

Economic Sources of Transcultural Conflict In Kansas City, Kansas

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The article analyzes cultural clashes between the dominant WASP majority and a black minority culture in Kansas City, Kansas. A socio-anthropological methodology constructs the type of economic determinism developed by Marvin Harris and Henry G. Burger. Major conclusions drawn are: (1) that a large "cargo cult" exists within the minority black culture; (2) that conflicts between the cultures can be reduced if the minority culture can obtain a greater voice in decisions affecting its enculturative system and its peoples' economic future; (3) that federal works projects utilizing low-income labor can provide a major outlet for "cargo cult" tension, thereby reducing impingement with negative results; and (4) that the next stage in the dialectical process might well be a "constipated" stage exhibiting degrees of violence if the above two conditions are not acted upon.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the Negro as an ethnic minority in Kansas City, Kansas (hereafter referred to as Kansas City) by developing as thorough an ethnography on them as possible along the lines suggested by Edward Hall (1959). While employed as an American History instructor and track coach at Kansas City, Kansas Community Junior College it became apparent that increasingly strained relations were developing between an essentially WASP majority in complete control of the power structure, and the black minority. Cases of cultural impingement seemed to result in decisions contrary to the best interests of the black minority unless the majority economically benefitted from the decision. Hopefully this paper will reveal certain causes and propose certain innovations that should ease the present dialectical clash. Although realizing we may be running the risk of "McNamarrism" (short run advantage, but long run disadvantage), stop gap measures must be introduced, particularly in the Kansas City enculturative system, if the violence-repression cycle is to be avoided.

Frequent cases of blatant systemic exploitation by the dominant culture in Kansas City made an a priori Marxist interpretation a tempting possibility. The Marxist position proved to narrow, however, since it negates the possibility of man changing his environment as well as being changed by it. This process of change, occurring continually, will be termed "dialectical," referring to the Hegelian clash and resulting synthesis. In this study it will be shown that when men, as integral parts of their cultures, exerted energy to promote change, the economic, rather than the idealistic motive proved the mover. Marvin Harris's theory of cultural materialism, or "techno-economic determinism" (Harris, 1968: 519), will prove valid to the analysis and treatment of our problems, although his substitution of the "energy" concept in place of dialectic evolutionism somewhat limits his application. In this case, as we shall see, the two major problems have

arisen as a result of the dialectical clash resulting from economic causes. The problems proved to be the lack of cultural identity among Kansas City blacks in WASP-dominated enculturative channels, and the existence of a growing "Cargo Cult," demanding their share of the technological innovations flaunted before their eyes of a WASP-dominated mass communications system. Superficially, the first problem appears to be a psychological "need." Its roots, however, are in the minority ecology.

Both EMIC's and ETIC's¹ were used as sources in this study. A total of thirty, forty-five minute interviews were conducted in 1969 with blacks of all types along the socially stratified ladder. Fifteen of these interviews were selected for direct use in this study because they best represented the thinking of the black community, black culture, or black sub-culture, whichever terminology is more appropriate. The other fifteen will be brought in when a larger sample is needed. Most of the interviews were set up through former black students and athletes. For this reason the interviewee code system in Table 1 will be used.

Table 1

Interviewee Code Number	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Other Role(s) in Community	Religion
1	18	F	12th	Student	leader in Neo-Kingism	Baptist
2	19	F	Jr. College	Student, Babysitter	Afro-Amer. Stylist-Model	None
3	19	M	Jr. College	Student, Janitor	Unofficially with Black Panthers	None
4	20	M	Jr. College	Student, Janitor	Star Athlete	Baptist
5	25	M	10th	General Labor	Terrorizing Whites	None
6	32	F	College	Teacher	CORE Worker	Baptist
7	38	M	12th	General Labor	S NICK Member, Heavy Drinker	Baptist
8	40	F	9th	Prostitute	Denied role(s) because of prof. assoc. with Whites	Baptist
9	48	M	Post-M.A.	Sch. Admin.	CORE Officeholder	Baptist
10	55	F	3rd	Housewife	Church Work	Baptist
11	56	M	Jr. College	NAACP	leader in Neo-Kingism	Christian
12	60	F	9th	Housewife, Welfare	Community "gossip"	Baptist
13	60	M	College	Police-Comm. Relat.	NAACP Officeholder	Baptist
14	65	F	4th	Housewife, Welfare, Babysitter	Takes care of many Children	Baptist
15	66	M	10th	"Retired" from Gen. Labor	Destitute	Baptist

