A typical example of a "good faith" approach may be seen in an article in the Harvard Business Review (Perry 1963:104-115) in which the author outlines how an employer can go about finding and integrating minority employees.

4 An example of this is the argument of sometime AT & T vice president John W. Kingsbury: "I also feel obligated to stress that equal-opportunity advocates must recognize that there are limits to the burden that the business community can carry, limits in terms of programs that can be effectively implemented in a given period of time, and limits of money that can be allocated. Initiating programs that are not well conceived and tested and promoting individuals who are not qualified, either by inclination or training, run the risk of wasting valuable human and financial resources and endangering the entire concept of equal opportunity. We have attempted, along with hundreds of others, to explain the difference between goals and quotas; and in the end thousands upon thousands of people feel there is but a slight semantic difference, despite our good intentions and the intentions of those in government. While some people will argue that our programs don't go far enough, to others, the law, administrative guidelines, regulations and court decisions seem biased in favor of minority-group members and women" U.S. News & World Report June 18, 1973).

5 Title VI prohibits the Federal Government from giving financial assistance to any person who discriminates on the basis of race, color, or national origin. The University of California at Davis is a public institution.
CHAPTER V

BILINGUAL/BICULTURALISM

As surprising as it may seem, the United States has no legally constituted official language. English, of course, has always been its unofficial "official" language. Only recently is that monolingualistic standard being seriously challenged.

ISSUES IN THE CURRENT DEBATE

Hispanic Immigration

Questions raised about a standard language are primarily due to the influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants. The United States now has the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world (Nunis 1981:23). Never before in its history has there been as large a relatively homogeneous language group as the current Hispanic population.

Biculturalism

The concomitant issue to bilingualism is the matter of biculturalism. Nunis comments that:

An acceptance of the principle of bilingualism may open the way to a new type of divisiveness in the nation. To the natural strains produced by economic, regional and scores of other interests, it adds the stresses brought to bear upon the country through interest groups defined by language (1981:26).

History shows that the descendants of immigrants usually assimilate by the third generation (Nunis 1981:24). Hispanic culture presents a major difference. It was al-
refused employment because they did not speak Spanish (Newsweek 1986:24).

At the other end of the spectrum are those who see monolingualism as essential to national unity. One of the great achievements of the United States, they believe, has been the creation of a single nation, political system, economic market, and culture. Nunis calls ethnic and regional diversity within this oneness "fruitful variations" (1981:26). "The symbolic function of language to demark society," writes Samarin, "should not be minimized" (1970:269).

Thus the basic question in the issue of bilingual/biculturalism becomes: "Should the United States become, in law and practice, a country in which two or more languages share official status and are used widely in public life, business, education, and government" (Nunis 1981:23)?

**Black English**

Another issue is the teaching of Black English in schools. There is a debate over Black English. Is it a substandard dialect of English or is it a language in its own right and a part of black cultural identity?

**THE LEGAL STATUS OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURALISM**

Except for some short episodes previous to World War I, bilingual/biculturalism has only become an issue during the last 25 years or so (Ridge 1981:261). Under the umbrella of
was French. The authorization to apply for statehood in 1811 stipulated "the laws which such State may pass shall be promulgated, and its records of every description ... shall be [written] in the language in which the laws and judicial proceedings of the United States are now published" (Quoted in S. Wagner 1981:34). New Mexico remained Spanish-speaking for decades after its acquisition from Mexico in 1848. Statehood was only considered after nearly 60 years when Anglos became a majority in the territory. It was granted in 1912 with the stipulation that the public schools be conducted in English. The only real exception to the supremacy of English is Puerto Rico, which retains Spanish as the language of education and commerce. This concession became law despite a veto by then president Harry Truman (S. Wagner 1981:45).

Recent Bilingual Legislation.

**Bilingual Education Act of 1968.** The first legal precedent for bilingualism was the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, also known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This Act assumed that the purpose of bilingual education was to make a transition to English as quickly as possible.

Another view soon arose, however. This was the concept of biculturalism, also known as the maintenance theory
benefit from classes taught in English. Failure to do so would constitute national origins discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (S. Wagner 1981: 48). The emphasis of Lau is on rapid transition to English.

Revision of 1978. In 1978 the Federal Government revised its policy on bilingual education. It moved closer to the original purpose of transition to English. The revision was the result of a government financed study by the American Institute of Research. The report revealed the government spending an average of $1,398 on bilingual pupils as compared to $376 on other pupils. It found little difference in progress between Hispanics in bilingual programs and those in regular programs (U.S. News & World Report 1978:59).

BILINGUAL/BICULTURALISM AND HISPANIC POLITICS

There are those who feel that the motivation for bilingual/bicultural education is primarily political rather than educational.

Ridge mentions the feelings of isolation and frustration of Hispanic intellectuals in the United States (1981:7). Nunis points out that the political considerations range from the modest objective of providing jobs for members of a group, to the more substantial and controversial one of maintaining the use of a foreign lan-
says, "Cubans admitted after Castro; and more recently Vietnamese refugees ... became citizens unintentionally" (Bethell 1979:31). Therefore, Kjolseth views bilingual/bicultural education as a moral duty of society.

Opponents admit that this argument may have some psychological force for the Hispanic population. It does not apply, however, to the many ethnic groups who came to the United States voluntarily. They have no claim on any language other than English (Bethell 1979:30).

A father in Colorado Springs, Colorado writes:

Bilingual education is wrong. A common language is a necessity in any modern country... responsible members of the Spanish heritage people in this community should work to abolish the sneak attack on taxpayers money used to support a divisive movement via 'bilingual education' (Hall 1976:522).

ARGUMENTS FOR BILINGUAL/BICULTURALISM

There are four principal arguments used in favor of bilingual/biculturalism: the heart language argument, the educational achievement argument, the maintenance of culture argument, and the enhanced self-image argument (Glazer 1981:57-64).

The Heart Language Argument

The heart language argument is derived from cultural anthropology. It affirms that a person's value system is learned and transmitted through the mother tongue. Hamblin presents as an axiom that language, the voice of a culture,