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ABSTRACT

This topical paper, which summarizes a survey of the development and implementation of Black Studies in the 2-year college, follows two other topical papers: Number 12, The Position Papers of Black Student Activists (ED 042 453); and Number 16, The President's Reaction to Black Student Activism (ED 046 390). The types of colleges that offer Black Studies courses and their geographical locations are indicated. In urban communities, more control over the institutions is passing to black administrators. The politics involved in this movement are discussed. Programs and courses aim to create self-respect for blacks by "building an identity rooted in American and African history and culture." A few community colleges have formulated institutional aims for their programs. The curriculum is generally divided into the following areas: historical, literary, cultural, socioeconomic, integrated courses, and minority- and urban-oriented courses. In questioning the relevance vs. excellence of the programs, challenges and responses to them are made concerning the quality of courses, qualification of instructors, and performance of students. (CA)

BLACK STUDIES AS A CURRICULUM CATALYST

John Lombardi
Edgar A. Quimby

ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges

Graduate School of Education and the University Library
University of California
Los Angeles 90024

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TOPICAL PAPERS

1. A Developmental Research Plan for Junior College Remedial Education. July 1968. Out of print. ED 022 479.
2. A Developmental Research Plan for Junior College Remedial Education; Number 2: Attitude Assessment. November 1968. Out of print. ED 026 050.
3. Student Activism and the Junior College Administrator: Judicial Guidelines. December 1968.
4. Students as Teachers. January 1969.
5. Is Anyone Learning to Write? February 1969.
6. Is It Really a Better Technique? March 1969. Out of print. ED 030 410.
7. A Developmental Research Plan for Junior College Remedial Education; Number 3: Concept Formation. August 1969. Out of print. ED 032 072.
8. The Junior College in International Perspective. January 1970.
9. Identifying the Effective Instructor. January 1970.
10. Financing Higher Education: A Proposal. February 1970.
11. The Person: A Conceptual Synthesis. March 1970.
12. The Position Papers of Black Student Activists. September 1970.
13. Case Studies in Multi-Media Instruction. October 1970.

14. The Laws Relating to Higher Education in the Fifty States, January 1965 - December 1967. October 1970.

15. Nationwide Pilot Study on Articulation. November 1970

16. The President's Reaction to Black Student Activism. January 1971.

17. The Dynamic Interaction of Student and Teacher. February 1971.

18. Directions for Research and Innovation in Junior College Reading Programs. February 1971.

19. Some Philosophical and Practical Concepts for Broadening the Base of Higher Education in Virginia. April 1971.

20. Skill Development in Junior College Reading Programs. May 1971.

21. Community College Reading Center Facilities. May 1971.

22. Black Studies as a Curriculum Catalyst. May 1971.

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FOREWORD

Black Studies as a Curriculum Catalyst , the first in a series of special publications inaugurated by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges to supplement its regular Topical Papers. This Paper follows two other studies reported in the Topical Papers: The Position Papers of Black Student Activists (Number 12) and The President's Reaction to Black Student Activism (Number 16). All three were written by John Lombardi.

The present report is the result of a federally sponsored project to study black curricula in junior colleges throughout the United States. John Lombardi and Edgar A. Quimby, assisted by the ERIC Clearinghouse staff, spent most of a year surveying, interviewing, and meeting with an advisory committee made up of prominent black educators in junior colleges. The problem is timely and one that should be faced by all institutions of higher learning.

The complete report made to the Office of Education is entitled "The Development of Black Studies in the Junior College," Project No. 0-0240, Grant No. OEG 0-70-3680. It will be available through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. In addition, it will be published as a Monograph in the ERIC/American Association of Junior Colleges series.

Arthur M. Cohen
Principal Investigator and Director
ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges

BLACK STUDIES AS A CURRICULUM CATALYST

The advent of black studies in the curriculum may turn out to be the most far-reaching reform in the seventy-five-year history of the community college, for it has forced a reexamination of the educational philosophy of the community college. The college--community-oriented though it claimed to be--was caught by surprise. It was no more attuned to the aspirations and needs of the large groups of black students than the four-year colleges and universities were. The initial impetus for reexamination came from the students and their allies in the community; much of the momentum today continues to come from them.