An Ethnographic Analysis Of The Kansas City, Kansas Black Community

The boundaries separating the minority black and dominant white communities in Kansas City are the Missouri River on the north, Minnesota Avenue on the south, approximately Twenty-Ninth Street on the west, and Third Street on the east. According to the local Chamber of Commerce (Public Information Service, 1969),

all of these boundaries except the western one have remained unchanged since the influx of blacks into Kansas City during the Civil war and post-war period. From all indications the western boundary is gradually extending westward. Members of the dominant white majority living on the western fringe area between Twenty-Ninth and Forty-Eighth Street are "worried" about this westward expansion. One member, an instructor at the Community Junior College, best represented the majority opinion when he stated the "bind" he felt himself in: "High taxes supporting blacks on welfare and stable property values because of westward Negro expansion may force me to sell my home and buy one further west." Boundaries are relatively fixed in the other directions. A majority of blacks interviewed commented that Riverside and North Kansas City were places to stay away from, unless they wanted to be stopped in their cars for "checks" or "drunken driving" charges.

Population figures released by the Chamber of Commerce reveal the population in Kansas City to have been 121,900 in 1959 compared with 181,000 in 1969. The black population remained at a stable 17.5% of the total during that period; 21,000 in 1959 and 32,000 in 1969.

Eighteen of the 30 interviewees were employed at least part-time. Fourteen out of the 15 males were employed at least part-time. The Kansas State Employment Service lists male black unemployment in Kansas City in 1969 at about 20%. Normally the average is about 15%. The other 5% probably can be accounted for by a construction strike. The Employment Service felt that if a problem existed it was the desire of untrained blacks for good-paying, prestigious white-collar positions. "They lack the training," stated one State official.

Interviewee #9, bi-cultural, i.e. participating in both the dominant and minority cultures, concurred to some degree with the statement of the State official, but went even further: "Few white-collar positions are open to us even if [we] are trained, unless the job involves selling goods in our own community." He was the only Negro "Marginal Man" contacted who did not feel the black could best benefit by assimilating into the dominant culture. "Separate but equal is supposed to be contradictory," he stated, "but the alternative, if we are to attain any power, is to adopt the white way of life completely."

All male blacks contacted felt their opportunity for employment limited to four areas: janitorial work downtown; Fairfax industrial district, if skilled, and if the industry needed to comply with Federal regulations or the State Fair Employment Code; public services employment; or small businesses on 5th St., 7th St., or on Quindaro Blvd. Pimping, gambling, running numbers, and stealing were suggested as alternatives to legitimate employment.

The appearance of a "Cargo Cult" (Burger, 1969) has become apparent in the black culture. All of those interviewed appeared extremely vulnerable to commercial products flaunted before their eyes by the dominant-controlled mass communications system. To them, economic equality is foremost. Interviewee #5 recently found his car repossessed by a savings and loan association. His comment was that "You know Whitey controls the interest, I can't pay that much money; he charges us more." The conflict between theory, symbolized by well-dressed, well-fed blacks on television and reality is obvious.

