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ABSTRACT

BLACK IDEOLOGIES AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE:
THE PUBLIC RESPONSE TO THE PROTEST THOUGHTS
AND TEACHINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING,
JR., AND MALCOLM X.

By

Chukwuemeka Onwubu

In the course of the civil rights movements of the fifties and sixties, two of the prominent leaders that were to emerge from within the black community were Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. And these two men represent two major ideological schools in the black-protest movements, and the controversies--actual or potential--which their teachings and protest thoughts have engendered, are such that a systematic study and analysis of their ideological perspectives is deemed a relevant sociological problem.

It is also assumed that the public response to the two ideological systems could constitute, not only a measure of the relative merits of the ideologies, but also, a reflection of the relationship between the "ideologists" in question, and the members of the public.

More specifically, the empirical specification of the problem here, is premised on the assumption that public receptivity of the ideologies is predicated on the knowledge attributable to that

public, and deriving from two main sources: situationally defined sources; and media sources. The problem of ascertaining if, and to what extent, any of the two sources constitutes the basis of the knowledge that informs the opinion of a public, is considered a task falling within the legitimate province of the Sociology of knowledge.

The study is divided into five parts. Part I, consisting only of one chapter, deals with the introduction and statement of the problem, describing the social and intellectual context in which the research problem has been conceived and formulated.

Part II, made up of chapters two and three, deals with the conceptual and theoretical aspect of the problem, in the context of the Sociology of knowledge. While chapter two is concerned primarily with a review of the relevant literature in this area of the sub-discipline, chapter three attempts to relate these to the present problem, in a way that has not, perhaps, been dealt with in the traditional perspectives.

Two chapters--four and five--make up Part III. Chapter four deals with the broad issue of the black American experience, in terms of a paradigm which ties in their African heritage with the modes of adaptation which have marked their struggles on the American domestic scene. Chapter five presents the protest thoughts and ideological systems associated with Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., against the background of this total experience.

In Part IV, issues of methodological relevance are considered. Comprising chapters six, seven, and eight, it deals with the problems of research design and method, a historical overview of the community--Albuquerque, New Mexico--in which the study was conducted, especially focusing on the black public of that community. The last chapter of this section deals with the results, and analysis of the data.

The last part--Part V-- comprises chapters nine and ten. While chapter nine deals with the role of the media as reality-creators, chapter ten considers the general implications of the study for the relationships of ideologies and various "cultural publics," to social change. And while the results from the empirical data do not allow for a conclusive statement regarding the extent of the direct impact of the media on the formation of public knowledge, it is suggested that this impact could be seen more in the fact that the mass media constitute an integral part of the dominant, white, "cultural apparatus" which has mediated the shaping of the black experience. And it is this experience, more than anything else, that is critical to the manner in which the black public has responded to the protest thoughts associated with Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Briefly then, this chapter considers the problems and prospects held by the Sociology of Knowledge, as a tool for analyzing and understanding the ramifying relationships between ideologies, and the various cultural publics, as well as the dominant cultural apparatus.

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Dedicated to the memory of:

My late grandfather, Añdike Ọnwubu;

My late mother, Nwanyiaru;

My late brothers, Okwudiri and Iheanyichukwu

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

The last three decades have ushered in a great deal of change, not only in the organizational format of international polity, but also in the internal restructuring of specific societal groupings all over the world. In this respect, the American Society has not been an exception. In particular, the conclusion of World War II, brought in its wake, freedom movements among peoples still controlled directly or otherwise, by the powers that had emerged victorious in the war--ironically a war which had been fought supposedly, in the name of freedom for all mankind.

It was, perhaps, more than a mere coincidence that what has been popularly called the "Black Revolution" in the United States, beginning from the early fifties, came at a time when there was an equally wide agitation by colonial peoples, for liberation from the colonial imperialism of major European powers who had been the principal parties in the supposed war of freedom waged against German Nazism: notably, Britain and France. It is not unreasonable to assume that, in the particular case of the United States, black Americans had viewed themselves in an analogous manner, as victims of American domestic colonialism.

The onset of the wave of freedom movements popularly identified as the "Black Revolution" in the early fifties, might otherwise have been considered puzzling, in view of the fact that America of the

early fifties was still firmly gripped with the hysteria of anti-communism that had been engendered by McCarthyism. It is in this respect, perhaps, that the black revolution of the decades of the fifties and sixties could be considered as epoch-making in American social history.

This study is particularly concerned with certain aspects of the phenomenon of the revolution. It deals with the ideas of two of the major figures that emerged in that revolution, to wit: Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. The first part of this work, therefore, deals with the specification of the research problem on which the study will focus, as well as attempts to underline its significance for contemporary scholarship.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The black author-journalist, Sammuel Yette, has characterized the period of the 1960's as the "Decisive Decade."¹ It is perhaps more accurate, as regards black-white race-relations in the United States, to identify the period spanning the mid-1950's and the mid-1960's as the "Decisive Decade." The black psychologist, Roderick Pugh, among other observers, has pointed to this epoch in the American history as "the birth of the Black Revolution."² Pugh goes on to delineate some of what he considers the most significant events of the era; and like most of the other observers, the historic 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision leads the list.³

But, no matter how one wants to characterize this period in American history, it is safe to say that the racial turmoil which engulfed the American society was then crystallized, perhaps, in the confrontation between the black community on the one hand, and white America, on the other. On the side of the black community, two of the most outstanding figures that emerged from within the ranks of its leadership were, by general consensus, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. But, ironically, it would seem, these men were also the most controversial of contemporary black leaders, as the following observations and remarks make quite evident.

King, for instance, has been considered "one of history's pre-eminent leaders. . . as well as a leader to millions of white people

who learned from him that in degrading black men, they diminish themselves, that in supporting black liberation they enriched themselves."⁴ He has also been hailed "the foremost Negro leader since Booker T. Washington."⁵ But Malcolm X has also equally been hailed "The highest form of Black manhood in his generation."⁶ He has been called "the most controversial American."⁷ Besides, he was "the man who rose from hoodlum. . .to become the most dynamic leader of the Black Revolution."⁸

Where King has been portrayed as a "prophet with charisma," Malcolm X has been likened to the Hebrew Judges of ancient Israel.⁹ And King has also been pictured as the twentieth century counterpart of ancient Hebrew prophets.¹⁰ Whereas King was seen as "the single mass leader of the Negro Revolution," the prophet of the Black Revolution who "spoke. . .non-cooperation with evil, of civil disobedience,"¹¹ Malcolm X was portrayed as the leading proponent of "black nationalism and retaliatory violence."¹² And, where King,¹³ "the apostle of non-violence," has been likened to Jesus and Moses, "Malcolm X was one of that rare breed of men who are truly irreplaceable," and whose like "may not arise again for generations."¹⁴

According to Lomax, King was "the most popular" black American leader of his time.¹⁵ But Grier and Cobbs, in their own analysis, have come to the conclusion that:¹⁶

Of all the men who lived during our fateful century none illustrated the breath or the grand potential of man so magnificently as did Malcolm X. If in future chronicles, America is regarded as the major nation of our day, and the rise of darker people from bondage as the major event, then no figure has appeared thus far, who captures the spirit of our time as does Malcolm. He is an authentic hero, indeed, the only universal Black hero. (Emphasis added.)

But, interestingly enough, the two men themselves seem to have recognized the controversy which their teachings and social protest thoughts have engendered. Thus, King acknowledges that differences do exist in the strategy advocated and adopted by his, and Malcolm X's respective leaderships, albeit there might have been agreement on the general objectives and goals which inspired them. ¹⁷ Malcolm X, on the other hand, is more articulate--if concurring--in his rather ¹⁸ succinct remark that:

The goal has always been the same, with the approaches to it as different as mine and Dr. Martin Luther King's non-violent marching, that dramatizes the brutality and evil of the white man against defenseless Blacks. And in the racial climate of this country today, it is anybody's guess which of the "extremes" in approach to the black man's problems might personally meet a fatal catastrophe first--"non-violent" Dr. King, or so-called "violent" me. (Emphasis added.)

The foregoing remarks essentially allude to the problem of what the black historian, Harold Cruse, has called "the crisis of the Negro intellectual" ¹⁹ --but which, in my view, should be more appropriately identified as a problem of contradictions in black leadership. The problem has not, of course, been uniquely defined for the leaderships of King and Malcolm X. It would appear that, traditionally, this problem has been endemic in the ranks of black leadership; and it has, historically, tended to militate against the universal recognition of a single black leadership, the intimations of Grier ²⁰ and Cobbs notwithstanding. The feuds which raged between Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, between DuBois and Philip Randolph, constitute cases in point, to say the least, in the recent history of American race-relations. But what interests us in the present study is much more than the mere fact of this contradiction in black leadership.

Statement of Problem

There is no denying the fact that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., through their teachings and social thoughts, have created in the American social scene images that are, to say the least, differentially valuated in the minds of the American public. This seems rather evident, even from the very remarks attributed to Malcolm X earlier, regarding the imputation of "violence" to him, and "non-²¹ violence" to Dr. King. Further evidence can also be sought in the differential reactions of the American public, to the sudden and tragic deaths of both men; where, in the case of King's, on the one hand, a sense of national loss prevailed; but for Malcolm X, on the other hand, the nation--especially White America--as reflected in the mass media, seemed to have heaved a sigh of relief and self-vindica-²² tion.

The present study deals with the problem of knowledge acquisition by the public, and how this knowledge as well as the processes that mediate its acquisition, informs the opinions and views of that public, regarding issues of societal concern and relevance. More specifically, it is concerned with the analysis of the situational factors which govern the process of knowledge acquisition by the black public, as well as with the manner in, and extent to, which the views and opinions of this particular public are informed by the knowledge deriving from these situational circumstances, vis-a-vis, the protest thoughts and teachings of Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr. In other words,

in what does the basis of the knowledge which has informed the valuational opinions of the black public, regarding the protest thoughts and teachings of these two leaders, consist?

The black public could be said to constitute a cultural minority within a larger social plurality. Consequently the research problem here has been specified with a primary focus on the situational factors that define the reality of the blacks' existence. But while emphasis is placed on the internal processes of its cultural dynamics, due consideration is also given to the external circumstances related to the media-derived sources.

The research problem so specified here is deemed significant on, at least, two different levels: on a substantive level, it is of interest, insofar as it helps place in proper social perspective, and give specific meanings to, certain social actions that have been associated with the works and persons of these two leaders; and, on a general and more abstract level, it will contribute something of theoretical interest to the understanding of the problems of sociology of knowledge. On these, brief elaborations follow.

Evidence of the differential evaluation and popularization of the teachings and ideologies of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. can be seen in the different ways in which their names have been associated with some of the societal institutions and commemorations in various parts of the nation. Recently, for instance, the State of Georgia has declared January 15--King's birthday--as Martin Luther King's day, apart from having his portrait displayed among the prominent Georgia figures, in the state's legislature. A similar

²³
 declaration had earlier been effected in New York. There is also
²⁴
 Martin Luther King's Center for non-violent social change in
 Atlanta, Georgia, which can be said to enjoy the national patronage,
 especially among white liberals.

But while similar proclamations have not been effected in any
 part of the nation in commemoration of Malcolm X's birthday, despite
 strong demands in some black quarters, there have emerged in some
 parts of the country Malcolm X institutions, such as the Malcolm X
 Educational Foundation and the Malcolm X College in Chicago. The
 foregoing points to the fact, perhaps, that American social folklore
 has put Malcolm X and King on different planes within the realm of
 popularity, the actual merits of their authentic social thoughts and
 teachings notwithstanding.

Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of social leadership
 is the ideology associated with, or propounded by, the leader. An
 understanding of the ideology associated with it could shed better
 light to, and therefore lend itself to the appreciation of, that
 specific leadership. In particular, a comparative evaluation of
 the social thoughts expounded by Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.
 could prove useful, not only for the understanding of the controversy
 generated by their particular forms of leadership, but also for the
 eventual resolution of what I have earlier alluded to, as contradiction
 in black leadership.

On the other level of analysis, as has already been pointed out,
 the significance of the problem of this study consists in the fact
 that the so-called public opinion constitutes a crucial factor in the

sustenance of ideologies. What seems of major interest to the sociology of knowledge, therefore, is that this so-called public opinion, as a social phenomenon, cannot--and should not--be considered a fact sui generis. On the contrary, it is socially constructed. It is subject to manipulation by those properly situated to effect control over the body of knowledge which informs the opinion or view of the public in question.

Insofar as the public's making up of its mind on issues is influenced by the dissemination of information or knowledge, the pertinent question seems to be the extent to which the related agencies serve as intermediaries between the various "publics" and their spokesmen, in the process of moulding the opinion of a particular public. The role that this problem has occupied in traditional scholarship, particularly Sociology of Knowledge, will be examined in the second part of this study.

PART II: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

William Newman (Newman, 1973: 6,13) has perhaps properly noted that all concepts are abstractions from experience. This seems no less true than the famous Marxian postulate that human consciousness is but an extrapolation from man's life activities in society. This relationship seems particularly pertinent to the problem of the evaluation of ideologies. As an issue dealing with social construction of reality, it is central to the problem of Sociology of Knowledge.

It is in this respect that the next chapter begins with the consideration of the perspectives traditional to the Sociology of Knowledge. This is not intended as an exhaustive review of all the significant works in the area, but rather as an illustrative presentation of the traditional preoccupation in the discipline. Subsequently, I will attempt to consider, theoretically, the relationship between ideologies and knowledge dissemination, as well as knowledge acquisition by various "publics" which form the audience of social ideologies. Attempt will also be made to underline the role of sources of knowledge which informs the opinion of the public on specific societal issues.

In this respect, Chapter Two will also deal with ideologies and their relationships to knowledge dissemination.

CHAPTER TWO - PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although the concept of Sociology of Knowledge as coined by Scheler, and later popularized by Mannheim, had not been in vogue during the time of Karl Marx, nevertheless it is widely acknowledged that his works constituted a broad basis upon which the discipline (or sub-discipline) was later to develop.¹ It is perhaps proper then, that he has been considered the midwife of twentieth century social thought.² It seems rather appropriate then, to begin the examination of the traditional perspectives that have preoccupied the subdiscipline with the consideration of Marx's contribution to its development.

Marx's preoccupation centered around the relationship between the thought-forms and ideas of man, and man's activities in society. In other words, he was concerned with the connection between "consciousness" and its social roots. If there be anything that can be identified as a Marxian Sociology of Knowledge, it is predicated on the thesis that "consciousness"--man's consciousness, that is--changes in keeping with the variations in the social conditions or situations which define his material existence of life experience.³ And with his close friend and associate, Friederick Engels, he had earlier argued that "Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process."⁴

This, apparently, was the basis of his famous dictum that: "Life⁵ is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life."

For "Men must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history'... and Consciousness is... from the very beginning a social⁶ product, and remains so as long as men exist at all."

For Marx, knowledge seems to fall into one of two categories: "true" and "false" types of consciousness, the latter being what he identified as "ideology," being a unique attribute of some specific⁷ social grouping or "social class." Hence, for example:

The right way to work, in the bourgeois sense, is a contradiction, a miserable pious wish, but behind the right to work looms up the power over capital, behind the power over capital the expropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the organized working class...

It is thus one step to the conclusion that "The ruling⁸ ideology is...the ideology of the ruling class."

Perhaps the essence of the so-called inversion of the Hegelian philosophical heritage attributed to Marx, consists in his reordering of the relationship between the concrete historical realities that define people's existence, and the so-called "dialectic of consciousness" or the ideology of the group. Thus, while "Hegel explains the material life...by a dialectic of consciousness...for Marx...the material life of men explains their history; their consciousness, their ideologies are then merely the phenomenon of their⁹ material life."