Ever since its inception around 1967, the movement has attracted the attention of a wide section of the country. Few educational changes have had as much publicity in popular and scholarly journals. Black and non-black scholars, columnists, and community leaders carry on a war of words over the relevancy of black studies, especially to black students. The criticism and defense of black studies in schools cut across racial and generation gaps. Some of the major critics are black educators and leaders of black organizations; some of the stoutest defenders are influential non-black schoolmen and scholars. The unending interest and controversy force proponents to continually evaluate the rationale for black studies programs, a controversial dialogue that may be the key to their survival.

This Topical Paper summarizes a survey of black studies in American community junior colleges. It was conducted to furnish targeted audiences in the *junior college field with information about the development and implementation* of black studies in two-year colleges. Like many other surveys, this one was a formative effort designed essentially "to get a handle" on practices within the field, since the development of black studies programs in two-year colleges (and in other schools) has clearly outdistanced efforts to understand the phenomena that gave rise to them.

Data collected in the survey included responses from a mail-out questionnaire, interviews with California-based program directors and teachers of black studies, correspondence with a number of junior college educators throughout the nation who have been active in the implementation of black studies, and countless institutional documents: catalogs, brochures, class schedules, etc. This data collection was supplemented by a bibliographic search for all the available literature on the topic of black studies. The general direction of inquiry, however, was shaped by an advisory board recruited from all sections of the nation. The questionnaire, by the way, was addressed to the 807 institutional members of the American Association of Junior Colleges (1970) in the fifty states and the District of Columbia. Response to it was excellent--nearly 80 per cent of the

colleges replied--and 67 per cent (543) of the replies were returned in some usable form.

Since the "black studies" idea was, in Bornholdt's words, "accepted before it was defined" (2), the questionnaire allowed community colleges to respond in terms of a very loose definition. On the one hand, "black studies" was defined as "Courses of instruction (that) deal directly with the culture, history, sociology, psychology, language, etc. of the black man," and respondents were asked to take into consideration traditional African area studies and languages, besides more recent courses in the many facets of what is typically described as the "black experience." On the other hand, if the respondents said they offered no black studies courses at their colleges, they were asked: "Insofar as you know, have any of your college's courses of instruction been placing greater emphasis--since the mid-1960s--on the blacks' contribution to and accomplishments in American society?" A positive reply to this question was interpreted as involvement in black studies--even though we recognize that this interpretation may be questionable.

WHO OFFERS BLACK STUDIES?

The results of the survey suggest the impact of the black studies movement on American community colleges. By the end of the school year 1969-70, nearly 45 per cent (242 institutions) of the colleges participating in the survey claimed to offer at least one course of instruction under the rubric of black studies. An additional 31 per cent (168 colleges) of the respondents--at institutions that did not offer black studies courses--reported that since the mid-1960s their traditional course offerings had been placing greater emphasis on the black man's contributions to and accomplishments in American society.

The widespread adoption of black studies courses in community colleges started a short time ago. Before 1965, only 10 of the respondent colleges (five in California, two in Illinois, and one each in Alabama, Michigan, and Washington) claimed to offer courses that dealt with American Negro or African history and culture. Even by spring 1967, only 23 of the respondent colleges were offering courses in black studies. The pace quickened somewhat during 1967-68 for, by the spring of that year, 47 of the respondent institutions had adopted black studies courses. In 1968-69, the school year immediately following Martin Luther King's assassination, 100 of the respondent colleges inaugurated their first course in black studies. By spring 1970, another 95 had adopted their first courses of instruction in black studies.

The heaviest concentration of colleges with black studies courses is in California, where 61 colleges--75 per cent of the respondents in that state--reported offering black studies learning opportunities in 1969-70. Though other parts of the country have not become so deeply involved as California in this development, its overall growth has been remarkable. In the middle states, for example, 64 per cent of the respondent colleges offered black studies courses in 1969-70. Almost half of those in New England offer them now, while 60 per cent of the colleges in the Northwest have them under way.

The adoption of black studies courses in the North Central region and in the Southern colleges has not kept pace with developments elsewhere. A third of the North Central colleges and 25 per cent of the Southern colleges reported offering at least one course in black studies during 1969-70. Significantly, in both these regions, a sizable number of colleges--21 in the South and 22 in the North Central states--were planning to offer courses in black studies within the next two or three school years. (Many of the colleges in the South and North Central regions reported that their conventional curriculums have been emphasizing the role and contribution of the black man in America.)