A "Cargo Cult" desires some of the material benefits of the dominant culture, often attempting to redirect the cultural energy of the subordinate culture (Burger, 1969). The epigenetic result may take a variety of forms. In Kansas City

the result of this dialectic clash will depend on at least two variables: the degree of energy which the "Cult" can master and the reaction of the dominant culture. Currently, the "Cult" is exhibiting considerable force. Interviews on July 7, 1969 with five merchants, all members of the WASP majority, revealed thefts by young blacks at an all-time high. One clerk stated that if a group of at least five young blacks entered the store and did not come in for a specific purpose, he was to walk to the back of the store and take a ten-minute smoke break. This situation occurs about three times a month. On one such occasion the store lost a bicycle, on another an iron. "The manager feels this is cheaper than having our front windows broken," was his reply to my obvious question.

"Cargo Cultism" is currently taking other forms. A three month boycott of dominant culture businesses which ended in 1969. According to interviewee #14 who picketed a clothing store on alternative days, the objective of the boycott was to "bring unfair practices to the public's attention." These businesses allegedly employ too few blacks as clerks and in higher positions, and issue too few charge accounts to blacks.

Finding other channels closed, many blacks condone stealing. This may be interpreted as the "Court of Last Resort" for blacks instilled with "Cargo Cult" energy that must be released. Only interviewee #9 stated unequivocally that stealing was never justified. Other opinions ranged from "It's O.K. if the Man don't catch ya," to "We only take what is rightfully ours and has been denied us" by a materialistically-oriented majority. Thus far police repression has occurred only in cases of major thefts. If a significant crackdown on deviant black behavior occurs without significant economic structural reforms the result may well be disaster.

Two employers' representatives in the Fairfax District agreed that economic mobility upward was much more difficult for blacks than for whites. One representative attributed this to a poor general attitude: "They seem to prefer to play at revolution rather than train for a skill and apply that skill," and that "productivity declines in direct proportion to the number of Negroes employed." Other sources feel that discrimination is practiced on the basis of this priori reasoning even though many black applicants do have the necessary skills. This would indicate another systemic conflict between two cultures with unequal economic power competing for the same economic goals. Herein lies one of the fundamental causes for the "Black Power" cry, as a unifying manifestation of "Cargo Cultism."

Most interviewees expressed amazement that a question about union and industrial discrimination was even asked. Number 9 pointed out that job discrimination against skilled black has been practiced for years by industrial and trade unions. In his opinion, and in the opinion of a high-level administrator in the school system, this factor is more crucial in the high percentage rate of full-time black employment than the lack of training. If trends in the upgrading of non-white jobs in Kansas City continues at the same rate as in recent years, the black unemployment rate in 1975 will be about 2½ times that for the labor force as a whole (Wright, 1967: 53).

Tours of 5th, 7th, and Quindaro Streets will reveal only one business built in the last three years, the Douglas State Bank. Owned and operated by members of the black community, their avowed purpose, according to a Director, is to "supply money to black people for their own businesses." The lack of any recent business-building has been noted. The Quindaro State Bank maintains the same

illusory philosophy. In 1957 it was one out of only 14 banks in the United States owned and operated by blacks (Frazier, 1957: 53). The failures of "Black Capitalism" were noticeable on other fronts. A large apartment complex at 5th and State Ave. is operated "by blacks for blacks" according to interviewee #6. Although backed with all the resources CORE could muster, this venture has proved less than a success. High rent, 50% occupancy, and other deteriorating inner-city conditions have contributed to this problem and to a growing pessimism about the success of "Black Capitalism" when plugged into the channels of our present system. Interviewees #2 and #3 felt that the original ideas of the American Revolution, equality and freedom, had been forgotten in the twentieth century. According to 29% of the interviewees, a second American Revolution must occur to topple the "Man" (Anglo) and his "pigs" (police). According to #3: "The white man's door has been open only to Uncle Tom in the past...well now more and more of us don't care anymore whether or not it ever opens....we may wind up in concentration camps, but we'll not go down like good boys." The traditional practice of the dominant system of admitting only conformist "Marginal Men" has emerged as an impingement issue. The above variables are again applicable if we are to predict the epigenetic result.