Georg Lukacs, who has been considered the foremost Marxist¹⁰ scholar, as well as the most original Marxist of this century, has also made a significant contribution to the development of

Sociology of Knowledge. His major contribution consists, perhaps, not so much in the fact that he gave more emphasis to "the reality" of class-consciousness idea deriving from Marx, as in the fact that he introduced an element of volition to the Marxian formulation. But he also departs from Marx in distinguishing "psychological" from "class" consciousness. And, while the former phenomenon is a common attribute shared by all members of a given "class," the latter is not a prerogative attributable to all members of the group.¹¹

For Karl Mannheim, who has been credited with the popularization of the subdiscipline, Sociology of Knowledge is "an historical-sociological method of research," being "a purely empirical investigation through description and structural analysis of the ways in which social relationships, in fact, influence thought."¹² He sees its major task as consisting in the fact that it provides a meaningful explanation as to how people really act, the study of thought being conceived as a sensitive index of social and cultural change.¹³

A major aspect of Mannheim's formulation consists in his distinguishing two thought patterns: the "ideological" and the "utopian"; the former is attributed to the "ruling groups," whereas the latter is identified with "oppressed groups."¹⁴ In the quest for social reality, Mannheim holds that the thinking process should be free of "ideological" and "utopian" conterminations, so to speak. For, being essentially a conscious attempt to escape the distortions deriving from these two forms of "collective unconsciousness," it should be made purely and simply of "the reality in whose medium it operates."¹⁵

Max Scheler, the philosopher who is credited with the explicit introduction of the concept of "Sociology of Knowledge" into the vocabulary of sociology, has been regarded as a prototype of "anti-Marxist" tradition.¹⁶ His major contribution is seen as consisting, inter alia, in positing the principle of the so-called "real" and "ideal" factors that underlie the formation of thoughts and ideas. And whereas the "ideal" factors facilitate or otherwise mediate the emergence and development of thought, it is to the "real" factors¹⁷ that their origination is attributed.

In more recent time, Gurvitch approaches the problem through the construction of types and forms of frameworks, as the media within which the process of knowing takes place. More specifically, "certain types of knowledge, most particularly the perceptual knowledge of the external world, but also knowledge of the Other and the We, groups, classes...involve the study of the specific space and time in which their objects move."¹⁸ His construct comprises seven types of knowledge, within each of which five polar forms are emphasized, to wit: (1) The perceptual knowledge of the external world; (2) Knowledge of the Other, the We, groups, etc.; (3) Common sense Knowledge; (4) Technical Knowledge; (5) Political Knowledge; (6) Scientific Knowledge; and (7) Philosophical knowledge. The five polar forms are: (1) Mystical and rational; (2) Empirical and conceptual; (3) Positive and Speculative; (4) Symbolic and Concrete;¹⁹ and (5) Collective and individual.

For Werner Stark, the prime task of Sociology of Knowledge consists in providing the means or tool "for the understanding of human thought both in its origin and in its content."²⁰ He makes the distinction between two thought patterns--just as Marx and Mannheim--to wit: one form characterized as "ideologically determined";²¹ the other, "socially determined."²¹ But more in the tradition of Marx than of Mannheim, whereas the former is conceived as an alternative to truth, the latter is identified as "part and parcel" of truth.²² And while, on the one hand, conceding that value-free thinking is non-existent in reality, he maintains, on the other hand, that thinking process "without ideological bias," is the product of purely social determinants; for thinking is done, not by man, but by²³ "his social community."

For Alfred Schutz, whose major preoccupation is with "common-sense knowledge," the primary task of Sociology of Knowledge centers on the analysis of the relationship between what he identifies as "the stock of knowledge at hand," on the one hand, and what he calls²⁵ the individual's "biographically determined situation" on the other. The further distinction is made between "knowledge originating in our own experience"--experiential, that is--and "socially derived knowledge." For, whereas "only an exceedingly small part of actual and potential knowledge originates in our own experience," it is his²⁶ view that:

The bulk of our knowledge consists in experiences which not we but our fellow men, contemporaries or predecessors, have had, and which they have communicated or handed down to us. And we shall call this kind of knowledge socially derived knowledge.

While acknowledging the potentially broad scope of interpretation which can be applied to the concept of "knowledge," Robert Merton adopts the orientation which limits the task of Sociology of Knowledge to the "concern with the relation between knowledge and other existential factors in the society or culture... For the Sociology of Knowledge is concerned with problems which have had a long history."²⁷ And while pointing to its origination in European sociological thought, he accounts for its receptivity within American scholarship by the suggestion that "it dealt with problems, concepts and theories which are increasingly pertinent to our contemporary social situation."²⁸

In a somewhat peculiar formulation, Loomis and Rytina suggest that knowledge or thought pattern is moulded by the prevailing processes of social control.²⁹ Proceeding from the thesis of dialectical materialism of Marxism, and Dewey's Pragmatism, they argue that a situation develops where the production of knowledge or ideas is influenced by instituted mechanisms of social control. In consequence, then, social power constitutes a fundamental factor in the emergence and development of ideas. For "All sociological propositions assume an epistemological foundation, and...both sociological and epistemological propositions can be influenced by social power."³⁰

In quite a parallel argument Walton points out that, in the academic frontier, more specifically the methods and perspectives adopted in research, or intellectual enterprises generally tend to be determined, or to a great extent influenced, by the disciplinary

background and power structure underlying the investigator's training.³¹ For "seldom...have social scientists examined their own knowledge in this light, the assumption being that scientific rigor tends to eliminate the influence of group-determined perspectives."³² But he argues, on the contrary, "it has been demonstrated that there are certain correlates of power structure types and possible biases associated with particular research methods."³³

Elsewhere, when he advocates the use of comparative research technique, Walton suggests that the type of power-structure found, using a single research technique, could very well be an artifact of that technique. And among other factors that could influence the power structure are: social integration, region, and industrialization.³⁴

But in their analysis of a compendium of community studies, Clark, et al., conclude that no significant relationships link the researcher's discipline, his method, and the degree of centralization of decision-making. Any noticeable differences, they argue, are attributable, more to actual difference across communities, than to the biases of the researcher or his method.³⁵

Interestingly enough, Walton's preoccupation is adumbrated by McKee, when he notes that Sociology as well as its practice has been marked by "an eternal tension" created by the concern between its practitioners, on the one hand, to create a "scientific sociology,"³⁶ and on the other, to provide "social relevance." He argues that no clear choice is possible because of the persistent ambivalence among

sociologists, consequent upon the tension created by the two opposing concerns implicit in the very nature of the discipline as well as the problems it deals with.³⁷

In his reflection on the subdiscipline, Bottomore attributes the emergence of Sociology of Knowledge to "two intellectual pre-occupations" among European sociologists and philosophers, during the first decades of the present century.³⁸ He rejects Marx's "theory of ideology" as well as what he calls Mannheim's perspectivism," as the real subject of Sociology of Knowledge, seeing its task rather as consisting in "the study of relations between the constructs of reflective thought and social structures,... between such constructs and social groups...institutions and total societies."³⁹

For C. Wright Mills, the problem of validity of social thought does not constitute the proper concern of Sociology of Knowledge. He notes, however, that its epistemological consequences can be directly adduced in the process of formulation.⁴⁰

But elsewhere, he addresses, and elaborates on, another problem area which should constitute a legitimate subject matter of Sociology of Knowledge, but which, surprisingly, many a student of the subdiscipline has not been concerned with, to wit: The issue of knowledge, mass media, the various "publics," and the role of power in the dissemination of knowledge through the media, as well as the various ramifications implicit in their interrelationships.⁴¹ And

while subscribing to the thesis of social determination of ideas, he identifies two major perspectives for regarding this, in the historical and the socio-psychological. He is critical of the extant Sociologies of Knowledge, because lacking "understanding and clear-cut formulations of the terms with which they would connect mind and other society factors," and tracing this defect to "a failure to recognize the psychological problems arising from the acceptance of the generic hypothesis."⁴²

For C. Wright Mills, then, a major task of the Sociology of Knowledge consists in its ability to give sociological accounts of other theories of motivation.⁴³

Arthur Child conceives of a Sociology of Knowledge which distinguishes four elements underlying the social determination of thought, to wit: the existential determinant, the means of determination, the forms of mind; and the thought content.⁴⁴ On the first of these factors, he suggests that a rigid criterion should not constitute the basis for its definition, noting, on the other hand, that "one must...take the social determinant for whatever, in point of fact, it may happen to be."⁴⁵ He sees the significance of the means in its epistemological irrelevance. And concerning the "forms of mind," the individual himself is considered a significant factor in the process of social determination. This is because:⁴⁶

...insofar as an attitude has meaning within the life of an individual, the individual expresses it; and, if, in the expression, he alters it, he simultaneously proposes it as a modification of the group attitude in general. And this modification of the group attitude in general is possible because of that very subjectivity of attitudes which allows of their modification as incorporated into the psychological structure of the individual.

Berger and Luckmann conceive the existence of reality as taking
⁴⁷
 on meaning only within the context of social constructs. For them,
 the subject matter of Sociology of Knowledge includes "everything"
⁴⁸
 that passes for 'knowledge' in society." And they see the relation-
 ship between thought pattern (ideas, knowledge, that is) and its
 social base as essentially a dialectical one. For, although knowledge
 can be conceived as a product of a social situation, it is also the
 case, they argue, that knowledge itself constitutes a crucial factor
⁴⁹
 in effecting social change in a social situation.

By what he calls "Certification of Knowledge" Rothman argues
 that the growth of knowledge in the context of the academic disciplines
 is predicated on processes of acceptance of new theories through text-
⁵⁰
 books. For the point "is that the contents of introductory text-
 books are intricately related to the growth of knowledge and to the
 process of certification of knowledge, and an examination of the con-
 tents of textbooks can contribute to an understanding of the internal
⁵¹
 dynamics of an academic discipline."

Hans Mol, in considering what he calls possible "dysfunctions
⁵²
 of sociological knowledge" to the sociologists, the university
 departments, the university, and the society at large, notes that
 knowledge constitutes a redoubtable form of power; and to the extent
 that the one can be identified with the other, in the game of life in
 which men in modern society engage, it is the ignorant who invariably
 lose out to those who possess the power of knowledge. He speculates
 that what may be dysfunctional to society is not sociological know-
⁵³
 ledge, as such, but rather "its inevitable relativizing consequences."

It seems in order, at this juncture, to reflect and make a few observations on the foregoing perspectives. Notwithstanding the different orientations peculiar to each, they share, to some extent, a common theme: the preoccupation with the relationship between ideas and the social context within which they emerge and develop. In other words, the connection between human thought, on the one hand, and the social structure within which the life activities of the author is defined.

More specifically, Marx and Mannheim seem to be particularly concerned with what Gurvitch would classify as "political knowledge." But the major difference between their respective orientations consists, perhaps, in the fact that while the former accords reality to one form of thought pattern ("true consciousness"), the latter adopts a relatively more flexible orientation, marked by what Bottomore, perhaps accurately, characterizes as "perspectivism,"⁵⁴

Regarding Stark's formulation, what appears to be the most confounding element is the implied suggestion in his distinction: that "ideologically determined thoughts" are not social in origin. The same can also be said of Schutz's distinction between ideas originating "in our experience," on the one hand, and "socially-derived knowledge," on the other. For the question could be raised regarding the root of experiential knowledge, if "experience" itself does not derive from the activities of man in a social context.⁵⁵

To the extent that these perspectives of the sociology of knowledge underscore the significance of the social context or climates which conduce the emergence and development of ideas and thought forms, they shed some light to our understanding of the two ideological systems that define the teachings and protest thoughts of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. But, on the other hand, they fail to explain the fact of dissimilar responses which the teachings of these two black leaders elicited from the American public with, perhaps, the notable exception of the formula-
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 tions of C. Wright Mills.

Why this was--and has been--the case, we shall try to search for answers in the following chapter in which the focus will be on the relationships between ideologies and knowledge dissemination, knowledge acquisition by various "publics," the sources--situationally defined, and media sources--of the knowledge which informs the opinions and views held by the various publics. In this respect, the formula-
 tions of C. Wright Mills will constitute an appropriate point of departure.

CHAPTER THREE - IDEOLOGY, KNOWLEDGE
DISSEMINATION AND ACQUISITION: THE
PUBLICS AND SOURCES OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE

To properly address the question raised in the preceding chapter--that is, why the traditional preoccupations of the Sociology of Knowledge have tended to exclude such aspects as the subject matter of the present study--it would seem logical to begin by examining the circumstances under which the subdiscipline itself emerged and developed. As Berger and Luckmann correctly point out, the Sociology of Knowledge emerged and developed within a specific philosophical context, in a particular situation of German intellectual history.¹ And, as Stuart Hughes intimates, intellectual history concerns itself, not so much with the formal enunciation of concepts, as well as the practical aspects of their implications, as with the styles of thought.² And, as he further notes, this preoccupation has focused on the development of ideas that inspire the ruling elite.³

Mannheim's subsequent popularization of the subdiscipline in English-speaking countries--notably England and America--has carried over with it, this limitation, resulting in its being of peripheral concern to the practitioners, and in the words of Berger and Luckmann, "a marginal specialty with a persistent European flavor," thus leading to what they call a theoretical or intellectual myopia.⁴ This problem is dealt with in considerable length by Merton, in his

elaboration on the distinctive orientations that mark European and
 5
 American "species" of research.

For, according to Merton, whereas the European variant deals with "digging up the social roots of knowledge," with the intellectual products of "experts," the American variant is concerned with the study of popular belief, its focus being upon opinion rather than knowledge. And while the former concerns itself with the "intellectual elite," with "the cognitive plane, (with) knowledge, the latter deals with the masses, with information." The American variant, accordingly, studies the isolated fragments of information available to the masses of people; the European variant typically thinks
 6
about a total structure of knowledge available to a few."

But the issue is not necessarily resolved by the mere identification of these distinctive orientations--although the distinction itself proves significant; what seems more crucial, I believe, is the fact that, as Berger and Luckmann point out, one variant has been conceived as a separate entity from the other, and consequently, both have not been integrated as two aspects of the same problem. The scope of Sociology of Knowledge, to provide a tool for dealing with such problems as specified here, should be extended to concern itself with, as Berger and Luckmann emphasize, "whatever passes for 'knowledge' in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria) of such 'knowledge.'" And insofar as all human 'knowledge' is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, the Sociology of Knowledge must seek to understand the processes by which this is done in such a way that a taken-for-granted

'reality' congeals for the man in the street."⁴

But, the fact of scope limitation apart, another explanation may yet be sought in the very positions occupied, and roles acted, by the sociologists of knowledge, in particular, and the social scientists, generally. For, if it is granted, as Mills and others⁸ have pointed out, that men in society live in a "secondhand" or "reported" world, and as Hartman and Husband point out, that the media serve as the interpreters of this world,⁹ then the apparent neglect by the practitioners, in dealing with this area of Sociology of Knowledge, could well stem from the relationships of the media, the "Establishment," and the "Men of Letters," as Mills suggests in his explications.¹⁰ The problem is perhaps properly understood in light of the role of what he calls "the cultural workmen" within "the cultural apparatus" of the society.¹¹ More specifically, Mills writes:¹²

This apparatus is composed of all the organizations and milieux in which artistic, intellectual and scientific work goes on, and of the means by which such work is made available to circles, publics, and masses. In the cultural apparatus art, science, and learning, entertainment, marlarkey, and information are produced and distributed.

¹³
And, furthermore:

So decisive to experience itself are the results of these communications that often men do not really believe what "they see before their very eyes" until they have been "informed" about it by the national broadcast, the definitive book, ...the official announcement... For our standards of credibility, our definitions of reality, our modes of sensibility--as well as our immediate opinions and images--are determined much less by any pristine experience than by our exposure to the output of the cultural apparatus.

Essentially, then, one is dealing here, with the role of ideology in the development, dissemination, and acquisition of knowledge--in society--which matter I shall now turn to.

Ideology, Knowledge Dissemination and Acquisition

Although the emergence of the concept of "ideology" can be traced back to Marx's writings, and even beyond into the remote past of the history of social thought, Mannheim tells us that, in its modern conception, the notion of 'ideology' is due to Napoleon who used it to contemptuously refer to a school of French philosophers who would not align themselves with his imperial ambitions. Thus writes Mannheim:¹⁴

The word "ideology" itself had, to begin with, no inherent ontological significance; it did not include any decision as to the value of different spheres of reality, since it originally denoted merely the theory of ideas. The idealogists were, as we know, the members of a philosophical group in France who, in the tradition of Condillac, rejected metaphysics and sought to base the cultural sciences on anthropological and psychological foundations.

The modern conception of ideology was born when Napoleon, finding that this group of philosophers was opposing his imperial ambitions, contemptuously labelled them "ideologists." Thereby the word took on a derogatory meaning which, like the word "doctrinaire," it has retained to the present day.

That the issue of power is inextricably implicated in the relationship between ideology and the development and dissemination of knowledge is evidenced from the fact that ideology itself, thrives on a power-base. For, as Mills correctly notes: "In a society of

power and wealth, knowledge is valued as an instrument of power;"¹⁵ and what seems even more significant: much of what passes as reality, we are told, owes its definition and description to the "men of power."¹⁶

But, implicit in the very notion of ideology, are a number of factors: the fact that some ideas are espoused regarding certain issues or themes, and enunciated in some form of principles or theses; the fact that the authors of these ideas are identifiable with some specific group or class or community within the specified social setting; the fact that these ideas could be conceived as some form of messages or communications; and that these messages or communications are directed--explicitly or implicitly--to certain "target" audiences that may be designated as "publics;" the fact that the development of these principles into, and their continued sustenance as, "ideologies," will depend, more or less, on the receptivity by the "target audience" or "public."