At the time we designed the study, we did not expect the community colleges to be so heavily involved in the development of black studies courses, though we assumed many would report that their curriculums were now placing more emphasis on the history and culture of black America. (Such a response would, after all, be both socially desirable and impractical to challenge.) Yet the adoption of discrete coursework in black studies has been the chief means by which community colleges have approached this ethno-curricular innovation. The pell-mell rush to adopt such courses does not necessarily reflect a deep commitment to the aims of the black studies movement, but it highlights the programmatic approach most community junior colleges generally take to keep abreast of contemporary social reality. This report, then, can be viewed both as a chronicle of the development of black studies in two-year colleges and as a statement that reveals much about their institutional functioning in general.

Black studies courses are offered at virtually every type of two-year college, but they prevail in the large community junior colleges (5,000 or more students in California institutions, 3,000 or more students elsewhere). About 20 per cent of all two-year colleges in the United States are large institutions; collectively they enroll more than half of all community college students. We received responses from 138 (or three-fourths) of these large colleges; black studies courses were offered at 119 or 86 per cent of them. Ten of the large colleges that did not offer black studies courses in 1969-70, moreover, reported they would be developing them in the next year or two. Thus the study of black America is becoming

commonplace in the large community junior colleges--not surprising as the large ones in this country are in or near urban population centers They are heterogeneous and comprehensive social institutions in almost every respect, and they enroll most of the black students in the two-year colleges outside the South.

Attempts to infer relationships between the number of black students on a campus and the development of black studies courses, however, must be viewed with caution, even though the black studies movement in community colleges was addressed primarily to the needs of black students. We found virtually no reliable longitudinal data on black student enrollments in two-year colleges for three years during which these courses emerged in so many community colleges. Only a handful of respondent institutions reported that they had undertaken ethnic surveys during the past academic year. And distinguishing colleges with significant numbers of black students from those with only a few begs the question: what constitutes a significant black enrollment on a community college campus?

One hypothesis did emerge from our attempts to secure reliable data on black student enrollments in the large community colleges. It appears that some, possibly many, of these colleges have been enrolling an increasing percentage of black students over the past three years. If this has been a trend, the changing racial composition of large two-year colleges is best attributed to factors unrelated to the development of black studies (e.g., minority student recruitment campaigns, unemployment, changes in the boundaries of attendance districts, etc.), though the implementation of black studies courses between 1967 and 1970 may have been stimulated at some colleges by an upsurge in black student enrollments perceived by college officials.

Using even an inadequate test of significant black enrollments nonetheless yielded one tentative conclusion regarding the development of black studies in community colleges: Irrespective of size, colleges with "significant" black student enrollments (greater than 10 per cent) have not been adopting black studies courses any more readily than colleges with less. This has been the case with the large colleges as well as the small ones. In short, the black studies movement "has captured" the junior college movement.

THE POLITICS

It is obvious that the black studies movement has political overtones; the battle over black studies represents one element in the black students' attempt to establish themselves on campus (3). Or as Hamilton (4) puts it, "It is a political struggle for academic innovation." The advanced group in the black studies movement wants nothing less than "the total reorganization of . . . knowledge

and curriculum from a black perspective." Since "the educational systems of the white west have had their chance" and failed. the blacks "demand the right to experiment with new directions, if initially only in black studies programs" (5:84). Black colleges like Malcolm X in a Chicago ghetto are expected to "serve the political, social, and economic as well as the educational needs of black people." To the advanced group, black studies implies a total transformation of the educational system, not a patchwork of isolated modifications. Vincent Harding, an educational leader with wide influence among black educators, believes that education for blacks ". . . must be developed always within the context of the needs of black community here and abroad, and not the needs of American space, business or weapons technology" (6:158).

Much of the politics of black studies in community colleges has been equally concerned with the knotty problem of institutional racism. Black student demands for black studies, in nearly all instances, have also been demands for bringing an end to a wide range of discriminatory practices. Black students frequently attacked community colleges for their white, middle-class, anti-black bias, repeating the premise of black activist leaders that schools and colleges perpetuated injustices because they made the black man invisible by denying his contribution to the social and cultural tradition of America and the world. In brief, they echoed the charge of the black psychologist Charles Thomas that "education has crippled more of us than all of the diseases of mank nd."*

At the outset, possibly the overriding aim of the black studies movement in community colleges was to galvanize black students on college campuses into constituencies that could press for both the implementation of black studies courses and the reform of any number of institutional policies and practices that governed the education of young black men and women. Some type of separate educational setting under black control within the colleges was sought by black student organizations to mount a permanent attack on racism and to promote the special interests of black student constituencies. To a great extent, it was the formation of viable black student constituencies in community colleges that resulted in their hurried efforts to implement black studies courses and to undertake a host of institutional reforms in the face of real or possible confrontations. Confrontations initiated by black student organizations took place mainly on large two-year college campuses with more than a handful of black students. That these confrontations typically produced results satisfactory to the black students strongly suggests the efficacy of what the historian Eric Hobsbaum calls "collective bargaining through protest."