Enculturative Conflict

According to R.R. Bell, "Social values are primarily transmitted to the growing child through the major social agencies of the family, the school, and the peer group" (Bell, 1965: 493). These values, transmitted at any given moment have arisen from and are conditioned by socio-economic conditions. Rejection or acceptance will depend on the child's need as he perceives it. Since perception is relative to cultural conditions, then the end result--acceptance, rejection, or degrees of both, is dependent on the individual's relationship with environmental conditions in constant operation. If the three transmitting agencies have, in reacting to environmental conditions, responded by adopting similar social values, they will tend to reinforce one another and thereby minimize personal or social conflict for the individual. However, there are two general ways in the transmission which may lead to conflict: first, if the agencies of society transmit values that are in conflict with one another; second, whenever the values of the various agencies are in essential agreement the realities of socio-economic conditions may make the achievement of internalized values difficult or impossible for the individual (Bell, 1965: 493). The latter axiom is particularly relevant to the black enculturative process in Kansas City.

Numerous recent observations, interviews, and experiences as a teacher-coach at the Community Junior College on the south-eastern border of this culture have convinced this writer that peer influence is the strongest transmitting factor, followed closely by the family, and finally by the school--an insignificant factor for the majority: 15 interviewees were ranked on a 1-10 continuum. Three estimates of impacting enculturative factors were used to arrive at an average score: the EMIC's (black interviewee) own estimate, an estimate from a close associate such as a brother or teacher, and this writer's estimate. Responses, cues, and observations were converted to a raw score. The results were startling. Peer influence for all fifteen averaged 7.5; family influence averaged 7; school influence received the lowest average, 3.8. The school system must therefore be transmitting values that are in conflict with values transmitted by one or both of the other agencies, or the values transmitted through the school system are in conflict with the realities of socio-economic conditions.

Eleven predominately black grade schools span the area between 5th and 29th Streets, from the Missouri River to Minnesota. At two schools on the western border,

where the balance of students is about 55-45%, black-white, considerable conflict was noted by several interviewees. Number 3's brother teaches at this school. As one of two Negro teachers out of a total staff of twenty-five, he felt the conflict was between "Negro and white kinds who have not yet learned to treat each other on an equal basis." Number 3's interpretation was different than his brother's, and must be given more weight in this analysis. After noting his brother's disgust at his unofficial affiliation with Kansas City, Missouri "Black Panthers," #3 attributed general black frustration in schools at all levels in Kansas City to "White teachers who make us think White" and to Negro teachers and administrators who he categorized as all being "Toms." When #6, a teacher, was asked about this charge, she offered another interpretation: "Most of our school problems are due to the lack of enough Negro administrators and teachers." In her opinion it was unthinkable to question the integrity of Negroes who had already "made it."

The same patterns were found in the three junior high schools. The junior high school farthest west, where impingement resulting in conflict seems to increase in direct proportion to westward distance, is experiencing the greatest conflict. Number 4 attributed the hostility, suspicion, fear, and violence to white administrators and teachers who were attempting to impose dominant cultural values on a culture which has no need for WASP games, white history, white food, and group competition with whites, unless it proved economically beneficial. A majority of those interviewed agreed that they would gladly give up their customs and traditional values if they could see economic profit as a result. All of them realized, however, that the channels admitting blacks into the middle or higher echelons of the dominant economic system were extremely narrow. Number 9, today a "Marginal Man," "walked the tight rope" several years under many "suspicious and watchful eyes" before becoming "accepted," in his words.

Sumner High School and the community junior college also exemplify the sources of conflict discussed by R. R. Bell. All aspects of the dominant culture are taught to students who have little need for that culture's characteristics unless it can be demonstrated to them by deeds, not words, that "Whitey's doors will swing for me." When asked to define "door" further, #3 stated simply, "A good payin' job, man." When asked if he was attending the junior college to get job skills his answer was that "Whitey don't open his door to us, man, but we're gonna blow it open anyhow, so don't make no difference."