In the particular case under our present consideration, the task of assessing the true merits of the ideologies or protest thoughts each of the two leaders espoused, is confounded--if not vitiated--by the fact that the central issue with which the ideological systems deal, borders on the problem of race-relations, and the authority relationships which mark the interactions of the racial groups. This is further accented by the complex role of the mass media of communication in the dissemination of knowledge. As one journalist points out--perhaps correctly:¹⁷

Exposure, after all, is a central means of making a private moral conviction public, of impelling people all over to see and confront ideas they otherwise would turn away from.

And to the extent that the question of the authentication of the view expressed by the public, in this case, is connected with the issue of race-relations, John Rex has suggested that:¹⁸

What we need, therefore, as a part of the systematic study of the sociology of race-relations, is an adequate Sociology of Knowledge, both in the sense of one which classifies the kinds of belief systems, knowledge and theories which are to be found in a culture, and one which shows how the more systematic theories are connected through social mechanisms.

It is in the light of this that I proceed to consider the theoretical implications of protest thoughts or ideologies, the media, and the publics, for the Sociology of Knowledge. But it will be in order to begin with the explication of certain key concepts that will be used frequently in this analysis. We consider, first of all, the concept of mass media.

In his analysis of "Public Opinion" Hennessy identifies the mass media with "the press, television, radio, and movies"; and by "the press" he alludes to "newspapers, and...news and opinion journals."¹⁹ This seems comprehensive enough; but, in general, the "mass media" should be conceived as comprising all the means through which information is communicated, or knowledge disseminated, to an audience removed from the situation where an event takes place. For the particular purpose of the present study, this should be limited to the press and the electronic media.

Another concept to be considered--and which is related to the first--is that of mass. Usually, this term is used in reference to a large collectivity or to a large grouping of people, usually widely dispersed over an extensive area of space. According to Louis Wirth,

the "mass" is characterized by seven major features, to wit:²⁰

large numbers; wide dispersal of these large aggregates of people; structural heterogeneity; anonymity of the members of the collectivity; the fact that the mass is not an organized group; the non-existence of common customs, traditions or institutions, binding the group; and the fact that the individuals comprising the mass are unattached. Further elaboration on this is not deemed necessary at this point.

Finally, we consider the concept of the "public." In a sense, the "public" can be conceived as synonymous with Wirth's "mass." But, insofar as we are concerned here with knowledge dissemination or communication, it should be added that the public, here, comprises the audience or target group to which the communication is directed. the public constitutes the potential or actual recipient of the ideas which underlie a given ideological system. It is on its receptivity of the espoused ideas regarding pertinent issues, that the emergent ideology thrives. Mills talks in terms of "set of publics," without necessarily giving an explicit explication.²¹

With the foregoing in mind attention is now directed to the processes or mechanisms by which knowledge of, or information about, a phenomenon is transmitted from one point to another, within a social space, as well as the circumstances which mediate or determine how it is received by the target audience or public.

The term "event-situation," will be understood to refer to a phenomenon, an incident or occurrence, or an issue in society, about which knowledge is disseminated from the site of the occurrence, to some potential audience. We assume that a society or a particular social setting can be constituted by many publics, or subpublics within a larger public. For example, in the particular case of the United States, one can talk about the "American Public," or about the "White public," the "Black public," or the "working public," or, to invoke Mills' usage, one can simply talk of various "cultural publics."

Since an event-situation can only be defined at a particular point within the social space, at any given time, and in view of the structural dispersal of the memberships of the public or publics of that society, as Wirth correctly notes,²² it is apparent that knowledge about that event-situation cannot be experienced directly or "first-hand," by all the members of the public, or of the various publics. Put differently, the individual member of the public cannot personally witness all event-situations occurring in the society, and must depend on one aspect or the other of the media of communication for knowledge or information regarding all that happens within the society.²³

It is therefore suggested that knowledge of an event-situation can be acquired through two sources: media sources, and situationally defined sources. Regarding the latter, Hartmann and

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Husband write:

In this case something is known or believed because of the firsthand experience of the individual himself, or of others known to the individual, or at the very least because in the circles where he moves it is 'common knowledge' grounded in the individual experiences and diffused through person-to-person contact.

And, concerning the former they explain:

In the second case (media sources, that is)...people may come to know or believe things because of the accounts and images relayed by the mass media. The individual himself need not have learned it directly from the media but at second or third hand. What is 'known' or 'believed' need not be identical with what actually happened or was 'experienced' or with what was carried by the media. It is sufficient that either the media or firsthand experience should in the first place have given rise to whatever is known or believed (author's emphasis).

It may be asserted that a dialectical relationship exists between these two typologies of knowledge or sources of ideas. For, while situationally defined knowledge may influence how media-acquired knowledge is interpreted, it is also likely that media-acquired knowledge or information may reinforce already held opinion,²⁵ as Mills correctly notes. And if the emphasis here is on media-sources, this is not to de-emphasize the import of situationally defined sources. Mills perhaps rightly cautions that,"...no view of American public life can be realistic that assumes public opinion²⁶ to be wholly controlled and entirely manipulated by the mass media."

To seek the answer to the question of how a public forms an opinion or a view regarding a given ideology, one might start by inquiring into the sources of the ideas which underlie the ideology. In other words, who is the author of the ideas or the proponent of

the ideological system? What are his relationships to the target public? Who, or what agencies are responsible for relaying the ideas to the target audience or public? And what are the relationships between these intermediary agents and agencies, and the public to which they carry the message or "knowledge" relating to the ideas?

The term "ideologist" is not used here to simply denote the author or propounder of ideas; it is also to be acknowledged that the ideologist is a member of, or can be identified with, a specific public. If it is granted, in Mills' sense of "cultural publics" (vide supra), that each public possesses its own cultural peculiarities, then the ideologist, it must be assumed, reflects or shares the experiences and ideas that are situationally defined for this particular "cultural public," in his capacity as one of its members. In other words, the ideologist partakes of the situational realities defined for his public; his perceptions of events, and his or her interpretations of what he or she perceives, is influenced, and impinged upon, by the ideas and experiences deriving from the situational realities of his cultural public. Now, it may be said that the ideas he espouses consist simply in the assigning of meanings to perceived events and situations--in other words the abstraction of reality from event-situations.

Also, the messages implicit in the ideas espoused, may be directed to his particular "cultural public," or to another, or to both. And, in view of what has already been said regarding the

structural features of the "mass" comprising the "public," intermediary agencies--the mass media--serve to relay these messages to the target public. Since, in "reporting," the people of the media are also engaged in "abstracting realities" from, and assigning meanings to their perceptions of, the event-situation, and in view of the fact that they also come from specific "cultural publics" which may or may not overlap with that of the ideologist, it is to be expected that the message they relay to the public be also affected by the ideas they have acquired, and opinions they have held, from the situationally defined source of knowledge peculiar to, and defined for, their own "cultural publics."

If, in fact, the "news" reported, or the messages relayed, by the media are "distorted" or slanted, it need not always be construed as a deliberate or intentional act, on the part of the men of the media--although, sometimes, this is certainly the case. In the absence of any conscious efforts on the part of the men of the media to present the picture of the event situation in a way that is calculated to mislead the target audience or public, the incidence of any "distorting" features in the knowledge communicated, must be accounted for as resulting from what might be called a cultural parallax, attributable to the situationally defined source of ideas peculiar to the men in question. Consequently, although the knowledge of the event-situation ultimately communicated to the target public might not present the "true" picture that the members

of this public would have perceived, were they to be actually present at the scene, it must not be necessarily concluded that this effect was intended by the intermediary agents who control the dissemination of knowledge of events through the media.

But there is another factor which can be seen as playing a crucial role in the transmission of ideas or knowledge of events, from the source (event-situation, that is) to the target public. The form in which the ideas of an ideologist is transmitted to a target public can be effected by the representativeness--as well as the extent of representation--of the members of his (the ideologist's, that is) own cultural public among the men of the media, who control the process of transmission. For, to the extent that the men of media can be attributed the power of manipulating and controlling the amount and quality of news or knowledge conveyed from a given source to a target public, and insofar as these men can be said to hold primary allegiance to their own "cultural publics," and therefore concerned with, first of all, serving the interests of those publics, that ideologist stands with precarious disadvantage, who depends, for the dissemination of his ideas and thoughts, on the media of communication over which no member of his own cultural public shares control. This seems even more so, particularly, in situations where the ideas espoused by the ideologist are conceived by these men of the media, to be in conflict with their own values and interests, as well as those of the particular publics for whom they see their services as designed.

And if the media men value, and are dependent upon, the patronage of a particular public or a segment of it, for their continued operation and progress, it is to be expected that the overall modus operandi of their news reporting or knowledge transmission be geared towards the overall catering for the interests of that constituency. To the extent that this fact governs the process of news-reporting and knowledge transmission, so much so is the information or message reaching the target publics affected. The "reality" of a given event-situation ultimately reaching the public(s) through the media, may very well be on a different level from that which it would have abstracted by an on-the-scene observer. Particularly pertinent here is the insightful observation by Hartmann and Husband regarding the role of blacks in the American media. Noting that events become "newsworthy" only when they are associated with a concern of the public, they remark, more specifically:

Given the situation in the United States where the major news media are staffed by white personnel and serve a mainly white audience, it follows that the 'public' which dictates newsworthy events is a white public. The day-to-day tensions of ghetto existence, and exploitation which is a crucial concern of the coloured population is not a primary concern of the white public. Only the symptoms of these conditions....impinge upon whites and hence it is only such 'events' which become newsworthy in a white press.

They explain:

One of the reasons for the inadequate coverage of the underlying causes of racial strain. . . is that the condition of the negro is not in itself a matter of high interest to the white majority. Their interest in the black American is focused upon the situation in which he becomes a threat, or a problem. (Emphasis added.)

And regarding the overall part which the black American plays in the management and/or control of the media, they see the adequacy of his role as vitiated by the fact of the insensibility of the white public to the black experience.

But it cannot be concluded, on the sole merits of the foregoing, that the public would actually accept whatever is offered by the media as an article of faith, so to speak. As Mills perhaps correctly points out, the process through which the public makes up its mind on an issue is quite complicated, and not as simple as merely swallowing, hook, line, and sinker, whatever the media have to offer, or present, to it. For if it is true that the men of media control and manipulate what is offered to the public in the media, it is also the case that the public reserves the right to select and choose what aspects of what is presented to it, to read, to listen to, accept, and/or believe. And if the media "interests," as Mills suggests, "select the media contents to which people are exposed," it is equally the case that these people who constitute the public make the final choice of aspects of these contents which they want to accept.

This is so because, as was emphasized earlier, knowledge derived from media sources has to be weighed against that deriving from situationally defined sources. For, as has been pointed out, if some knowledge or experience is situationally defined for the cultural publics of the ideologist, and of the men of the media, the same equally applies to the target public. And whether, and to what

extent, the target public should accept the ideas espoused by the ideologist, and transmitted through the media, is a fact determined, not only by the relationships between it and the cultural publics of the ideologist and of the men of the media, but also by the existing ideas and knowledge deriving from its own situationally defined sources. In this sense, then, the target public is not a mere passive recipient and echoer of the opinion already reached and dictated by the men of the media. In what, then, does the phenomenon identified as public opinion consist?

If, in fact, a meaning can be assigned to this concept, it is to the effect that the members of a given public come to a consensus on an issue, in the light of the knowledge available to them through the media sources, as well as their own situationally defined sources. Mills conceives of public opinion as consisting in the "reactions to what is presented in the formal media of communication; personal discussion does not affect the opinion formulated; each man is an isolated atom reacting along to the orders and suggestions of the monopolized mass media."³²

The point to be made here is that, in considering the entire process of knowledge dissemination to, and acquisition by, the various publics through the intermediary agency of the mass media of communication, any given event-situation on which this process is based should not be viewed as an isolated incident or phenomenon. Whether one considers it in terms of the people-of-the-media who abstract real-

ities from the actual situation and cast them in the proper form for dissemination, or whether in terms of the target publics to which communication is directed, the given event-situation is perceived in terms of, and weighed against the background of, the experiential knowledge which the members of these various "cultural publics" have acquired and held from their respective situationally defined sources.

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In the language of Berger and Luckmann, any given event-situation is perceived, interpreted, and knowledge or information about it disseminated, in terms of "typifications." It is also this phenomenon of "typifications" which governs the target audiences or publics' selective choice of what aspects of the media's offerings they want to accept and believe. And "typification" is possible for the members of the various "cultural publics" only because of the knowledge, ideas, or experiences deriving from their respective situationally defined sources.

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Mills elaborates further on this point when he discussed the "resistance operation" of the public to the media. He distinguishes the "primary public" from "secondary publics," the former comprising the situation where people engage in face-to-face, or person-to-person interactions and exchange of views. A crucial element of the primary public is what he calls "opinion circles," as well as "opinion leaders" and "opinion followers." The opinion leaders are those who influence others more than others influence them, and, being "the foci of the Primary public," it influences the reaction of the public to the items which are presented in the media. And, different people are opinion

leaders for different topics of opinion. More specifically:

These circles (of opinion) with their opinion leaders can and do reject what the mass media contain; they can and do refract it, as well as pass it on. That is why you cannot understand the changing reality of American public opinion in terms merely of what the radio, newspapers, magazine and movies contain. They are only a force, and although at times they "express" public opinion they do not always do so, and what they say is subject at all times to rejection and interpretation at the hands of the opinion circles and unofficial opinion leaders with their many shades of opinion. (Author's emphasis.)

The point to underscore here is that the processes of "rejection," "refraction," "passing on," and interpretation, are made possible because of the knowledge and ideas available to this public through its situationally defined sources.

But Mills' suggestion that public opinion serves as a tool for
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 the legitimation of authority, underscores the further fact that in considering the role of ideology in the development, dissemination, and acquisition of knowledge, power constitutes a conditio sine qua non. For as he clearly points out, it is the men of power who define
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 much of what passes as reality. And, if it is the case, as he suggests, that the primary role of the media is to reinforce exist-
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 ing opinions and ideas, it is also equally acknowledged that it is the opinion leaders who are exposed more to the media than are the
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 opinion followers. But if the construction of realities is the primary stuff of which ideology is made, then power is a necessary ingredient of ideologies. And insofar as the dissemination of ideas

and knowledge is crucial to the popularization of ideologies, the men of the media are properly situated to control and manipulate the knowledge disseminated--and therefore influence the form and course of ideologies. To this extent, the men of the media are men of power and, as such, contribute to the definition of much of reality. In this regard, Rex aptly remarks: "Those who control the popular mass media may or may not be aware of the extent to which they define social reality for their (audience)."⁴⁰

But the nature and extent to which the media affect the definition of reality for the public may be better appreciated by examining the situational realities available to, and defined for, that public. Since our problem here is specified empirically in terms of the Black public, it is only proper to investigate the situational realities defined for, and available to, it. It is for this that I shall turn, in the following section of this study, to the consideration of the Black experience.

PART III: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE
AND THE BLACK IDEOLOGIES

Perhaps this section of the work can be conceived as concerning itself with the kind of information that can be adduced to demonstrate or establish the source of knowledge acquisition, or the sources of knowledge that informs people's views and opinions.

If any truth-value can be accorded to Marx's dictum that: "Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness byLife" (German Ideology, p. 15), it carries the implication that, if one were to really understand ideologists and their ideologies, then one must go beyond the very substance of the ideas espoused in the ideologies. In other words, both the men and their ideas must be put or considered in the proper social context from which they emerge and develop. One must consider the social situations which define the material existence of the men, as well as conduce the life experiences that mold their ideas and thoughts.

In the particular context of the present study, this means that the particular ideological systems or social protest thoughts attributed to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. be examined in the light, not only of the respective material life which each experienced, but also of the total context of the black American experience. For, it is of this broad phenomenon that their individual life experiences and activities constitute but a small portion.

And if, as Berger and Luckmann, among others, have suggested, reality is socially constructed or created, one is here concerned with the examination of the complex processes which have mediated the particular creation of the realities that are defined for, and unique to, the black American experience. One is dealing, in effect, with the experiences that have governed the life activities of, as some analysts have correctly pointed out, perhaps, a nation circumscribed by a larger nation; a cultural group circumscribed by other cultural groups; but what seems even more significant is that it is the most oppressed of all the cultural groups.