*Speech delivered at a conference on the non-professional mental health agent, June 8, 1968.

From its inception, the black studies movement has been closely identified with the notion of separate educational settings for black students--a notion that has been dealt with from three vantage points. First is the continuing call by some black leaders for virtually separate educational facilities--vide Harding's "Black University" (6). This concept of institutional separateness is promoted in earnest, for example, by Hurst at Malcolm X College, a nearly all-black community college in Chicago. Second have been the demands of black student organizations on bi-racial and multi-ethnic campuses for separate black studies departments, centers, or institutes under black control, i.e., control by black faculty members, administrators, and others who value the premise of "black liberation from white domination." This demand was finally met at Merritt College (California), after a long confrontation episode. Third has been the relatively tame demand for greater representation of black people on community college faculties and administrative positions, and on boards of control, a demand that has occupied the attention of many community colleges since 1967.

Black autonomy in bi-social and multi-ethnic community college settings is the immediate goal of most black advocates, but separatism in the form of black colleges is the ultimate goal of a smaller avant-garde group. In a few preponderantly black colleges controlled by black educators, the programs approximate the ideal of the advanced group. In these colleges, every facet of the educational enterprise is directed toward fulfillment of the aims of black studies. The reorganization of knowledge from a black perspective tends to be a total activity. This group of colleges, numbering perhaps ten, is growing, with the prospect that every large urban center outside the South will have at least one college controlled by blacks. Besides, in some communities, black colleges are being formed as offshoots of mother colleges located in surburban areas distant from the ghettos.

Undeniably, the black quest for autonomy has challenged a host of institutional conventions in junior colleges. The more militant blacks--students, faculty, and community leaders--have demanded not only a black studies curriculum, but participation in institutional decision making. In some instances, control "over the educational system that shapes the minds of (black) youth" has been the central policy conviction. This sort of autonomy was achieved easily at the institutional level where it is now customary for black educators to chair and teach in black studies departments. Since this form of control is usually in the context of the overall organization pattern of the colleges, this pattern of black autonomy raises the larger issue of black independence from supervision by white administrators at the institutional level.

In the urban communities with densely populated black areas, where colleges now have or will soon have largely black enrollments, control over the

institution is passing to black administrators. By 1970, at least 15 non-Southern public community colleges had black presidents and in some of them black instructors formed the majority of the staff. In these colleges, the presidents, their staffs, and faculty have the opportunity to shape the institution in terms of the aims of the black studies movement.

Malcolm X College in Chicago comes closest to the black militants' ideal of control by the black community--students, faculty, staff, administrators, and community people. It is considered "a prototype of the kind of educational system needed to solve the problems of black people" (11). On a smaller scale is Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, established in a Sacramento black community by the Los Rios Community College District. The school offers courses in the late afternoon and evening hours and maintains a counseling service from ten o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening. Community participation is a feature of its operating procedure. Also unique is the supervision of the school by a student. As the need arises, more courses will be added to the program.

During the spring of 1969, students led a campaign for community control of Seattle Community College. The effort failed, but it did lead to the selection of a black president and the resignation of a white board member to make way for the appointment of a black trustee. Community involvement, which has been an issue at Merritt College for more than five years, came to a head recently with the decision to move the college to another location. After considering a request for community control of its Merritt College flatlands campus, the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution expanding the concept of community participation of all of the district's colleges.

As the number of black presidents, faculty members, and trustees increases, the movement for black control of segregated colleges is likely to accelerate. In addition to the 15 presidents, many black trustees, and considerably more black instructors are now in community colleges. The development at Malcolm X College, the Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, Seattle Community College, and Merritt College may be the forerunners of varied strategies for black autonomy in community college schooling.