Sumner High School as an enculturative unit has been regarded as a problem child by Kansas City. Its policies are determined by a board of education which has little sympathy for the needs of its students; Sumner is maligned by both blacks and Anglos. The black athlete of mediocre ability from Wyandotte High School is often given priority over the good athlete from Sumner High School by colleges recruiting in the area. A basketball coach from out of state confided: "The Wyandotte boy is better disciplined and will be easier to handle." His statement is another example of misguided Anglo attempts to manipulate the black to predetermined ends.

Approximately 1,100 blacks and no Anglos attend Sumner. Several teachers are white, including the basketball coach, who, it is alleged, does not understand "our ways and problems," according to #4. White teachers, of course, commute from predominately white neighborhoods. According to all interviewees except #9, the bi-cultural administrator, Sumner's main shortcoming, represents a long-standing Board of Education tradition to pattern Sumner exactly after WASP enculturative

institutions in the city. Curriculum content, school objectives, lunch programs, and all other aspects are to be theoretically the same. As we suspected, #9 noted that if Sumner was ever to move up on the educational priorities list from last place, it must follow guidelines set down by city leaders. Two younger blacks who accompanied this writer during the interview gave each other glances which I learned to connect with "Tom" charges. This would seem to be further evidence of a definite split between the melting pot and separatist forces where division seems to follow age lines primarily.

A large, highly-cohesive student movement began to take shape at Sumner last year. Their demands included: (1) a course in Black History, (2) a memorial holiday commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King's death, and (3) improved athletic facilities, as neither the gymnasium nor the football field will hold half the student body. A sample opinion of area coaches on this subject revealed that about three-fourths of the student body at Sumner attended sporting events at their own school. At the coaches' schools student attendance ranged from 25-60%.

"Identity" was perhaps the key word in conversations with most of the interviewees. School systems in many states are in opposition to blacks retaining their cultural values, preferring to impose WASP values regardless to whether or not the individual plans to assimilate into the dominant culture or not, even if given the opportunity in the first place (Erickson, 1966: 145-71). Lack of cultural identity was also expressed by the majority of black junior college students. Many have no choice but to attend the junior college because of its low cost and also its geographic proximity, if they are to attend college at all. Once they enter, however, they must take courses designed to meet the needs of the majority, Anglo students. One "dropout," #11, rejected the entire Kansas City, Kansas Junior College situation, citing situations ranging from discriminatory repression to the lack of any Black History courses and the inability of white teachers to "understand" blacks and their problems. All former Sumner students expressed the lack of cultural identity in one form or another. When asked what their purposes were in attending the junior college, all expressed a desire to better themselves economically. And now the junior college will "flee the black scene," according to #3, because of its (junior college board and administrators) "fear of Black Power." A bond issue passed in 1968 provided for a new community junior college to be built in a white neighborhood. The black community was cohesively opposed to this solution, particularly when it became evident that some courses will be taught in the old building close to their neighborhood. Wyandotte blacks who are "less trouble" may benefit from the new facilities, but few Sumner students have cars to travel the several miles distance.

Two groups of Kansas City blacks expressed no lack of "cultural identity." The first group included "Marginal Men" who could derive satisfaction from having "made it" economically. Number 9 is a good example. He felt that since he had become a member of the dominant majority, that he could accept WASP values. Another "Marginal Man" was quick to point out that he was using the dominant culture for his own economic ends. The second group consisted of those with minimal contact with the dominant culture. Whether or not the lack of impingement situations is the cause or effect is not significant. Although lacking in material comforts, these blacks seemed relatively secure in their own culture. One of two reasons became readily apparent--either they were physically unable to try WASP channels, or they did not feel it was worth the energy which they would have to expend.

Cultural Materialism as a Possible Solution

Our problems have economic origins, although often expressed in ideological symbols. Two general patterns have emerged from our ethnographic data: Kansas City blacks who are members of the "Cargo Cult" currently trying to swim the WASP

channel to economic success, feel the lack of "cultural identity" within the WASP dominated enculturative process; and those preferring not to assimilate and consequently lose identity are forming a "Cargo Cult" of their own, demanding economic equality and cultural separatism. Many of those in the second category are "dropouts" from **the** first.