Against this background, and in view of the relationship of power and ideology, and the role of ideology in the development and dissemination of knowledge, a realistic assessment of the black ideologies must take into account the question of whether--and to what extent--the realities defined for the white public have impinged upon, and helped conduce, the definition of realities peculiar to the black experience; whether, and to what extent, black people have played any roles in the formulation of social policies that have governed the life activities of the general society, and of their own community in particular; whether, and to what extent, black people share in the control and operation of the mass media of communication upon which a great deal of the process of knowledge dissemination depends; whether, and to what extent, black organizations and groups ("cultural publics") such as the churches, have been based

on the basic philosophies and ideals that derive from the white culture.

But it is equally true, also, that in considering the protest thoughts of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. as distinct ideological systems, one is compelling the implication that these reflect very distinct modes of the black experience. As such, an effort to account for these two distinct modes of experience compels inquiry into the respective life situations that have defined the particular life activities of each man. Hence, the biographical sketch of the two black ideologists.

It is in the light of the foregoing that I will deal in the subsequent chapters with the broad spectrum of the black American experience, as well as with the particular forms in which this experience has been differentially reflected in the two black leaders.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE BLACK AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Perhaps a paradigm of the Black experience could be formulated in terms of: the African heritage; the heritage of domination and oppression; and techniques and strategies for survival, or simply, what I prefer to call modes of adaptation.

The pertinence of the fact of the African heritage to the consideration or treatment of the black American experience is appreciated when it is realized that each national group in this society has something to link and identify with pride, in the cultural residue of the "Old Country." The Germans, the Irish, the Jews, the Scottish, the Polish, they all have something to sustain the positive image of their former countries of origin; whether this be in terms of a peculiar national food, or dress, or significant national festivities. Black Americans are unique among all cultural groups in the fact that, historically, the images and memories of their African past have been presented in ways that would make for their being anything but proud of their African cultural heritage.

Africa had been portrayed in the image of the "dark continent" devoid of any substantive history to which contemporary generations could relate; a society known for its "savagery," and nothing in the form of a positive contribution to civilization; in brief, a society characterized by nothing but negativism, and therefore, with which no "civilized" people would be proud to identify.

Whether it is in the volumes of pages of fabricated history, or in the form of vicious distortions of facts characterizing movies purportedly portraying the "realities" of African life, the accounts of historical and cultural past presented to the black American had always been replete with this negativism. It is no wonder then that the black american had been persuaded to hate, and despise, and in some cases, disown his/her African past. In this respect, Malcolm X's¹ remarks seem instructive:

One of the main reasons we are called Negro is so we won't know who we really are. And when you call yourself that, you don't know who you really are. You don't know what you are, you don't know where you came from, you don't know what is yours, . . . you can't lay claim to any name, any type of name, that will identify you as something that you should be. You can't lay claim to any culture. . . It attaches you to nothing. . . It doesn't give you a culture--there is no such thing as a Negro culture, it doesn't exist. . . they take you out of existence by calling you a Negro.

Just as a tree without roots is dead, a people without history or cultural roots also becomes a dead people.
(Emphasis added.)

The import of this remark consists, perhaps, not only in the fact that it underlines the cultural emasculation of black Americans, but also in pointing to the equally important fact that, in the attempt to accomplish this objective, the Euro-American civilization had sought to obliterate--and therefore deny--the rich cultural heritage deriving from the ancient African civilization, or, at best, distort and twist its historical context.² It is in the context of this onslaught of Euro-american civilization on the rich

cultural heritage of Africa, that DuBois has bemoaned what he properly characterizes as "the rape of Africa."³ Thus, "The rebirth of civilization in Europe began in the fifteenth century... it was here that the rape of Africa began and transformed the world. There can be little doubt but that in the fourteenth century the level of culture in black Africa south of the Sudan was equal to that of Europe and was so recognized."⁴

But the degree to which this process of cultural emasculation has been effected--either completely or partially--has remained an unresolved question of the black American experience. There are those who argue, and point to some aspects of black American cultural traits, such as the similarity in the African and black American musical rhythms, as incontrovertible evidence of the cultural link between Africans and African-Americans. But proponents of complete emasculation are quick to underline the uniqueness of the aspects of the rubric of Black American culture, including their musical traits. Nevertheless, the controversy persists; and in recent history of American social life, this controversy has crystallized in the historic debate between the black sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, and the white Jewish anthropologist, Melville J. Herskovits, regarding the social and historical derivations of the traits attributed to contemporary black American family.⁵

At any rate, it is a credit to the genius of some contemporary black nationalist and other protest movements, that the masses of

black Americans have been made conscious of the positive aspects of their African cultural heritage, and therefore, have been provided with a basis for taking pride in, and identifying with, their African past. For it is in the context of the African heritage that the heritage of oppression and domination should be better understood and appreciated.

The Heritage of Domination and Oppression

In their famous treatise, Black Power, Carmichael and Hamilton
6
note that:

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

The point is that as an "immigrant" group, Black Americans are unique insofar as they differ from virtually all the other immigrant groups in being the only one whose emigration from their original home (in Africa) was compelled by circumstances and forces far beyond their control, and not by their own volition as such. In other words, the bulk of the black American population derives from forced mass transplantation of populations from Africa as slave labor. This is in spite of the observation--perhaps rightly so--by Lerone Bennett, Jr.
7
and others that the first blacks to arrive in the American continent--and who began the history of the black American experience--were not slaves, but "were treated," as Billingsley puts it, "essentially as

8 9

indentured servants." Bennett notes more specifically:

A year before the arrival of the celebrated "Mayflower," 113 years before the birth of George Washington, 241 years before the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, this ship sailed into the harbor of Jamestown, Virginia, and dropped anchor into the muddy waters of history. It was clear to the men who received this "Dutchman of War" that she was no ordinary vessel. What seems unusual today is that no one sensed how extraordinary she really was. Few ships before or since, have unloaded a more momentous cargo. . .

Why did she stop at Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America?

No one knows, for sure. The captain 'ptended,' John Rolfe noted, that he was in great need of food; he offered to exchange his human cargo for 'victualle.' The deal was arranged. Antony, Isabella, Pecho, and 17 other Africans stepped ashore in August, 1619. The history of the Negro in America began.

But if even one grants the historical facticity of Bennett's account, this does not foreshadow the fact that these first Africans to land in America were forcibly taken away from their original homes, the subsequent treatments and status accorded them in the "New World" as "servants," rather than "slaves," notwithstanding. Rather, the point underlined in the historical account attributed to Bennett and others--and what seems more crucial at that--is the fact of the historical irony of black "immigrants" being dominated by the white immigrants in a land where the latter were preceded by the former. Thus the heritage of domination and oppression in the black American experience begins with the experience and heritage of slavery.

Among the three major features with which Charles Hamilton has characterized the black experience, in his recent treatise, 10 is

the traumatic experience of the capture of free Africans, and their
 subsequent transplantation and enslavement in America.¹¹ On the
 impact of slavery on the life of the black American, Billingsley¹²
 writes:

The Negro slaves in the United States were converted from the free, independent human beings they had been in Africa, to property. They became chattel. This process of de-humanization started at the beginning of the slave-gathering process and was intensified with each stage along the way. It should not be difficult to discern that people who, having been told for 200 years--in ways more effective than words--that they are subhuman, should begin to believe this themselves and internalize these values and pass them on to their children and their children's children.

And it has been generally conceded that, in its sheer brutality and inhuman character, the slavery practised in the United States lacked
¹³
 a historical parallel.

Perhaps the spirit of slavery as practised in the United States
¹⁴
 has been most eloquently captured in what Malcolm X has characterized
¹⁵
 as "slave-making." Thus remarks Malcolm X quite succinctly:

The slave maker knew that he couldn't make these people slaves until he first made them dumb. And one of the best ways to make a man dumb is to take his tongue, take his language. A man who can't talk, what do they call him?--a dummy. Once your language is gone, you are a dummy. . .

And if it is granted that language is the key to culture, then the implication, in this context, seems inescapable, to the effect that the black American experience, if predicated on anything that could be called the "Black culture," it is also equally significant that that culture has been conditioned--if not dictated--by the culture of the dominant white society.



But one thing which the first phase of the traumatic experiences did accomplish was, perhaps, to culturally emasculate the people, or at best, to effect a drastic transformation of that culture in a way that rendered their subsequent mode of survival rather precarious. Hamilton notes in this context: "In the transition from Africa to America, the extended-family tribal units were obliterated and deliberate policies pursued to break up families."¹⁶

The other phase of the black experience specified by Hamilton consists in the transitional experience from the status of slaves to that of "freed people," consequent upon the emancipation proclamation. This phase which also brought its peculiar trauma seems significant, not so much in the "progress" and "improvement" it brought about in the lives of black Americans, as in the fact that it created more uncertainties in their already precarious existence, as they are compelled from one mode of dependency to another dependent and subject status. For, if emancipation served officially to abolish slavery as an institution, it did so no more than it created a life of helplessness and hopelessness; for many--if not most--of these "freedmen," who, driven by the instinct for survival and self-preservation, were forced to submit to voluntary servitude that entailed even greater hardship, in some cases, than under slavery. And if the emancipation made the slaves "freedmen," it certainly did not assure them the rights and privileges that accrue to free men.

Thus, during and after slavery, the political, economic and social lives of black Americans have been, and have continued to be, affected by the heritage of domination and oppression. But, in a very broad sense, if the history of black Americans has been one of a domination-subordination relationship with the white "cultural public," in which their lives and affairs have been controlled by the latter, the essence of the black experience in America may be seen as consisting in a life pattern or existence marked by modes of adaptation, or mechanisms for survival, either politically, economically, or otherwise socially. This fact has been clearly underlined in the rather insightful observations of the eminent black scholar, the late W. E. B. DuBois, in rationalizing the manifest attitudes of the "black folk." Thus writes DuBois: 17

Today the young Negro of the South who would succeed cannot be frank and outspoken, honest and self-assertive, but rather he is daily tempted to be silent and wary, politic and sly; he must flatter and be pleasant, endure petty insults, with a smile, shut his eyes to wrong; in too many cases he sees positive personal advantage in deception and lying. His real thoughts, his real aspirations, must be guarded in whispers; he must not criticize, he must not complain. Patience, humility, and adroitness must, in these growing black youth, replace impulse, manliness, and courage. With this sacrifice there is an economic opening, and perhaps, peace and some prosperity. without this is riot, migration, or crime. Nor is this situation peculiar to the Southern United States. . .The price of culture is lie. (Emphasis added.)

It is in the light of the foregoing that the peculiar lifestyles manifested in the everyday activities of the black man in America could be conceived as an integral aspect of the constant struggle for survival, a mode of adaptation.

Modes of Adaptation

Perhaps most significant, and outstanding, in the arsenal constituting the black American's technique for survival, or modes of adaptation, is the black religion, as manifested in the black church and the black preacher or minister. DuBois, among others, has properly noted that the church is the greatest social institution possessed by black Americans, and identified the black preacher as "the group leader" of the masses of blacks.¹⁸ It is in this respect that Hamilton considers every black preacher as a black leader¹⁹ in his own right. He writes, more specifically:

The one institution and the one individual the blacks had to rely on in bridging these transitional periods were the church and the preacher. The preacher became, then, a link-age figure, having to link up the old with the new, the familiar with the unfamiliar, tradition with modernity. In many cases, the black church was an adaptive institution. It was not wholly African, and it by no means was entirely Anglican or Western. Improvisation was required, and the black preacher was the master improviser. (Emphasis added.)

It is in this vein that DuBois, elsewhere, has emphatically asserted: "The Negro church of today is the social center of Negro life in the United States, and the most characteristic expression of African Character."²⁰ And Billingsley considers the church as one of the "dominant institutions" of the black community which constitute a major influence on the life and character of its members.²¹

But the black church, whether during or after slavery, has enabled blacks to cope with the prevailing conditions in which they have been situated. For if during slavery it served as the only place that afforded them a forum for some measure of expression, and, as

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Cone points out, "as a platform for announcing freedom and equality" (author's emphasis), after slavery the black church was constituted as a protest against an unenviable place assigned the black members, by the dominant white church. Cone writes, more
 23
 specifically:

The birth of the independent black churches and the teachings of the free black preachers show clearly that Christianity and earthly freedom were inseparable for the black man. The black church was born in protest. . .

There are independent black churches today because black people refuse to accept the white master's view of Christian faith. As early as 1787 Richard Allen and his followers walked out of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church at Philadelphia because they refused to obey the dictates of white superiority. . .

Northerners should be reminded that existence of all black independent churches among "freemen" is due exclusively to black refusal to accept the racism deeply embedded in the structure of white churches.

He therefore argues that it is the duty of the black church and black theology to present to black people a view of God through the perspective of the black experience, that underlies "the brutalities of
 24
 white racism." And, more specifically, he maintains that:

The task of Black Theology, then, is to analyze the black man's condition in the light of God's revelation in Jesus Christ with the purpose of creating a new understanding of black dignity among black people, and providing the necessary soul in that people, to destroy white racism. (For) Black Theology is primarily a theology of and for black people. . . (Author's emphasis.)

An important aspect of the adaptive function of the black church and black religion is symbolized by, and exemplified in, the development of the black spirituals. Its import to black experience is underscored in the observation attributed to Benjamin Mays, Martin
 26
 Luther King's mentor. He writes:

The creation of the Spirituals was hardly an accident in Negro life. It was a creation born of necessity in order that the slave might more adequately adjust himself to the new conditions in the New World. . . God saves for Heaven those who hold out to the end. He provides golden crowns, slippers, robes, and eternal life for the righteous. The principal reward comes in the other world.

But apart from the Christian religion, it is the Islamic faith which has exacted a definite and profound impact--if to a less extent--on the black American experience. And like the black Christian church, the Islamic faith, as professed by black Americans under the tutelage of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, was born in protest. But it inherited a philosophy and body of doctrines different from--and in some cases, contradictory to--those of the black Christian church. And its genesis dates back only a few decades. This is hardly surprising. For, as the eminent black sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, has written: "the growth of the Black Muslim movement represents disillusionment on the part of Negroes concerning integration and a repudiation of the belief in assimilation which is so dear to the middle classes."²⁷

Although the organizational movement properly known as the Nation of Islam--but which Lincoln²⁸ claims, with rather preposterous pride, to have popularized as "Black Muslims"--had been in existence since the early thirties,²⁹ it was not until the close of the fifties that, through the agency of one of the established white media, that its presence was called to the attention of the American general public.³⁰

The head of the Islamic group, Elijah Muhammad, known variously among his followers as "the Prophet," "the messenger of Allah,"³¹ and one time mentor of Malcolm X's, is said to have received his commission directly from the mysterious founder who appeared on the Detroit scene in the early thirties, in the person of W. D. Fard,³² later to be deified as Allah himself. According to Essien-Udom's account, the Black Muslim phenomenon was part of "the effort of thousands of American Negroes to resolve for themselves (the) fundamental problem of identity and to provide a context for their moral, cultural, and material advancement within the limits set by the American scene."³³

But it is evident that, whether during or after slavery, the black church was not--and has not been--completely free of the influence of the dominant white church and white Christian religion. For, if the church setting was the only means which afforded black people the opportunity for collective association and some measure of self-expression during slavery, it is also the case that that opportunity was limited and controlled by their white masters. And although black preachers with the conviction and persuasion of a Nat Turner³⁴ emerged from time to time, it could not have been the case that preachers of his caliber were the rule rather than the exception. In a sense, it was a game played within the limits of the rules set by the masters. The preachers had the difficult task of seeking, in their sermons and messages, the golden mean between words that would give comfort to the slaves in bondage and suffering, and

at the same time offer pacification which was of primary concern to the slave owners and masters. As Hamilton correctly points out: "Thus comfort and pacification were two main functions of the (black) preacher. . .Forgetting 'a heap of things,' particularly any ideas connected with fighting back and attempting to revolt against slavery, was precisely what the slave owners wanted. And any black preacher who could perform that function was a valuable asset to the masters." ³⁵

And if it is true today, that the black church is independent of the dominant white religion, it is equally true that the theology of the former has been permeated and conditioned by the ethics and doctrines inherited from the latter. In this context, Frazier's observation seems pertinent: "There is no parallel in human history where a people have been subjected to similar mutilation of body and soul. Even the Christian religion was given in a form only to degrade them." ³⁶ (Emphasis added.) What the contemporary black church has actually done, more than anything else, is to adapt the dominant, white, Christian religion to the realities that define the black American experience.