In the predominantly white colleges, black studies involves the introduction of a few courses and the modification of the standard courses to include a balanced treatment of the black experience in the United States, as well as its relationships to its African roots and to comparable developments in other countries.

Division or disagreement over the extent of black studies is most severe in the colleges with mixed or integrated student bodies. In these colleges, pressure is more insistent and criticism more outspoken regarding the program, especially where black students are not permitted to participate in its development and

charges of tokenism are still being made against administrators for not introducing more black studies courses. From this large group of colleges, many patterns of black studies programs are evolving to meet the needs of the various ethnic mixes.

In these ethnically mixed colleges, greater insistence is likely to center on the employment of black instructors, as well as counselors and other administrators. Full-time black instructors are the barometer of these colleges' commitment to black studies. If a college cannot provide a full program of black studies classes to an instructor, black students insist that the college should permit him to teach courses in other departments. The reverse process of taking an instructor hired for the regular program to teach a black studies class or two is frowned upon. Part-time black instructors are considered a stop-gap, a form of tokenism.

THE AIMS

A few community colleges have formulated institutional aims for their black studies programs. These aims alert the public served by a college that its educational program seeks to attain certain educational ends through black studies. Significantly, in many instances where institutional aims for black studies have been set forth by community colleges, the aims recapitulated much of what black student leaders advocated in their position papers (8). This is a singularly remarkable phenomenon in community college schooling. It represents the first time in the history of the junior college movement that students have been directly involved in determining the goal-orientation of a collegiate educational program.

Black studies have generated differentiated institutional aims in the colleges that have adopted them. Note, however, that where community colleges have adopted institutional aims dealing with the curricular ends of black studies, black students are not an insignificant minority on the campuses.

Merritt College, in Oakland, where approximately 40 per cent of the students are black, has formulated an institutional aim for black studies that emphasizes the socio-psychological rehabilitation of Afro-Americans. Merritt argues for "... the redefinition of Afro-Americans by themselves in order to develop a healthy psychological identity to which other ethnic groups may relate in a positive, dignified and humanistic manner." At Malcolm X College in Chicago, on the other hand, which has virtually an all-black student body, the aims of black studies are addressed to serving the goals of black people: "... we must design our educational programs to promote the black agenda ... (and) to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group." Wayne County Community College in Detroit, where less than half the

student body is black, has formulated institutional aims for black studies, addressed to both black and white students, that implicitly seek to deal with the knotty problem of racism: "The prime intent of the program must be to equip (all of) its students with the knowledge essential for the betterment of the black community.

This differentiation of institutional aims for black studies bespeaks, at least in some instances, attempts to fashion curricular ends that reflect the particular expectations of the community served by each of the colleges. The special emphasis in urban community colleges (which enroll most black students) on the socio-psychological "needs" of black students and on the social goals of black people is buttressed by the findings of the Koerner Commission, for the commission found that these emphases were highly appealing to the urban black population.

Most of the community colleges that offer black studies now, however, do not have stated institutional aims rooted in the raison d'être of black studies. These colleges have offered one or more courses of instruction in black studies to keep pace with the on-going revolution in ethnic relations or possibly to ward off student-generated protest. Justification for black studies courses in these cases stems from such conventional notions as "extending the concept of liberal or general education" and "meeting the needs of minority students." These are not necessarily inconsequential approaches to black studies, for they often represent a genuine desire on the part of white administrators and teachers, in particular, to grapple with their own ignorance about black people in American history and contemporary society. Sauk Valley College (Illinois), for example, is now "committed to the progressive up-grading, expanding, and coordinating of teaching and research in black studies," though Sauk Valley does not offer any black studies courses. It has chosen to weave black studies learning opportunities throughout the fabric of conventional social science course work. In a similar vein, Diablo Valley College (California)--a community college that enrolls just a few black students--requires that its students ". . . examine their American institutions, including the contributions by and accommodations made to the many ethnic groups which comprise our complex American society." To achieve this end, Diablo Valley offers several black studies courses and other learning opportunities, including an annual film festival that deserves special recognition.

In California, an on-going effort would require each community college to formulate institutional aims and to adopt courses dealing with ethnic studies generally. The Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges has already approved a resolution pointed to that end, an action urged on the Board by the California Junior College Association (in which nearly all community colleges

hold institutional membership). No other state appears to have moved this far in attempting to redirect the curriculums of community colleges; to be sure, very few states except California still employ state-mandated curriculums.