Marvin Harris' theory, "cultural materialism," in part explains the origins of our problems. We may therefore recommend certain solutions to these problems on the basis of a modified Harrisism combined with our ethnographic data. The essence of Harrisism is that men and their symbolic identity, whether it be a specific group or the entire culture, are motivated by the desire for material goods. Translated into Harris's research strategy (1968: 4) this principle of techno-environmental, techno-economic determinism assigns priority to the study of the material conditions of the sociocultural life, much as the principle of natural selection assigns priority to the study of differential reproductive success. A problem can best be corrected by studying the material conditions of the cultural life in question. If wide gaps exist between the material levels of cultures existing within the same relative territoriality, the materially disadvantaged culture will often expend energy in search of the advantages of the materially-superior culture. Concomitantly, therefore, the desire for material efficiency must be the main factor in cultural conflict between two unequal economic systems.

It is necessary to break from Harris at this point. Efficiency pressure alone does not insure acceptance and/or demand for dominant culture cargo. Culture adds the factor of pattern--"the cultural values may preclude immediate profitability" (Harris, 1968). This exception would seem to be a rarity, especially when the materially-disadvantaged culture can be reached by modern advertising devices showing them how comfortable life can be if only the channels were entered through which dominant members attain their success. In the case of two economically unequal cultures, evolutionary impingement takes a dialectical course, where practical necessity overrides ethical or idealistic desires in the shaping of culture.

Conflict between two such cultures may be considered a series of "challenges and responses" (Harris, 1968: 199). Each evolutionary cycle dialectically transcends into successive operational phases, each phase building on the last. The best of the last is therefore incorporated into the next. The present stage is the best of the past, but the worst of all future stages. A materially-oriented ecology sets the efficiency ratios on which decisions are made by nature or man (Harris, 1968).

Environmental conditions will therefore determine the direction of the next developmental stage in the history of Kansas City blacks. The "Cargo Cult," if all other variables are equal, will direct more energy toward achieving their objective of economic equality. The response of the dominant community will determine the next black challenge. If more channels are opened, then minority energy will be expended in opportunistically exploring the feasibility of entering these channels to achieve their goals. If these impinging efforts are repressed or repulsed by the majority, another approach may be attempted by the community. Unless frustration can be relieved in the form of a new, positive evolutionary stage, however, the black culture may become constipated. If this occurs, building by degrees, then demands for tearing down the dominant structure, may increase (Harris, 1968).

From all indications it appears that "Cargo Cult" frustration can best be released by drastic changes in the dominant economic and enculturative systems.

Reforming the latter hopefully would solve the "lack of cultural identity" problem verbalized by many minority members attempting to acquire the skills necessary to enjoy the economic benefits which they feel assimilation will bring.

Cultural materialism, as we have defined it, therefore implies economic self-determination for our black community. This must be accomplished without any loss of cultural identity. In other words, the enculturative system as a means to an economic end and as a bridge between cultures must undergo considerable revision before it becomes a viable system in the eyes of blacks. At present, the enculturative system of Kansas City will retain only those blacks willing to succumb to the dominant Anglo will. Consequently, an increasingly larger number of moderately radical and radical blacks are forced out of the channels of socio-economic success. Their behavior is often consistent with black cultural norms, but at odds with Anglo values. If economic and enculturative conditions are not changed quickly, then black alienation will continue at an ever-increasing rate.

Economic conditions must be greatly improved. Two recommendations are in order: federal subsidization of black capitalistic ventures on a larger scale, and federal slum clearance projects and other public works projects in the ghetto. All federal programs of this nature must be cleared through a council elected by the black community that is truly representative of the will of the community. Any other alternative would result in another arbitrary imposition of the Anglo will. In effect, the government would employ black labor on these projects, although certainly not excluding Anglos desiring to work on ghetto projects. A "Marshall Plan" for U.S. cities is a necessity. Billions now spent on the Vietnam War should be channeled into neglected cities. Unemployment would remain stable or decline, and a better balanced economic growth would result in priming the pump of sectors of the economy not now profiting by war expenditures. A recession could hopefully be averted by this shift in priorities. More importantly, however, would be the uplift of black economic conditions. The ambitions of our large "Cargo Cult" could be more effectively realized.