But whether one looks at the black church as manifested in the black Christian religion, or as constituted in the Islamic community, of the Nation of Islam, one cannot but agree with Lomax, that: "It was in church that the Negro masses found both meaning for life and escape from reality." ³⁷ It is the fact of the pervasiveness of the influence of the church in virtually every aspect of the black

American experience that has prompted the remark by some observers to the effect that hardly anybody could get any programme through within the black community, unless insofar as it is organized with-
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in the framework of the black church.

And while the black church, acknowledgedly, has exacted a tremendous influence on the black American experience, it is by no means the only institution which has moulded and conditioned that experience. The contributions of the press--the black press particularly--have not been insignificant.

The Black Press

In the long history of the struggle for survival, which defines the black American experience, perhaps the black press has played a role second to only one other institution--the black church. And like the latter, the black press came into being as an expression of
39
protest against slavery, discrimination, and segregation. It may be asserted then that the press, like the black church, has symbolized another aspect of the manifestation of the black experience as a mode of adaptation. For, if it is granted that the black press emerged in protest, it seems so, perhaps, because the dominant white media have not catered for the interests of blacks as a specific cultural public.

The black press was inaugurated in 1827, with the publication of the first edition of Freedom's Journal in New York City, by John Russwarm. The objectives and goals of the black press seem to have been articulated in the eloquence of the editorial of the first issue

of Freedom's Journal. Thus, the editors write, in part:

We wish to plead our cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles;. . .

The civil rights of a people being of the greatest value, it shall ever be our duty to vindicate our brethren, when oppressed; and to lay the case before the public. . .

Useful knowledge of every kind, and everything that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns;. . . And while these important subjects shall occupy the columns of the FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, we would not be unmindful of our brethren who are still in the iron fetters of bondage. . .

It seems quite evident that the first black-published newspaper was designed primarily--but by no means exclusively--for the "freed" population of black America. And, it was concerned, not only with the problems of blacks in America, but also with the lots of those in the original homeland of Africa. Thus, while it was the intent of the slavery and post-slavery white oligarchy to destroy the cultural roots that link black Americans to the African homeland, it was, and it has been, the case that people have always been committed to maintain and preserve that link.

But the folding-up of Freedom's Journal, two years later, did not, by any means, signalize the demise of the black press. It was rather the end of a beginning; for prior and subsequent to 1829, black publications sprang up, and mushroomed, in various parts of the society--but more so in the northern states where the bulk of the "freedmen" were concentrated. While exact statistics and figures of the publications seem difficult to procure, it is no exaggeration to assume

that they run into the hundreds, by any estimate. Some of the earliest publications deserve to be mentioned.

The Rights of All, edited by the former co-editor of Freedom's Journal, Samuel Cornish, in 1829 was a reorganized version of the latter. The American was published in 1831 by Junius Morel. The Weekly Advocate was inaugurated in 1837, and was shortly converted into The Colored American. The Alienated American, based in Cleveland, Ohio, was started in 1853. The host of other publications include: The People's Press (Troy, New York); The Clarion; The Elevator (Albany, N. Y.); The Genius of Freedom (New York); The Mirror of Liberty (New York); The National Reformer (1833); The Christian Recorder (1856); Mirror of the Times (San Francisco, 1855); The Pacific Appeal (San Francisco, 1862); and The Herald of Freedom (Cleveland, Ohio, 1855).⁴¹ It seems rather trite to suggest that the names of these publications reflect the overriding preoccupation of the black press with the struggle for freedom.

But this was not a phenomenon that has been uniquely defined for the past centuries. The central role played by the black press in modern time is exemplified in the society-wide renown enjoyed today by such papers as The Chicago Defender, The New York Amsterdam News, just to name a few. And the tone of the black press in this century, perhaps, was set by the editorial leadership of The Crisis, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The pattern seems to have been set by its first editor, W. E. B. DuBois,

who, in the first issue of the Crisis, had editorialized the objective "to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today⁴² toward colored people."

Interestingly enough, Charles Johnston,⁴³ in considering the black press, has distinguished the "negro magazines" from ordinary⁴⁴ newspapers. He writes in part:

The most influential publications of the earlier period were newspapers which emphasized editorial opinion. . .

The immediate personal concern of the educated Negroes in the abolition of slavery and their necessary abolition activities, precluded the calm deliberate creative writing of belles lettres. If there is a clear distinction between a newspaper and a magazine, it is in the more deliberate and cultural quality of the latter. Not only was there less incentive to creative writing in the early days, but a smaller supporting public for this writing.

While emphasis has been on the role of black religion and the black press, there are other dimensions of the black American experience which have constituted part of the modes of adaptation. In this category, one might mention the phenomenon of migration, which, in a sense, mediated the transition from rural to urban life.

Prior to the Civil War and the subsequent Emancipation, black migration had primarily taken the form of mass escape from the Southern Slave States to the North where, if absolute freedom did not exist for blacks, slavery as an institution was, at least, prohibited, and any measure of freedom to people who have known nothing but bondage and servitude is better than nothing. And after Emancipation, the bulk of migration of blacks had essentially economic underpinnings. In either case, the black press, incidentally, played a major role.

The pre-abolition migration was, perhaps, symbolized in the famous "underground railway" phenomenon--a process of mass escape of slaves from the South to the North, and popularly associated with the names of Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman.⁴⁵ As documents and letters from the migrants bear testimony, the black press greatly mediated the process of the "Great Northern Drive."⁴⁶

But, in more recent time, mass migration of blacks has been compelled by natural and socio-economic factors from the rural--mainly Southern--to the urban centers--mainly in the North and the West. According to Christensen, "the greatest exodus" from the South occurred during the great depressions, and continued into the 30's.⁴⁷ Among other factors, the following have been suggested: the boll weevil which adversely affected the cotton farming and cotton economy; the demand for factory and construction workers, in the wake of World War I; the agricultural depression of the 1920's and '30's, adversely affecting Southern agricultural economy; increased and better facilities, facilitating transportation to the North; and increase in educational opportunities in other parts of the country.⁴⁸

In summary, the consideration of the broad spectrum of the black American experience has been based on the specific examination of some--but by no means, all--of the dimensions. The focus has been on the aspects of the African heritage, the heritage of domination and/or oppression, and the various patterns of the struggle for survival, identified as modes of adaptation.

Regarding the various modes of adaptation, the emphasis has been more on the roles of the black church and black religion, as well as on the black press. It is not suggested that these constitute the only relevant aspects of the adaptive institutions: rather, it is argued that their influence is primary. For as seen and typified in the role of the press on, say, migration, these two major institutions cannot be really completely divorced from the other adaptive institutions which have mediated the moulding of the black American experience.

But it is the quest for the bases or sources of knowledge acquisition by the black "cultural public," which underlies the consideration of the larger issue of the black American experience. The consideration in this chapter has been with the internal processes. In the next chapter the emergence of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, and the development of their protest thoughts and ideologies are considered.

CHAPTER FIVE: BLACK PROTEST THOUGHTS
AND THE IDEOLOGIES OF MALCOLM X AND KING

If the history of the black American experience has been marked by protest, then it can be said that protest thought has characterized black ideology. But black protest thought has assumed a variety of forms, and emphasized different themes, historically. This seems apparent when one considers the broad spectrum of black protest activism, from the harangues of the slave insurrectionists typified by Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey; or the abolitionist writings and speeches of people like Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, William Nell, Henry Highland Garnet; or in militant and uncompromising tone of protest registered on the pages of pioneer black press, typified by Thomas Hamilton's (editor) The Weekly Anglo-African, The Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate, The Colored American and The Liberator; or in the literary skills of black authors and poets, represented by Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Claude Brown, Langston Hughes; or in the philosophies of leader-educators like Booker T. Washington; or in the angry pronouncements and writings of intellectual figures exemplified by W. E. B. DuBois; or, in more recent time, in the socio-political ideologies of men like Marcus Garvey, Adam C. Powell, Elijah Muhammad, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael.

Within this broad spectrum, it is only reasonable to expect that ideologies would collide, and ideas espoused by the various ideologists at various points in time, seemingly contradict one another. It is suggested, however, that the seeming contradictions reflect different moods of the men that authored them, as well as of the time and place they were evolved, in the rather arduous history of the black American experience. It is these seeming clashes in ideological perspectives that have led to what, at various points, have appeared to be contradictions in black leadership. It is in this vein, perhaps, that Rose has remarked on the particular controversy which raged between Washington and DuBois. He writes:¹

From the welter of programs advanced by Negro leaders. . . two themes became dominant. One, in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, advocated self-help, and internal organization; the other following the lead of W. E. B. DuBois, stressed integration and civil rights.

But DuBois himself, incidentally, saw this controversy as developing more between his followers and Washington's disciples, than between the two men themselves. For: "It is my opinion that Washington died a sad and disillusioned man who felt he had been betrayed by white America. . .I am sure that out of his own background he saw the Negro's problem from its lowest economic level. He never really repudiated the higher ends of justice which were then denied" (emphasis added).²

Nevertheless, this seeming cleavage between DuBois and Washington was only one among many such cases in the history of black leadership, and black organizations. Similar disagreements have been recorded

between Douglass and Delany, following the Emancipation Proclamation; between Du Bois and Marcus Garvey; between DuBois and Philip Randolph; and, in more recent time, between the disciples of Martin Luther King, Jr., and those who subscribed to the ideology associated with Malcolm X. In a sense, the ideological cleavage, seemingly evident in the protest thoughts of Malcolm X and King, could be conceived as a crystallization of two main currents in black intellectual history--separation and integrationism.

But what is significant is not the question of whether these disagreements and cleavages occur between the black ideologists themselves or between their followers. Rather what seems more crucial is the point made by DuBois, in his intimation that the seemingly opposing ideological perspectives simply reflect differences in the socio-cultural backgrounds which have conduced and mediated the evolution and development of these ideologies. As DuBois specifically points out, in the particular case of the cleavage between his school of thought, and that represented by Washington, the explication should be sought in the different social backgrounds from which Washington and he himself emerged and developed. Thus, he elaborates:³

I believe him (Washington, that is) to be sincere, though wrong. He and I came from different backgrounds. I was born free. Washington was born slave. He felt the lash of an overseer across his back. I was born in Massachusetts, he on a slave plantation in the South. My great-grandfather fought in the Colonial Army in New England in the American Revolution. . . I had a happy childhood and acceptance in the community. Washington's childhood was hard. I had many more advantages: Fisk University, Harvard, graduate years in Europe. Washington had little formal schooling (emphasis added).

The point here is that these two main currents that have marked the history of black intellectual activism need not be conceived as counteractive against each other. Rather, in analytically dealing with these ideological systems, one should put into proper perspective, the social backgrounds which have conducted them. In this sense, the themes of separatism and integrationism in black intellectual history could be seen as complementing each other, and as such have each played significant role in the history of the black American experience. It is in the light of the foregoing that one should begin the analysis of the ideological systems represented by Malcolm X and King, with the consideration of the social background from which both leaders emerged, and which, therefore, have conducted and informed the ideologies which they had espoused.

Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Nebraska, on 12 May, 1925; Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on 15 January, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. The former was nurtured in the Northern urban ghetto; the latter, a product of a Southern, black middle-class community--but essentially of Southern society. And if the black experience has its distinct Southern and Northern variants, it seems reasonable to assume that these cultural variations significantly influenced their respective ideological perspectives.⁴ I propose, then, to underscore the impact of this cultural variation attributable to the regions, by examining the differential life experiences defined for both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Thus, coming from what Eric Lincoln calls "a family of middle class black Americans,"⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr., was born and bred in Atlanta, Georgia--a state which DuBois has characterized as the focus and center of "Negro problems" in America. For: "No other state in the Union can count a million Negroes among its citizens,-- a population as large as the slave population of the whole Union in 1800; (and) no other state fought so long and strenuously to gather this host of Africans."⁶

And, according to Billingsley, the household into which King was born, not only constituted a prototype of a "black patriarchy," but was also peopled by "Black Puritans." And, more specifically, Billingsley writes:⁷

They had distinctly upper middle class upbringing. They had economic security, a strong father and mother, a protective network of extended kin, and a home atmosphere in which education, morality, and all the middle class virtues were consciously enforced. In addition, the church was an extension of the family (emphasis added).

On the other hand, Malcolm X, though born in Nebraska, was raised in Michigan--a state which though not by any means a haven to black slaves, was nevertheless one of those in the North that offered some measure of sympathy to those escaping into freedom from the South. And, like King, he was the son of a Baptist minister. But while King's father belongs to the traditionally orthodox class of black Baptists, Malcolm's father was known to be "a follower of the black nationalist, Marcus Garvey,"⁸ who felt that Negroes should return to Africa and escape the oppression of the white man."⁹ But in contrast to the relative peace and security which marked King's childhood experience, Malcolm X's was replete with nightmares. As

he himself recalls one of these nightmares at the age of six:¹⁰

Our home was burning down around us. We were lunging and bumping and tumbling all over each other trying to escape. . . We were outside in the night. . .crying and yelling our heads off. The white police and firemen came and stood around watching as the house burned down to the ground. My father prevailed on some friends to clothe and house us temporarily.

And not long after this, Malcolm's father fell victim to a mysterious murder incident in Michigan, where the family had subsequently moved; and he "was found with his head bashed and his body mangled under a streetcar."¹¹ Malcolm reminisces on this personal family tragedy:¹²

My father's skull, on one side, was crushed in. . .Negroes in Lansing have also whispered that he was attacked, and then laid across some tracks for a streetcar to run over him. His body was cut almost in half. He lived two and a half hours in that condition (before he died). . .I was six

King, on the other hand, was born and raised in the Southern society where, "for good reasons the Negroes. . .had learned to fear and mistrust the white man's justice,"¹³ but where, nevertheless, the closest that he personally came to experiencing the brutality and injustice that have marked the Southern racial oligarchy, was secondhand--through the recollections and experiences of his own parents.¹⁴ No doubt, this possibility for King was facilitated by the relative security and protection which his middle-class family heritage had ensured. But for Malcolm X, life was more precarious.

For, soon after the tragic death of his father, the family became the victim of harassments and persecutions by the institutions and agencies of the establishment. Malcolm has himself noted:¹⁵

My mother was thirty-four years old. . .with no husband, no provider or protector to take care of her eight children. . . My mother began to buy on credit. . .(This) is the first step into debt and back into slavery. . .The state welfare people began coming to our house. . .(and to them) we were just things, that was all. . .They acted as if they owned us, as if we were their private property.

And not long after that: "My mother suffered a complete breakdown, and. . .(was taken) to the mental hospital" where she remained for twenty-six years.¹⁶ Malcolm was emphatic that: "if ever a state agency destroyed a family, it destroyed ours."¹⁷ For, as he further elaborates in explanation:¹⁸

Knowing that my mother in there was a statistic that didn't have to be, that existed because of a society's failure, hypocrisy, greed, and lack of mercy and compassion. . .I have no mercy or compassion in me for a society that will crush people, and then penalize them¹⁹ for not being able to stand up under the weight.

But, with an established Baptist minister for a father, King was also more privileged than Malcolm X in having for a mother, a school teacher; and this factor, combined with his black middle-class heritage had, perhaps, ensured for him the support and privilege of a good formal education otherwise unavailable to his less privileged contemporaries among the masses of black Americans. He was educated at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, Boston University's Graduate School of Theology; apart from a brief programme at Harvard.²⁰ Besides, he was married to a graduate of Antioch College.²¹

For Malcolm X, on the other hand, formal education took a rather vicious turn at the very early stage. For, soon after "our family was destroyed in 1937," he found himself taken "to the detention home. . .in Mason, Michigan. . .where all the 'bad' boys and

girls from Ingham County were held on their way to reform school."²² But by some stroke of fortune he wound up in Mason Junior High School where his formal education subsequently terminated at the eighth grade.²³ Malcolm himself offers a vivid recollection of this historic turning point in his life, on the occasion at Mason Junior High School:²⁴

I kept close to the top of the class. . . And then one day. . . something happened which was to become the first major turning point of my life. . . Mr. Ostrowski, my English teacher. . . told me, "Malcolm, you ought to be thinking about a career. Have you been giving it thought?". . . I told him. . . I'd like to be a lawyer. . . Mr. Ostrowski looked surprised. . . He kind of smiled and said, "Malcolm. . . you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer-- that's no realistic goal for a nigger. . . You're good with your hands--making things. . . Why don't you plan on carpentry?" The more I thought afterwards about what he said, the more uneasy it made me (emphasis added).