The intention of the Governing Board of California Community Colleges is, nonetheless, a pertinent commentary on the revolution in educational ideology taking place at all levels of American schooling. Community college students, according to the board, need exposure to other cultural patterns and life styles to prevent friction and misunderstandings among diverse groups in American life. If the board is pragmatically concerned with civic peace in this country, it is equally concerned with recognizing--even legitimatizing--cultural and social pluralism in the United States.

In the long run, the framing of institutional aims by community colleges for black and other ethnic studies may place value on the reality of cultural and social pluralism in American life. This seems to be a genuine possibility not only on multi-ethnic college campuses but also on predominantly white ones as well. On campuses with a sizable black student enrollment, institutional aims will probably continue to center on the needs and goals of black people. These colleges have a special obligation, in Hurst's words, ". . . to promote the black agenda."

CURRICULUM

The introduction of black studies into the curriculum is in the tradition of higher education practice. Ethnic courses have been part of the curriculum for many years. Negro history, Negro literature, and African history evoked no emotional hysteria when introduced a decade or two ago. In another decade, the same situation will prevail for the new and more numerous black studies courses, curriculums, and degree programs. Already it is apparent that white educators are not as disturbed as formerly by the black students' challenge to the relevancy of the educational program and by their insistence that a person's race is valid qualification for assignment as an instructor. In some colleges, white educators are working with black students and staff members of the development of courses and programs. In many urban colleges, black administrators and faculty are assuming a dominant role over, or achieving independence of, white supervision.

In this, as in other reform and revolutionary movements, different interpretations of the meaning of black studies are developing. Even among the black educators who are now guiding the development, differences are appearing. The incorporation of their philosophies into educational programs takes different forms, as may be observed from their writings, institutional publications, and

analysis of their practices. This should cause no surprise, nor does it diminish the stature of the individuals or the significance of the movement. There is the danger, however, that this lack of consensus may diffuse the impact of black studies on the curriculum.

That practices in the colleges do not always conform to the theories of the black studies advocates can be accounted for by the fact that translating theories into the curriculum patterns and life style of community colleges is done by a variety of practitioners, some of whom are more zealous than knowledgeable about higher education.

The black studies movement has caused educators to recognize the differences in the position of the many minority groups in the country. These differences explain the relative inactivity of the European minorities who were neither assimilated nor forcibly kept apart from the mainstream of American life and culture. It does not seem to matter to an ethnic group that has a cultural identity, that has gained acceptance in the social and economic activities of American life, if its particular brand of ethnicity has been neglected in education. Most of the groups want it that way. If they maintain a separate existence culturally, it is because of a self-sufficiency and a knowledge that the barriers could be and are being scaled by those who so desire. This is hardly the case for the others, and the blacks fare the worst despite the long history of their presence in America. Some educators, through ignorance of this distinction or through refusal to accept this interpretation, are including European ethnic groups in their ethnic studies programs. This is the counterpart of the "soul" courses of the extreme black militants.

Black studies courses have been classified into various categories. At Berkeley they are classified as history, contemporary socioeconomic, cultural, community-related, and language and literature (1). Hamilton's six classifications (the Gaps Function, the Functional Theory, the Humanizing Function, the Reconciliation Theory, the Psychological Function, and the Ideological Function) stress the reasons or purposes of black studies programs rather than courses. A third classification of courses in the community colleges groups them into six categories: historical, literary, cultural, socioeconomic, integrated, and minority- and urban-oriented. As will be apparent in the description of these six categories, they bear a resemblance to the other classifications:

Historical

By far the most common and the largest student enrollment is in the history courses. In nearly every college with one or more black studies programs,

history is included. Although classified under various titles, the classes essentially revolve around some aspect of the black or Afro-American in American history and the history of Africa. Some are one-semester courses either of the survey kind, of the period variety, or of the contemporary urban setting. Others are two-semester (or three-quarter courses) covering, for example, the history of America from its discovery and the span of civilization from the beginning of recorded history.

Literary

A larger variety of titles appears in the Afro-American literature sector of black studies. Although the course titles are more numerous than those in the history category, the enrollment in the literature courses is smaller. Two reasons may account for this: English courses other than composition are not usually required in the general education pattern or for graduation as are courses in American history; and literature courses usually are restricted to second-, third-, and fourth-semester students who have completed the composition course.