The second problem, lack of cultural identity by those on the enculturative bridge desiring admittance to the Anglo economic system, can be partially solved by certain changes in the enculturative system.

The black enculturative system is now designed to assimilate the Kansas City black into the Anglo community on Anglo terms. Pragmatically this is feasible provided that economic channels are opened wider, and if assimilation takes place with a low degree of conflict. Ideally, however, each ethnic minority has aspects of their heritage which might well be preserved even if that minority does desire assimilation. If changes in the economic relationship do not occur, however, enculturative changes will seem irrelevant to most black students. Proud, self-determined poverty would not relieve the major cause, economic inequality, however.

Provided the above changes occur in the dominant economic system, certain enculturative changes would help eliminate the "lack of cultural identity" problem:

1. At least one black (not "Marginal Man") member on the city school board;
2. The immediate transfer of all white and "Marginal Men" from positions of enculturative authority, or at least the reduction of marginal teachers and administrators to the exact proportion of marginal people living in the community;
3. Superior athletic and music programs for black schools in comparison to all-white schools, because of a great interest by blacks in these two areas;

4. "Decency" as the only criterion for black wearing apparel to school; permit Afro-American styles, long hair, etc.;
5. Funding of black schools on an equal basis with white schools, regardless of black tax contributions;
6. Black history, language, and cultural courses permitted at all levels, if desired by administrators and teachers (who truly reflect desires of the community);
7. Above courses must be taught by teachers with extensive training in subject matter; may be non-graduate if teachers and administration so desire;
8. Teachers, administrators, coaches, etc., must orient curriculum to fit needs of the immediate community and therefore of its students;
 - a. If "separatist" area, then school must reflect this need;
 - b. If assimilative ends desired, then school must reflect this need as well;
9. Kansas City as a bi-cultural enculturative institution must be reformed.

Since the heart of the "Community" junior college is being relocated at 70th and State Avenue, outside the black community, the inner-city campus (which will continue in operation under an Anglo administration as an extension of the main campus) must be turned over to black administrators and teachers. An integrated faculty is necessary since the projected attendance ratio is 2-1 with a black majority. Administrators and teachers at the inner-city campus should reflect this ratio. Black and white enculturators must reflect the needs of the area whose students attend the inner-city campus. Hopefully, the predominately black staff would be welcomed into a bi-campus relationship with white administrators of the suburban campus. Theoretically, marginal members of the inner-city staff could serve as synthesizing forces to promote harmonious relationships between the two campuses. Bi-campus functions also seem feasible.

Sports programs should not be put on a competitive basis between the two campuses. Cultural differences would only be further stressed. The competitive aspect would also force the dominant culture to call on untapped energy sources to maintain domination. Unequal energy sources would lead to further conflict, when our goal is either peaceful assimilation without destroying minority values or peaceful separation based on relative economic equality. The choice must remain with the minority culture.

Administrators and teachers will undoubtedly establish black cultural courses, presumably as electives until accreditation can be assured. Black history, Afro-American dialectics, racial and cultural minorities, black psychology, and black sociology are all interesting possibilities.

An inner-city campus attended by a majority of blacks and administered by Anglo-oriented administrators will serve only to frustrate students and the community. The "lack of cultural identity" expressed by many students will increase as a source of conflict. If the system becomes more rigid as a response to industrialization and "Cargo Cult" energy, the reaction and therefore new stimulus of the next evolving stage may be a cry for revolution. Although undoubtedly couched in ideological terms, the reaction will have been caused by the ecological conditions described.

Footnote

¹EMIC refers to a direct information source within the cultural group under consideration, and ETIC designates a source outside the particular cultural group.

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