The point here is that Malcolm X was, for the first time, confronted with the hard reality of living in a society where racial antagonism marks the interaction of the black and white publics; that he was, willy-nilly, identified with the former group, subjected to the complete control of the latter. It is the society where ascription takes precedence over merit and achievement, as a criterion for assigning roles within the stratification system. It further underscores the point that, in that society, knowledge and its contents, as well as its dissemination, the fact of who learns what, and what use what is learned is put to, are issues determined by the white cultural publics who exercised--and have continued to exercise--complete control and authority over blacks. It seems almost superfluous to offer the conjecture that this particular episode constituted a major influence on his subsequent career, and more so, on the

development of his protest ideology later in life. By his own testimony:²⁵

What made it really begin to disturb me was Mr. Ostrowski's advice to others in my class--all of them white. . .they all reported that Mr. Ostrowski had encouraged what they had wanted. Yet nearly none of them had earned marks equal to mine. . .I realized that whatever I wasn't, I was smarter than all of those white kids. But apparently I was not intelligent enough. . .to become whatever I wanted to be. It was then that I began to change--inside. I drew away from white people (emphasis added).

While it may be true that King had most of the advantages and privileges of formal education, otherwise denied to Malcolm X, it is also equally the case that the former was specifically trained for the priesthood--to be a preacher in the tradition of the black church.²⁶ It seems quite apparent that the Christian tradition into which he was born, and in which he was brought up, constituted a definite influence in the moulding of his subsequent protest thoughts. For, what Billingsley calls the patriarchal household of "Black Puritans," required that the children be taught "to love and respect their parents and elders. . . (and) education was looked upon as the path to competence and culture. The church was the path to morality and immortality."²⁷ The church was therefore regarded as an extension--if not an integral part--of the family.²⁸

But in sharp contrast, Malcolm X, following the Mason School incident, had moved, first to live with a relative in Boston, and subsequently to New York's black ghetto in Harlem, where, as Lomax observes, he was "admitted to the underworld's fringes. . . He hired . . . men variously plying dope, numbers. . . and diverse forms of

hustling."²⁹ Malcolm himself recalls that his education was partly acquired in the streets of Harlem. Otherwise he owes everything he had learned to the teachings of his future mentor in the black Islamic community, Mr. Elijah Muhammad.³⁰ And from his testimony we learn that:³¹

At 15 I was my own boss--the go-easy-way. I was a hustler. The only job I ever had was waiting tables. I had no education. I went to school down there. . . I mean on the streets. Everything I have learned has been since I became a follower of Mr. Muhammad. I was never interested in education. At 19 I was in prison (emphasis added).

But giving special insight to the understanding of the ideologies of Malcolm X and King is the consideration of their particular roles within the specific religious and related organizations with which they were associated. I shall therefore deal next with Malcolm X and King, and their respective relationships with the Nation of Islam, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the SCLC

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) around which King had organized his civil rights activities, was actually a logical development from the initial, more localized organization--The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)--which evolved in the wake of the historic bus incident in which a black woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, was arrested for refusing to surrender her seat in the city bus to a white passenger.³² The black community of Montgomery, Alabama, had reacted by organizing a mass boycott of the city bus service, as well as other businesses, in protest against this specific

incident, and also to serve notice to the white public of the community, of their intention not to continue to endure the injustices and indignities of the racial oligarchy that reigned in that local society. As King himself reflected later: "no one can understand the action of Mrs. Parks unless he realizes that eventually the cup of endurance runs over."³³ And her arrest, therefore, "was the precipitating factor rather than the cause of the protest."³⁴

It was, indeed, in an attempt to canalize these protest activities of the Montgomery Black community whose "cup of endurance (had run) over," that the MIA was founded; and Martin Luther King, Jr. was elected the organization's first president.³⁵ The SCLC was subsequently inaugurated in an apparent attempt to extend the protest activities and experiences of Montgomery throughout the entire southern region of the nation.³⁶ If, as Killian has suggested, King was propelled into a position of leadership and national prominence, "by the drama of the Montgomery protest,"³⁷ it was so no less than the SCLC made the execution of the tasks of that leadership possible. For, it was the SCLC which provided the leadership and impetus that guided the activities and programmes of the various groups and organizations working under the banner of "the civil rights movements" of the fifties and the sixties, at the center of which was King.

In a sense, then, if King's civil rights movement and activities of this era became a social institution, it was the SCLC which he had headed that constituted the major structure behind that institution.

But it may be said that what King was to, and did for, the SCLC, Malcolm X very much fulfilled for the black Islamic group, called The Nation of Islam.

Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam

Although the organization properly known as the Nation of Islam--but which Lincoln³⁸ claims, with a rather preposterous air, to have popularized as "Black Muslims"--had been in existence since the early thirties,³⁹ it was not until the close of the fifties that, through the aegis of one of the established white media, that its presence was called to the attention of the American general public.⁴⁰

Malcolm X was recruited into the Islamic fold from prison in the mid-forties; and the drama of his historic exit from prison into the Islamic faith is, perhaps, one of the most celebrated religious experiences of twentieth century America.⁴¹

One pertinent question arises here, regarding the circumstances that mediated the reception of Muhammad's teachings by his followers, generally, and by Malcolm X, in particular. Burns offers a suggestion in this context, to the effect that a meaningful understanding of the Muslim movement take into proper account the existential experience of black Americans in a race-conscious society.⁴² This point, of course, has been adumbrated in the previous chapter (supra). Thus Burns argues, more specifically:⁴³

Can (the black American) identify with a nation that so often refuses even to recognize his presence? . . . America refuses to integrate the Negro into its consciousness. In so many cases, separation is a mental fact, a social reality. (And) Elijah Muhammad has made it a virtue.

And if the Muslim movement was born out of frustration, it seems so because "people living in an increasingly 'liberal' social milieu whose real life situation remains unchanged, often look upon the statements of white liberals as hypocritical and legislation for integration as schemes of deceit."⁴⁴

Perhaps the true role of Malcolm X within the Nation of Islam's scheme of things consists, not so much in the fact that he rose to the rank of a leading minister of that religious body, as in the more pertinent fact that, as an acknowledged spokesman for that religious body, he was to be attributed the most credit for popularizing and propagating the teachings and ideals formulated by the titular head of the Organization--and his mentor, Elijah Muhammad. In that respect, the growth and expansion of the American black Muslim movement in the "decisive decade" of the Black Revolution could hardly be dissociated from the name of Malcolm X.

Malcolm X, King, and the Black Experience ✕

If, indeed, there is a contradiction in the black leadership represented by Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., that seeming contradiction can be said to derive from the dialectics of black Christian church, on the one hand, and the black Islamic theology, on the other. In a sense, the black Islamic teachings constitute a fundamental challenge to the precepts of the Judeo-Christian tradition which has essentially informed the black Christian theology; for, it could not have been a result of pure accident that

"the anti-Christian tone of much of the Muslim teaching" has found a rather fertile soil in, and strong appeal for, black Americans.⁴⁵

Malcolm himself reflects that: "The colonization of the dark people in the . . . world was done by Christian powers. (And) the number one problem that most people face. . . today is how to get freedom from Christianity."⁴⁶ Rather than a means for gaining salvation, "the Christian religion was, and is, the master stratagem for keeping the so-called Negro enslaved. The whites gave him the 'poisoned book' (the Bible) and required his oppressor to join the 'slave religion' which teaches him to love his oppressor."⁴⁷ And what seems most disheartening is that the black Christian preacher has been co-opted into this conspiracy to oppress the black masses: for "the black Christian preacher is the white man's most effective tool for keeping the so-called Negroes pacified and controlled. . . (And) even the Christian God hates his enemies and works to destroy them. . . The black clergy. . . will deliver their people up wholesale. . . (hence) the black preacher is the greatest hinderance to their (the blacks', that is) progress and equality."⁴⁸ This, in fact, accords with Cone's charge that the Black churches have failed in their responsibility to the black people insofar as they have abdicated their potential role for leadership in the black revolution, thereby reconciling themselves to the white man's "solution to earthly injustice."⁴⁹

But the Islamic religion of Elijah Muhammad, by contrast, teaches "truth" and "justice." And "we who follow him. . . wear the Crown of Life. . . Wisdom. . . Freedom, Justice, (and) Equality. . .

Allah has a religion of life, not of death, that teaches us to live, the importance of living and how to live. Allah is the God of the living, and not the God of the dead."⁵⁰

It is in this vein, and in keeping with Cone's argument that another contemporary black theologian-nationalist has denounced the black church as a mere tool of white control of the black masses. Hence, Albert Cleage's indictment that: "the existing Black Church (is) an integral part of the white man's institutionalized control of Black people. . .The existing Black Church is trivial, irrelevant, divisive, and counter-revolutionary."⁵¹

But an interesting fact about the manner in which Malcolm X and King, as well as their respective ideological systems, are situated in the overall picture of the black American experience, is the recognition of the fact that their differential social backgrounds affected their perspectives of that experience, as well as the different interpretations which they accorded to it. Thus, it would seem quite evident that Malcolm X himself was well acquainted⁵² with the teachings of the Indian philosopher, Gandhi, whose philosophy, admittedly, had a major influence in conducting and moulding the protest thoughts and ideology of King.⁵³ But whereas the latter had accepted the Gandhian precept in the spirit of a "true believer,"⁵⁴ the former, it would appear, translated the Gandhian principles into the context of the black American experience. Thus, having been introduced to Muhammad's teachings regarding the plight of the

black man in the hands of his white oppressor, even Ghandi's philosophy revealed to Malcolm X, "how the white man had brought the world's black, brown, red, and yellow peoples, every variety of the sufferings of exploitation."⁵⁵ Besides, it had become quite evident to him, as well:⁵⁶

. . .how the white man never has gone among non-white peoples bearing the cross in the true manner and spirit of Christ's teachings. . .how the collective white man had been actually nothing but a piratical opportunist who used Faustian machinations to make his own Christianity his initial wedge in criminal conquest. . .the collective white man had acted like a devil in virtually every contact he had with the world's collective non-white man (emphasis added).

In summary, the attempt here has been to deal with the emergence of Malcolm X and King, as well as the evolution and development of their protest ideologies, within the specific context of the black American experience which had conduced and moulded these respective ideologies. It has been argued that the understanding of their specific time and place in the spectrum of black American experience is basic to a proper appreciation of their seemingly incompatible ideological systems. But it is further maintained that their specific relations to the black experience have also determined the manner in which each saw and interpreted that experience.

Perhaps the issues that have been touched upon, in relating black ideologies to the black experience, are best summed up and underlined in the views so eloquently expressed by a reader of one of the black papers of the post-Emancipation era. It seems most appropriate, then ,

to conclude this section of the study by quoting from Mrs. Faith Lichen's letter published in the January 25, 1872 issue of The New National Era. Thus writes Mrs. Lichen:⁵⁷

. . .Were you ever a colored boy? Have you ever gone to school with your heart thumping tramp, tramp, the boys are marching and been obliged to walk around a crowd of white boys because they chose to put themselves right in your path and had it leap into your throat by a "cuff the nigger"--yelled into your ears and after doing all that one pair of fists could do against half-a-dozen other pairs, were you unmercifully beaten (two or three policemen passing meanwhile)? . . .Have you ever studied Smith's Geography with a carefully cut card held over that very worst type of the Negro presented in painful contrast to the most perfect of the Caucasian on the opposite page? . . . Have you ever tasted the sweet revenge of sticking pins into the eyes of that soul driver in the picture of a cotton field at the head of the lesson on Georgia? No! Then you don't know what a jolly experience belongs to nine-tenths of the free-born colored men in this land of liberty; then you can't see the necessity for all this commotion among them about the Supplement to the Civil Rights Bill. You who do not know what it is to have been kicked in byways, booted on highways, dragged off railways, driven to the decks of steamboats, hurled from the communion table in your Father's House, to your agony and humiliation, your wretchedness and despair, you cursed God and--lived.

PART IV: KNOWLEDGE PROCUREMENT AND EVALUATION
IN A BLACK COMMUNITY: EMPIRICAL AND EXPLORATORY ISSUES

In the preceding sections of this work the concern has centered on the conceptual problems of knowledge dissemination and acquisition, as well as the factors--internal and external--which mediate these processes. The consideration of the issues of the black experience, essentially, is with respect to the circumstances which suggest the basis of the knowledge that informs the views and opinions of the black American public. In this section of the work, the concern is mainly to empirically explore, and attempt to establish, how these circumstances of the black experience have influenced a particular black public's evaluation of the protest ideologies of Malcolm X and King.

Empirical and Exploratory Issues

Public opinion polling, generally speaking, is an attempt to ascertain a "dominant" trend in the views held by the members of the given public on some specific issues of social concern. But if, as Mills suggests, what is commonly called "public opinion" is nothing other than a tool for the legitimation of authority, it then stands to reason to suggest that public opinion polling involves

the art of manipulating the members of that public, as well as the form and substance of knowledge or information sought in the act. For any given issue, the so-called "opinion" attributed to a public, is a result of a complex process of weighing the knowledge cultivated directly or through some intermediary sources--the media--against the experiential knowledge or opinion already held by the members of that public--situationally defined sources--and then reaching some decision, individually, depending on the extent to which these two distinct sources of knowledge bear on the issue itself, harmonize or are at variance with each other.

Survey research--either in the form of questionnaire-scheduled design, as presently undertaken, or in the form of face-to-face interviews, constitutes a form of public opinion polling. But while traditional opinion polling--whether in the conventional political opinion gauging, or in the scientific research design format--has emphasized the very fact of the public's expressed opinion per se, it would seem that some understanding of the processes and circumstances which underlie or govern the cultivation of the public's knowledge is necessary to ascertain the actual relevance or significance that can be attributed to the view or opinion so expressed.

But while, empirically, the study emphasizes the media sources of this knowledge, this should not be construed to imply that what have been described as "situationally defined sources," are less consequential. For, granting our theoretical premise that knowledge derives from two sources--media sources, and situationally defined sources--it seems evident that any phenomenon not attributable to

the one, must, by necessity, belong to the other. To the extent that one grants this, it would not be unreasonable to make the claim that, while the research design addresses one aspect of the problem directly, it, at the same time, deals with the other aspect indirectly.

If what has been said of the black American experience is true for the national black community in general, it is even more true of specific black communities in a particular sense. To the extent that one grants this, it may then be asserted that the black experience has been defined for every black American community in a unique way. It is in the light of this understanding that this section of the work begins, with the next chapter, dealing with the research design and procedure.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The empirical data for this study are derived from a questionnaire survey conducted among a sample of blacks in the Albuquerque community of New Mexico. No "objective" methodological justification is claimed for the choice of this particular community, as the research population. The overriding consideration consists, essentially, in the pragmatic reason of the researcher being a resident of that community at the time of the study; and the community offered the easiest access. It would seem in order, at this juncture, to address the issue of delimiting the scope of the investigation to just a black public.

One consideration--if less important--was the want of available resources for a more extensive survey. But there was another consideration which seems to be of greater import. It is true that, considering "audience receptivity" to the respective protest thoughts and teachings attributed to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King as crucial to their popularization, the white "public" or white "audience" played no small role. But it is also the case that, implicit in the assessment or evaluation of the relative imports of the two ideological systems, is the assumption that their primary concern was with the well-being or welfare and general circumstances of black Americans. Consequently, the relative merits of their protest thoughts, I suggest, should be gauged in the light of their respective aspects of relevance to, or import for, the needs of the public or community, as conceived and

determined by its members. To the extent that this assumption can be accorded any validity, I would argue that blacks are--and should be--better situated to assess the qualities and merits of their own leaders as well as the pertinent aspects of their leadership.

Survey Sample

The sample used for this study is drawn from a list or directory of black residents of Albuquerque, compiled by the Black Studies Center of the University of New Mexico, as part of its community programme. The directory is based partly on the State's Department of Labor records, the city employment agency records, as well as the state's voter registration records. It is also supplemented with a list of volunteers, obtained from the city's black churches.

While some inevitable elements of bias could arise from the limitations inherent in the operational dynamics of these agencies, nevertheless, the list could be said to span a good cross-section of the city's black community. As such, the simple probability sample of four hundred, taken from the original list is considered adequate enough for the purposes of this study, and therefore, representative of the local black community.

Questionnaire Design

The decision to opt for a questionnaire type, rather than an interview type of schedule, was guided, in the first place, by considerations of the time and material resources available to me. The

actual items appearing on the questionnaire were selected on the basis of the presumed bearing which they have on the research problem. More specifically, since the role of the mass media was considered a crucial aspect of the public's cultivation of an opinion bearing on general social issues of concern, factors which seem to relate to the exposure (or non-exposure) of the members of the public to the news media, are, as such, taken into consideration.

There are, of course, other items which were included, at the specific request of the Black Studies Center which is concerned with keeping abreast of the political and general social circumstances of the local black community. Items dealing with such matters as voter registration, residential zone, and political participation among others, specifically fall within this category. Demographic factors such as sex, age, and marital status, could be considered as related to both considerations.