Cultural

A third category of courses deals with Afro-American and African culture other than literature. These may be found under Afro-American Studies, Anthropology, Art, Sociology, and Humanities. The number of courses in this group is large, although the number of enrollees is much smaller than in either the history or literature courses. They are not usually found in catalogs listing fewer than three courses.

Socioeconomic

The fourth category of courses relates to the socioeconomic aspects of the black people in the United States. Only an occasional course on Africa appears in this category. These have an economic, sociological, or urban orientation. Some of them are being incorporated in new two-year technical-vocational programs in education aide, community planning, urban government, environmental technology, and child care. In this category, the courses deal with the oppression and exploitation of blacks.

Integrated Courses

Instead of developing separate black studies courses, some colleges are revising their standard courses to include material about Afro-Americans, Africa, and Africans. At Sauk Valley College (Illinois), "in most disciplines Black Studies are woven throughout the fabric of the courses, and are applied intensively where

pertinent. Also, in some areas such as Economics and major field requirements for Child Care Aide, Teacher Aide, and Law Enforcement, Black Studies are more tangential than in other areas, but even in these, numerous areas exist where attention is focused on discrimination and minority group problems" (10).

Many colleges have separate black studies courses and, at the same time, are broadening the standard courses. At Forest Park Community College (Missouri), "this is a long-range goal which proceeds side by side with the establishment of the new courses".* In this category might be included all the courses offered at colleges like Malcolm X where the objective is to become a black institution--one in which the educational services will be designed uniquely to serve the goals of black people with "educational programs to promote the Black agenda" (6; 9). Among the standard courses included in the Afro-American Studies Program at Forest Park are:

English Composition (Black Emphasis)

Introduction to Sociology (Racial and Cultural Minorities Emphasis)

Introduction to Psychology (Afro-American Experience Emphasis)

Similar practices are followed in the Los Rios District Colleges and in San Jose City College (California). In the former, two sets of United States history courses are offered, one of which is labeled "Afro-American Emphasis." In the latter college, the black studies department issues a flyer to students with information on courses where the "emphasis is on the black perspective" and that focus "on the black point of view." Some of the courses are standard, others are the more recent black studies courses.

Minority- and Urban-Oriented Courses

Although they are not black studies courses in the strict sense of the definition, mention is made here of a group of related courses dealing with minorities. These courses do for the general area of minorities what black studies do for blacks. For example, a course in Minority Literature including Chicano, Jewish, black, and other groups is offered at the North Campus of the Community College

*Letter: William Edward Snead, President, Forest Part Community College, and Vice President, The Junior College District, St. Louis County, September 21, 1970.

of Denver. In addition, they cover such subjects as the composition and characteristics of ethnic groups and the relationships of minorities among themselves and with the dominant group, emphasizing the governmental structure and processes. Since so large a proportion of minorities lives in urban areas, courses dealing with problems connected with urban life are common. At Malcolm X College, a learning unit has been established under the heading of "Urban Survival." Many of these courses are found in the sociology departments of the colleges. In the law enforcement curriculums, a course on police-community relations appears frequently. In many instances, the courses in this category have the same content and purpose as those being developed at Sauk Valley College (Illinois).

Among the experiments are those in which standard courses are being adapted, broadened in scope, or taught with a "black emphasis." If these experiments satisfy a large enough number of black students, they may supplant the black studies courses. This is the hope of the black and white integrationists; it is the fear of the founders of the black studies movement. It is too early to determine the direction black studies will take--separate courses or infusion of the black experience into every course. Development is taking place in both directions.

A great deal of work must be done before an effective integration of knowledge takes place. Even after three years of black studies ferment, catalog descriptions of American literature courses rarely mention a black writer among those to be studied and even more rarely indicate that black writers contributed to the development of American literature. The situation in American history is slightly better. In the classrooms, much depends on instructors, many of whom are introducing material on the black experience.

Retarding the process of revision and integration of the regular courses is the absence of suitable textbooks, so many of which incorporate only minor comments or discussions. Often, the authors tack on a sentence or two about minorities at the end of each chapter or devote a single chapter to the subject. The interrelatedness of the black and white experience has not been achieved in the textbooks.

CAN THERE BE RELEVANCE AND EXCELLENCE TOO?

From the beginning of the black studies movement, concern has been expressed about the quality of the courses, the qualifications of the instructors, and the performance of the students. Critics charge: (1) the courses are substandard, designed for students who cannot succeed in the more rigorous, intellectually oriented courses; and (2) the courses are poorly conceived, irrelevant, and racist.