But the major portion of the questionnaire comprises items which call for the respondents to, not only give their personal assessments of, or opinions or views on, the teachings of Malcolm X and King, but also provide information which would lend itself to the understanding or appreciation of the circumstances which underlie the procurement of the knowledge that informed such opinions or evaluations and assessments. It is expected that, through these responses, the extent of the role--if any--played by the media in the popularization of, and general cultivation of opinion regarding, the teachings and protest thoughts of these two black leaders, could be ascertained or gauged. The entire details

of the questionnaire, as well as of its general format, are presented in the appendix (App. 6.1).

Coding of Data

The questionnaire included thirty-one items. For simplicity of analysis, the items have been coded in such a way as to make the respondents' responses--comprising the "raw data"--amenable to computer programming and analysis.

Only items 1 (respondent's name) and 31 (solicited--but optional--comments from the respondent) were left out of the code system. This is for the simple reason that respondents' names, as well as their final comments or remarks, lack any common characteristics or attributes that would make systematic coding warranted. Besides, in the case of item #1, the coding of names is rendered superfluous--and, as such, unnecessary--by the fact that the individual respondents are identified with the sequential numbers--which simply reflect the chronological order in which the completed questionnaire forms were returned by the respondents. For item #31, it is noted, in the first place, that most of the respondents did not offer any specific remarks or comments. And, among those offered, the themes reflected different issues and concerns with which the authors were preoccupied. Perhaps special elaboration is called for, at this point, by the coding of a particular questionnaire item.

For occupation, the categories, "Lower Class," "Middle Class," and "Upper Class," have been used. Generally speaking, what constitutes a "middle class" occupation--as distinct from a "lower class"

or "upper class" trade or profession, is problematic. In specific research situations, an explication constituting the basis or criterion for such a classificatory scheme seems imperative.

In this particular study the scheme utilized was that developed by Andrew Billingsley, specifically for studies dealing with blacks.² Billingsley argues that, if a status structure does exist in reality, then a unique black status structure, "with its own features reflecting the history and struggle for survival of the Negro people" can be identified. In particular, he notes that: "The indices of social class which have been developed in social science research are relatively more reliable when used within white ethnic groups, where they were developed, than when used unmodified with Negro groups" (emphasis added).³ Billingsley's occupational classification which has been adopted for this study, stipulates three occupational categories for black Americans, to wit: the upper class (both "Old" and "New"), the middle class, and the lower class, subdivided into the "working non-poor," the "working poor," and the "underclass." He writes, more specifically:⁴

The old upper class includes those families headed by men and women whose parents before them were upper or middle class. The families of Negro judges, physicians, dentists, high government officials, educated ministers of large congregations, college presidents and wealthy businessmen, particularly insurance company executives and bankers. . .

On the other hand, the "new upper class" are distinguished from the former group by the fact that "they are likely to have reached the top in one generation, due in large measure to their own talent and

good fortune." And, included in this sub-category are such occupational groups as "entertainers and athletes who may become wealthy, famous, influential, and highly prestigious in the community," gamblers, racketeers, pimps, "and other hustlers who often manage to become wealthy, to wield a considerable amount of influence, and garner a great deal of prestige in the Negro community."⁵

The middle class includes the occupational categories identified as clerical and skilled blue collar workers; and they are made up of such groups as people "in minor professions which require college education but do not rank in prestige and status with the major old-line professions," teachers, social workers, accountants, technicians, attorneys "who have not yet established themselves," ministers of small congregations.⁶ Billingsley concedes, however, that: "The line between the Negro upper class and the Negro upper middle class is a rather fluid one."⁷

And, finally, the lower class which, according to Billingsley, comprises half of all blacks,⁸ includes such occupational groups as truck drivers, construction workers, industrial workers, semi-skilled laborers, service workers, and domestics. Included in this broad category are those who are poor and unemployed, as well as recipients of welfare and unemployment benefit.

But while Billingsley's scheme may not be perfect, it is, in my judgment, pertinent to the present analysis, insofar as it addresses itself more specifically to the situation and circumstances of black

Americans. The foregoing, then, are the main considerations which underlie the three-type occupational categories adopted in this study.

Regarding item #9 of the questionnaire, dealing with education, the coding format adopted is premised on the understanding that completion of elementary education, secondary education, and basic college education, would require nine, thirteen, and seventeen years of schooling, respectively, in an ordinary case. Consequently, less than nine years of schooling is coded as "below elementary education;" less than thirteen years, but more than nine, as "below high school education;" and more than thirteen years, but less than seventeen years, as "below college education." It must be pointed out, however, that in actual situations, some cases depart from "normal" or "ordinary" expectations. Unfortunately, the questionnaire design is not such that would have made the accounting for these discrepant cases possible, and, as such, identifiable--unless where otherwise explicitly and specifically indicated by the respondents. But it is anticipated that the potential error that might be introduced by this problem would not be serious enough to bear significantly on the final outcome of the study.

Generally, the number "8" has been used to designate cases where the respondents fail to give any response or answer to a specific questionnaire item--in other words, "blanks" in the completed questionnaire. An exception to this applies to item #6, dealing with the number of respondent's children, for which the number "88" has been employed to designate a "blank" response, to avoid the confusion that would otherwise arise in distinguishing between cases of "eight children" and of "no specific response." The number "9" has been used, generally, to code responses where the respondent specifically indicates

that he/she has no opinion on, or is uncertain about, a given item on the questionnaire.

Computer Programming

The primary objective in taking advantage of computer facilities in the present undertaking consists, of course, in its time-saving factor. The specific programs constructed for the analysis here were based on the specifications of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS),¹⁰ developed by Nie and his associates, and using the physical plant facilities of the University of New Mexico Computer Center.

The actual programming of the data has been designed for a two-stage analysis by the computer. The first stage comprises a program designed to obtain a frequency distribution for all the items that appear in the questionnaire. In the language of the SPSS, this program allows the computer to simply "codebook"¹¹ the completed questionnaires that comprise the data for this study. The aim here, in 'codebooking' the data is to preclude the necessity of cross-tabulation in cases where no significant "valid observations" occur, or where the distribution appears too lopsided to render cross-tabulation superfluous and, as such, unnecessary. This obviates the unwarranted expenditure of computer time, as well as precludes the appearance of "obvious" results on the computer print-outs.

The second stage is based on the frequency distribution obtained from the first stage, and provides for complete cross-tabulations of all the related sets of variables deemed relevant, as well as information for the related statistical analysis.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the data of this study, a consideration of the community among whom the investigation was carried out, seems necessary. Consequently, the next chapter deals with the black community of Albuquerque, New Mexico, in terms of the historical and contemporary aspects of their life.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BLACKS IN ALBUQUERQUE:

HISTORY, BACKGROUND, AND OVERVIEW

One striking feature of the entire state of New Mexico, as well as its major city, Albuquerque, is that it is a "four culture" area. This is a central feature shared by the neighboring states of Texas and Arizona which, together with New Mexico, constitute the "heart" of the Southwest. The four "cultures" reflect the population composition: white Anglo-Saxons (or Anglos, in the local terminology), the Chicanos or "Spanish-surnamed group," the Native Americans (or so-called Indians), and Blacks.

But, interestingly enough, the last group has been neglected, and their place and role within the general scheme of the New Mexico society--and that of Albuquerque in particular--not emphasized prior to the advent of the Black Power phenomenon of the sixties, and early seventies. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the writings--historical or otherwise--on, and about, the peoples and communities of New Mexico, and Albuquerque, in particular, have tended to pay passing attention, at best, to the blacks, and to completely ignore them, at worst; and the main emphasis has been on the first three cultural groups--Anglos, Chicanos, and Native Americans. Consequently, there has been a dearth of materials dealing with the historical and other aspects of the black community of this area.

Albuquerque--the central city, as well as the Standard Metro-

politan Statistical Area (SMSA)--is the largest urban center in the state. With a population of over 240,000 (SMSA), it has the largest concentration of the state's entire population. The "ethnic" breakdown shows that 70 percent are "Anglo" (white), 25 percent Spanish-American, 2 percent are black, and the rest Indian (Native American) and other miscellaneous groups.¹ But the fact that the Spanish cultural influence left a decisive imprint on the cultural life of the community is even evidenced in the fact that the city is named after a Spanish nobleman--Duke Albuquerque.

The central urban area to which the present study was confined, has a black population of almost 5.5 thousand, according to 1950 census figures, as against 1,751 in 1960--an increase of over 200 percent in the black population.²

The city of Albuquerque, at an elevation of over four thousand feet,³ and located almost at the center of the State of New Mexico, has experienced a rapid influx of population since 1940, with the installation of atomic laboratory facilities in and near the city, primarily in the form of scientific and technical personnel. Substantial military installations have also attracted a substantial military and support personnel.⁴ Most of the professional "new-comers" have been attracted from outside the state; but a good many people have also left their farms or rural residences in quest of better employment opportunities, with the incidence of employment potential created by these new facilities.

A substantial increase in the city's black population, as would be expected, has also taken place, in this period, as they came to seek better employment opportunities--although, for a good many of

them, what has been available are mainly service jobs.

About the only systematic historical work available on the
⁵
 black community is a Master's Thesis by Brian Young, at the
 University of New Mexico, in 1967. While a commendable pioneer
 effort in a historical treatise, Young's study really focuses on
 the role played by blacks who were presumed to have worked with
 the early Spanish explorers, beginning from the sixteenth century.
 While emphasizing the role of these early black explorers in the
⁶
 cultivation of the culture of New Mexico, nothing, specifically,
 is learned about their early settlement in Albuquerque, nor about
 the nature of their activities therein. But while the state
 originally had a relatively small slave population, Young suggests
 that a substantial number of blacks were subsequently attracted
 to the area by the development of the railways, and the work in
⁷
 the silver and other mines, as well as by the fur trade.

Another significant feature of the city of Albuquerque consists
⁸
 in the fact that it is the seat of, not only two of the state's
 universities, but also the state's largest university. On account
 of this, as well as the factor of the scientific personnel attached
 to the atomic laboratories and other facilities, it has been suggested
 that Albuquerque has one of the highest ratios of Ph.D.'s to total
⁹
 population, of all American cities. How many of these are black,
 is however, problematic. Consequently, the focus now shifts to the
 consideration of the characteristics of the black community of this

city. We begin by examining the area of education.

Blacks and Albuquerque Academic Community

Barbara Richardson estimates that, of the entire faculty and administrative staff at the University of New Mexico in 1973, ¹⁰ only about ten were black. But if student enrollment at the university could be considered, in any way, as an accurate index of educational opportunities and facilities available to the various ethnic communities, then it would seem that the blacks have been the most deprived--or the least opportuned--of the four major "ethnic" groups considered earlier, as the figures for the "ethnic" breakdown of enrollment indicate, for the 1973-74 academic year at the University of New Mexico.

Table 7.1: Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment at UNM,
Fall 1973

	Total	Blacks	Chicanos	Nat. Amer.	White	Others
Under Graduate	16,614	219	2,337	518	13,410	130
Law School	294	3	47	12	231	1
Medical School	229	2	37	4	186	-
Graduate School	<u>2,275</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>241</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>1,939</u>	<u>29</u>
Total	19,412	260	2,662	564	15,766	160

Table 7.2: Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment at UNM,
Spring 1974

	Total	Blacks	Chicanos	Nat. Amer.	White	Others
Under Graduate	15,563	201	2,346	514	12,368	134
Law School	289	3	44	13	228	1
Medical School	220	2	37	2	179	-
Graduate School	<u>2,444</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>2,072</u>	<u>43</u>
Total	18,516	232	2,687	572	14,847	178

If these figures are in any way a reflection of the pattern of the community power structure, it seems quite evident that blacks occupy the lowest position in that structure. And what seems to be even more apprehensive, is the fact that the role assigned them in that community scheme, rather than improving, seems to be getting even worse, as reflected in the change in enrollment figures from Fall 1973 to Spring 1974. For, in the Fall of 1973, the black enrollment was slightly above that for Native Americans (36:30), in only one category--graduate enrollment (table 7.1).

In the professional categories--medicine and law--blacks are outnumbered by Native Americans 2:1, and 4:1, respectively, and 2:1 in the undergraduate category. In the same categories (graduate, medicine, law and undergraduate), they are outnumbered by Chicanos (Spanish-speaking Americans) approximately 10:1, 15:1, 15:1, and 10:1. They are also outnumbered by whites in the same categories, according to these ratios: 10:1, 62:1, 215:1, and 400:1.

For the Spring of 1974, (table 7.2), blacks are outnumbered by all the other groups in all the four categories, except in medicine, where their enrollment is comparable to that of Native Americans. Thus Native Americans outnumber them in the following ratios: 2:1, 1:1, 4:1, 5:2. And Chicanos outnumber blacks in the ratios: 10:1, 18:1, 15:1, and 11:1. They are outnumbered by whites according to the ratios: 94:1, 90:1, 76:1, and 61:1, in the four categories, respectively.

While nothing conclusive may be inferred from these figures, the pattern does suggest that blacks play, at best, minimal role in the academic life of the community; that is, to the extent that one accepts the university community as reflective of the academic structure of the larger community.

Blacks and Occupation in Albuquerque

According to Barbara Richardson's 1973 estimate, the city has only six black "practicing physicians," but no dentists, pharmacists, optometrists, neurologists, draftsmen, or "attorneys in private practice."¹² And, although the number of elementary and high school teachers exceeds, relatively speaking, the demand for them, nevertheless, on the college and university level, black instructors are¹³ conspicuously absent. The following table makes the picture rather vivid.

Table 7.3: Occupational Distribution of Blacks,
Relative to Total Distribution

<u>Professional Categories</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Black</u>
Professional and Technical	24,472	307
Managerial and Executive	10,879	46
Clerical	21,707	385
Service Jobs	13,598	451
Farmers and Farm Managers	453	-
Sales	9,275	48
Private Household (domestic) ¹⁴	<u>1,571</u>	<u>172</u>
Total	81,955	1,409

On the basis of the pattern of these distributions in the
¹⁵
various occupational categories, it would appear that, relative
to the size of their population, blacks tend to be generally over-
represented in the lowest-paying, and least prestige-carrying
occupations; but under-represented in the highest-paying, and high-
prestige occupations.

Blacks and Religion in Albuquerque

There are, on the whole, twenty black churches in Albuquerque,
twelve of which are "Baptist" or Baptist affiliated, two are "Methodist
or Episcopal," five are a form or the other, of the "Church of God
¹⁶
in Christ," and one is "Seventh Day Adventist." A predominant
segment of the memberships of these churches would seem to belong
to the Baptist group.

Interestingly enough, although there are some members of the
Nation of Islam faith among the local population, their influence on
¹⁷
the local community--if any--is hardly noticeable, apart from the
periodic appearance of some members, hawking their official newspaper,
Muhammad Speaks. In general, then, if the blacks of Albuquerque can
be identified with any religion, it would not be quite inaccurate to
say that they are Christian--and Baptist Christians, more specifically.
But, to view the blacks along another dimension of the cultural life
of Albuquerque, we may next examine the mass media in that community.

Blacks in Albuquerque, and the Mass Media

Since, in the theoretical portion of this work, it is held that the media constitute one of the two main sources of knowledge or ideas, available to the members of a community, it seems quite in order, at this juncture, to consider the nature of the mass media in Albuquerque, and how their operations impinge upon the lives and activities of the blacks of this community, in particular.

Perhaps the first thing that should be noted in considering the media that serve the Albuquerque community, is that none is either owned, controlled, or managed by black people. This applies, not only to the press and the electronic media (radio and television, that is), but also to the movie and related entertainment industries. But it is interesting to note that there is, at least, one Spanish radio station, the KAMX.

Among the newspapers, perhaps the most influential are the Albuquerque Journal and the Albuquerque Tribune--both owned, controlled, and managed by the same white concern. Among the other newspapers are: The Albuquerque News, the New Mexico Independent--with the alternate Spanish title of El Independiente--, El Hispano, The News Chieftain, and the New Mexico Daily Lobo--the last being a publication of the student government of the University of New Mexico. The News Chieftain is a legal and financial weekly, serving the legal, financial and business communities, in which blacks are, at best, disproportionately under-represented; El Hispano addresses the Spanish-

speaking community exclusively; whereas the Independent, by the very nature of its double title, caters for the interest of the white and Spanish communities.

The Lobo, the University publication, up to the Spring of 1974 had offered three columns for the viewpoints of the black, Spanish-speaking, and Native American members of the university community. Perhaps, either because of a change of editorial policy, consequent upon the institution of a new editorial board, or for other reasons otherwise unknown to this writer, this policy has not been continued in the subsequent 1974-75 academic year.