Proponents of black studies meet the charges head-on. President Hurst announced that, at Malcolm X College, the theme will be "better education than can be obtained anywhere else" (7). "Some people," he said in his inaugural address, "would like to think that Malcolm X College will be synonymous with low standards and free rides to degrees." Far from it--but it will be different from traditional "black education structured by white educators that was mediocre, encouraged failure and myths about Black inferiority" (7). To the charge that a proposal for a new teaching credential in black studies involved a lowering of standards, the reply was:

> Black people aren't about to lower any standards; what we're doing is raising standards by considering new perspectives to define "qualified." The existent form of credentialing preserved "the white man's welfare system" (13).

That some militants during the early days of the activist period expected to take advantage of the turmoil is not surprising. The educational leaders of the black studies movement were alert to this and took measures to counteract the tendency to lower standards. They deplored the anti-intellectualism prevalent among those student militants who wanted "to feel good," but opposed "homework, research papers, etc." on the specious ground that these were a "honky bag." They reminded these students that "a true revolutionary . . . is one who will fight to get a course implemented . . . but who will also attend that course and study" (13).

The black instructors at Los Angeles City College indicated their concern for excellence by asking themselves: "How can we best protect the integrity and the quality of instruction" during the emergency when the demand for instructors exceeds the supply? They also asked what could "be done for students who come . . . severly limited academically?" One of the most candid statements of a black instructor was: "We have assumed that . . . programs can be initiated for those limited academically; but we have not sufficiently questioned that assumption" (14).

Today, few people challenge the academic quality of black studies courses or the qualifications of the instructors. The early insularity of excluding white students from the courses has practically disappeared. In time, the color of the instructor may also be a minor professional qualification. Emphasis is on the criterion of academic excellence. No one can expect, however, that all black instructors will be superior or that all black studies courses will be taught excellently, any more than one expects it for the white instructors or for the standard

subjects. "If black history is taught in the same pedantic manner as our book-oriented courses in white history are, then black history will be just as irrelevant" (12).

Proliferation of courses, because it implies dilution in content and quality, may be as much a concern in black studies as it is in most other disciplines. The urge to create new courses is difficult to resist. The evidence as revealed in college catalogs, however, does not indicate unusual activity in this regard. On the basis of this, one may conclude that restraint rather than proliferation is prevalent in the development of black studies courses. The restraint noted may be related to the concern for quality and excellence.

In only a few cases do catalogs include courses on "soul food" and other topics that have been attacked as irrelevant and questionable. Language courses in Swahili or Ibo, another group under attack, are offered in very few colleges. When enrollments are examined, it becomes evident that black students are as indifferent to language courses as the white students.

If one were to judge by the number of courses in the community college catalogs and schedules of classes, the verdict would be that black and white administrators have been exceedingly restrained (if not actually reluctant) in introducing black studies courses. For example, a college with a 60 per cent black enrollment offered only three such courses for its 3,100 black students. Another with 2,500 black students offered eight, including three standard courses with a black emphasis. A third college with an 80 per cent black enrollment offered five for 2,500 students. A fourth college with a 95 per cent black enrollment of 1,660 students offered four courses. These can hardly be cited as examples of proliferation, but as of fall 1970, they represented the situation in community colleges.

From the categories of the black studies courses, a definition of black studies in the community colleges would parallel the one used to define the standard curriculum. It is apparent that black studies embody the totality of knowledge of the black community in the United States, Africa, and elsewhere in that order of importance. In the great majority of courses, positive aspects of black civilization are featured. Only a few courses deal with the oppression and exploitation of blacks by whites, though these negative aspects are incorporated in many of them (they could no more be ignored than Hitler's treatment of the Jews in a Jewish studies curriculum). In their comprehensiveness and scope, these courses attempt to destroy the negative image of blacks created by the traditional curriculum but, more importantly, they aim to create self-respect for blacks by building an identity rooted in American and African history and culture.

A category or description of courses cannot capture or reveal the spirit, the inner essence, the idealism, and the righteous indignation experienced by those leaders of the black renaissance of the Sixties. For this, the reader must dip into their speeches and writings, readily available in numerous periodicals and anthologies. Without this, the dramatic success of this black renaissance and curriculum revolution will be incomprehensible.

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