But while some black students are assigned some routine and minor roles on the Lobo publication staff, not a single black serves on the editorial board, which assumes complete responsibility for all decision-making processes regarding what should and what should not be published in the paper. To this extent, then, blacks do not share in the control and management of this university publication.

What is surprising is not so much the fact that not a single one of these local publications is black-owned and managed; rather what seems disconcerting is the fact that none of them undertakes--either wholly, or in part--to exclusively address the problems, interests and concerns of blacks in Albuquerque. But, apart from the local publications, there are other channels through which outside publications are made available to the people of Albuquerque. The University of New Mexico General Library--primarily through the aegis of its Ethnic Studies Department--

procures foreign, out-of-state, and out-of-town publications to its reading public. Among these, the black publications available are: The Nation of Islam publication, Muhammad Speaks, published in Chicago, Illinois; the New York Amsterdam News, Ebony and Jet magazines, African Agenda, published in Chicago, and the Black Panther publication, based in California. But, it is also equally the case that, through this university channel, the other "ethnic" groups are availed of the non-local publications, addressing, exclusively, their own interests, problems, and concerns. Among these are: El Hispano (published in Sacramento, California), El Mundo (Oakland, California), serving the Spanish-speaking community; and The Navajo Times (Window Rock, Arizona), Kainai News (Alberta, Canada), and The Todd County Tribune (South Dakota), serving the interests of the Native American community.

The Albuquerque Public Library also subscribes to papers catering for the interests of the various ethnic communities, pretty much the same as the university library. The main difference here is the fact that unlike the university general library, the city library does not have a separate department devoted entirely to the collection of volumes dealing with ethnic interests.

But it is one thing for newspapers to be available to a public; and it is quite another thing for the members of that public to read the papers. Whether, and to what extent, the blacks in Albuquerque utilize the meager supply of black publications available to their community remains problematic at this point. Perhaps a clue could be provided in the subsequent chapter where the results of the research survey are

considered. But if the services provided by the press for the black public of Albuquerque seems inadequate, the situation hardly seems more encouraging as regards the other aspects of the media.

For, of all the radio stations in the area, none is either black-owned, black-managed, or black-operated. This is, in spite of the fact--inconsequential, in my opinion--that some of them employ a few blacks in any but policy-making, and policy-decision roles. Of the three¹⁸ major TV stations--KGGM-TV, KOB-TV, and KOAT-TV, affiliated with CBS, NBC, and ABC, respectively--only the last (KOAT-TV) has a black major reporter--a sports caster; KGGM-TV employs a woman in its noon-edition newscast, assigned the rather dubious role of reporting on "Women in the news." Needless to say, these are all white-owned, white-managed, and white-operated.

If it is granted, as suggested in the theoretical section, that the news media are a major source of knowledge and ideas about events that occur in society, and that they constitute the principal channel for their dissemination, as well as serving the role of "cultural carriers," then, what has been presented in the foregoing regarding the role and relationship of the media in Albuquerque, to the blacks of that city, does not seem to suggest that the media have operated to promote the best interests of the black public of that community. And, insofar as the role of the media in the processes of reality construction, and the development and propagation of ideologies, is crucial in a society, it may not be an exaggeration to suggest, at this point, that the black public of Albuquerque has been dependent, to a great extent, on the white media and other aspects of the cultural apparatus for its own reality definition and construction.

Albuquerque Black Community and Civil Rights Movement

Perhaps another aspect of the character of Albuquerque black community that merits discussion here--if briefly--is its role in the civil rights movements of the sixties and early seventies. The first thing that should be noted at this point, is the fact that a branch of one of the oldest civil rights organizations--the NAACP--has been in existence, not only here in the city of Albuquerque, but also in other localities around the State of New Mexico. In the directory compiled by Barbara Richardson, the aim of the local chapter of the NAACP is stated as:¹⁹

To fight for equality and justice through the courts, for equal employment, fair housing, integrated schools, etc. (emphasis added).

In the course of my investigation, however, I was unable to come by any records of the past activities of this organization, here in Albuquerque, although one informant told me that such records had existed, but had been carried away, along with the publications of the local group, by a former director who had left the city.²⁰ But I was able to find some evidence of the activities of the NAACP, and the local board of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission in other parts of the state.

For instance, there is a report compiled by the NAACP in 1949, describing the nature of the segregated school systems, as well as the blatant racial inequities in such "separate schools, "located in nine New Mexico communities. The Introduction to the report reads in part:²¹

The 1947 Legislature of the State of New Mexico appropriated \$35,000 for a survey of the schools in New Mexico and for recommendations for improvements. An act of the New Mexico Legislature in 1923 which was amended in 1925 made provisions for the optional establishment of separate school rooms for pupils of African descent and that the rooms so provided be as well kept and teaching therein as efficient as that provided others. There are nine such schools in New Mexico located in Roswell, Artesia, Carlsbad, Hobbs, Clovis, Tucumcari, Las Cruces, Vado, and Alamogordo. . .

Peabody College of Nashville, Tennessee was hired to make the survey. This survey was completed and published but made no references or recommendations for the improvement of these segregated schools. Because this report, no doubt, will be used as a reference for future legislation for the schools, it is felt that of necessity some position must be taken in regards to (sic) these forgotten and substandard schools.

It had been hoped that through this survey these schools might be discovered and their shameful condition be disclosed to the public (emphasis added).

Hence the subsequent survey sponsored by the NAACP.

And in its conclusion, the Report charges: "We are maintaining a 'second school system' that is giving us 'second rate' results! How many tax dollars have gone into the segregated school plants at Roswell, Carlsbad, Hobbs, Artesia, Alamogordo, Clovis, Tucumcari, Las Cruces, and Vado? Can the taxpayers afford to maintain this dual educational system. . .Can we be proud of our state which houses the most modern scientific laboratories in the world yet fails to provide some high school students with any sort of a science program? . . .In the interest of a sound economical government, and in the interest of a fully participating population, it is our earnest conviction that segregated schools must (be) abolished."²²

Another survey conducted in 1969, in one of these communities with the segregated school system, Clovis, concludes, in part:²³

Discrimination appears to be firmly embedded in every facet of life in Clovis. Though this report deals primarily with employment and education, the Committee observed that the minority populations have inadequate opportunities in the political and social life of Clovis as well, because the standards of acceptance and advancement are majority group standards only (emphasis added).

But, although this report does not specifically refer to the status of minority groups in Albuquerque, the reference to standards of advancement reflecting majority group values, underscores the pertinence of a phenomenon that is equally--if not more--applicable to the Albuquerque community, from what has already been discussed earlier.

But the most visible impact of the civil rights and Black Power movements of the late sixties and early seventies is perhaps the instituting of the Black Studies Program--along with the Chicano and Native American Studies Centers--as a result of the protest activism and efforts of the black students enrolled at the University of New Mexico. The Black Studies (otherwise known as Afro-American Studies) Department has since then come to serve as the center of the cultural life and activities of, not only blacks within the university community, but also the black community of the larger Albuquerque area.

Among the other programs sponsored by the Center are: summer youth programs for the area's black children, some scholarship funds to encourage the educational aspirations of the black youth of the community, and cultural entertainment programs such as the Uhuru Sasa Center of Performing Arts. Regarding this group, Barbara Richardson, in her Directory, writes in part:²⁴

"Uhuru Sasa" was created in October 1969 (sic) and is Swahili for "Freedom Now." Its purpose is to develop its members' musical and choreography talents and to educate and enlighten its audience and members to the rich cultural heritage of African people in Africa and the United States.

If the preoccupations in the foregoing, regarding the historical overview, as well as the cultural features of the black community of Albuquerque, reflect some of the various dimensions of the black American experience, certainly, the elaborations of the present chapter serve to illustrate the manner in which that experience has made itself manifest to, and impinged upon, the blacks of that community.

But while the black community described here may not typify the national population, there is, nevertheless, something in its character and experience to warrant the claim that it shares, with the national black population, that uniqueness of life and manner of living that has been identified with the black American experience. And, if they are deprived of adequate control of that rubric of the cultural apparatus which is basic to the creation, cultivation, and dissemination of cultural artifacts, to this extent, they do not constitute an exception to the general pattern to be observed among the national black population. This is not to deny the obvious situational limitations imposed upon this particular community. What the foregoing has attempted to accomplish, rather, is to put these limitations in their proper context.

It is in the light of the foregoing, that the results, and analysis of the data procured in this study, are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The frequency distributions obtained from the "codebook" programme appear in the computer printouts, in terms of "valid observations" (V-O), and "missing observations" (M-O). The valid observations simply indicate those among the one hundred and ninety-one respondents comprising the effective sample population,¹ who responded in one form or the other, to the specific questionnaire items. The "missing observations" simply allude to the cases where no form of response was made to the items in question, or simply "blanks."

It must be admitted that some of the "blanks" or "missing observations" were a result of possible ambiguities inherent in the design of the questionnaire. For example, in question number 18A and question number 18B, each of which has five parts, where it is sought from the respondent, how he/she first came to know or hear about Malcolm X and King, it is conceivable that a respondent who procured the information first through reading newspapers could have simply checked part (a), and left blank, the other four parts dealing with television, radio, and other sources. The failure, in a case such as this, to check "no" against these other sources, probably accounted for most of the "missing observations." On the other hand, the m.o.'s could have resulted, in part, from the respondents' not being quite certain of the appropriate response to a specific item in the questionnaire. Thus, instead of specifically

stating "I do not know," or "I am not sure," the respondent probably found it much easier to leave the item blank.

From the frequency distributions, the following information can be elicited. Item #3 dealing with the distribution of the sexes would indicate that there are almost as many males as there are females in the population.

Table 8.1: Sex Distribution

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	78	40.8
Female	73	38.2
Unknown	<u>40</u>	<u>21</u>
Total	191	100

Also, there are more people under age 40, than above that age level. Thus:

Table 8.2: Age Distribution

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Age 40 or less	151	79.05
over 40	39	20.41
unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>0.54</u>
Total	191	100

The item dealing with marital status gives the following distribution:

Table 8.3: Marital Status

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	65	34.1
Married	94	49.2
Separated	5	2.6
Divorced	22	11.5
Widowed	<u>5</u>	<u>2.6</u>
Total	191	100

This would suggest that most of the population represented in the sample are married and living with their spouses; but also, that there are a substantial number of single individuals.

The occupational distribution would seem to suggest that nearly half of the population are classifiable as "lower class," according to the criteria used. But the income distribution shows that a majority of the same population make incomes of \$5,000.00 or more. Thus:

Table 8.4A: Social Class Distribution

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Lower Class	87	45.5
Middle Class	82	42.9
Upper Class	4	2.2
Unknown	<u>18</u>	<u>9.4</u>
Total	191	100

Table 8.4B: Income Distribution

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
\$5,000.00 or less:	75	39.26
Above \$5,000.00:	93	48.69
Unknown	<u>23</u>	<u>12.05</u>
Total	191	100

Actually, those respondents who are students (part-time, or otherwise), are all classified under the "lower class" occupation. This, of course reflects the relatively higher figure in the occupational category. Otherwise, the proportion that would be normally considered as engaged

in lower class occupation would have been much less than the figure of 87. Strictly speaking, the population would reflect a much higher proportion of middle class blacks, than is evidenced in the national black population. In this respect, the Albuquerque black community could not be considered as typical of the national distribution.

The item dealing with education would seem to indicate that the community here contains a larger proportion of people with more formal education than could be attributed to the national black population. This, of course, could account for the correspondingly higher income distribution. The distribution for education is as follows:

Table 8.5: Educational Status

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
elementary education	7	3.6
high school	64	33.6
college	94	49.2
unknown	<u>26</u>	<u>13.6</u>
Total	191	100

It seems also evident that the population is very religiously oriented, as would be indicated by the distribution for the questionnaire items dealing with religious membership and affiliation.

Table 8.6: Religious Affiliation

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Religiously affiliated	138	72.3
No religious affiliation	46	24.0
Unknown	<u>7</u>	<u>3.7</u>
Total	191	100

It seems interesting to note that none of the respondents indicated any kind of affiliation to, or membership of, the black Islamic faith. All were affiliates of a Christian religious group; and of all these, only four indicate membership of, or affiliation to, the Roman Catholic Church.

A majority of the population are registered voters and have, in fact, voted in either local, state, or national election; but very few have run for any kind of office, locally, in the state, or nationally.

Table 8.7: Voting Registration and Voting Record

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Registered voters	154	80.6
Not registered	<u>37</u>	<u>19.4</u>
Total	191	100
Voted in election	152	79.6
Never voted	38	19.9
Unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total	191	100

Table 8.8: Sought Political Positions

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Ran for local office	6	3.2
Never Ran	184	96.3
Unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total	191	100
Ran for state office	2	1
Never Ran	182	95.3
Unknown	<u>7</u>	<u>3.7</u>
Total	191	100
Ran for national office	2	1
Never Ran	182	95.3
Unknown	<u>7</u>	<u>3.7</u>
Total	191	100

While the voting records might suggest high political participation among the blacks of this community, nevertheless, the other figures would be indicative of the relatively small role played by them in the political decision-making processes of the community. They certainly constitute a true minority, insofar as they wield little or no political power in the community.

The distributions for questionnaire items 16A through 16C indicate that a majority of the blacks read newspapers, listen to the radio, and watch television on a more or less regular basis. Interestingly enough, a significant proportion of the newspaper readers subscribe to non-local papers, such as The New York Times and the Washington Post. Among the local papers, the most popular

are Albuquerque Journal and Albuquerque Tribune--both of which are owned and managed by whites. But significantly enough, not a single respondent indicated a black newspaper as a favourite paper. The respective distributions for the three items are as follows:

Table 8.9: Exposure to the Mass Media

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
read newspapers regularly	125	65.4
do not read regularly	24	12.6
unknown	<u>42</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Total	191	100
listen to radio regularly	129	67.5
do not listen regularly	14	7.3
unknown	<u>48</u>	<u>25.2</u>
Total	191	100
watch television regularly	144	75.4
do not watch regularly	5	2.6
unknown	<u>42</u>	<u>22</u>
Total	191	100

For items 19A and B, the distributions indicate that, while very few of the sample population have been in a life audience where either Malcolm X or King spoke (9 and 22, respectively), the television constituted a major vehicle through which their activities and teachings were carried to them, with almost twice

as many people having watched King on TV as those that have watched Malcolm X. The figures for the TV audiences of the two leaders are:

Table 8.10: TV Audience of Malcolm X, and King

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Heard Malcolm X on TV	85	44.5
Never heard Malcolm X	84	44.4
Unknown	<u>22</u>	<u>11.1</u>
Total	191	100
Heard King on TV	179	93.8
Never heard King	6	3.1
Unknown	<u>6</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Total	191	100

But the relatively higher figures for King's TV audience would not only reflect a greater popularity enjoyed by King among the controllers of the mass media--particularly, the electronic media--but also reflect the fact that Malcolm X died much earlier than King.

Distributions for items 20 and 21 indicate that most of the respondents have read the works of King and Malcolm X, with slightly more indicating familiarity with the work of the former, than those for the latter.

Table 8.11: Knowledge of the Works of Malcolm X and King

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Ever read Malcolm X's works	123	64.4
Never read the works	<u>68</u>	<u>35.6</u>
Total	191	100
Ever read King's works	157	82.2
Never read the works	<u>34</u>	<u>17.8</u>
Total	191	100

But, although more popularity or esteem is accorded to King than to Malcolm X, as indicated by the distributions for items 24 through 27, there is no way to establish that the knowledge which informs this differential evaluation was based on the respondents' acquaintance with the actual teachings of both leaders. Conversely, the fact and extent of the media, as the basis or source of this knowledge, cannot be summarily discounted. Thus, on the general assessments or evaluation of King and Malcolm X, by the respondents, the responses are distributed as follows:

Table 8.12: Respondents' Evaluation of Malcolm X and King, and Their Teachings.

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
King understood problems more than M.X.	76	39.8
Malcolm understood problems more than King	28	14.7
Both equally understood problems	69	36.1
Unknown	<u>18</u>	<u>9.4</u>
Total	191	100
Malcolm X's teachings relevant	140	73.3
Malcolm X's teachings not relevant	40	21.0
Unknown	<u>11</u>	<u>5.7</u>
Total	191	100
King's teachings relevant	179	93.7
King's teachings not relevant	7	3.7
Unknown	<u>5</u>	<u>2.6</u>
Total	191	100
Malcolm X more popular than King	5	2.6
King more popular than Malcolm X	130	68.1
Both leaders equally popular	25	13.1
Unknown	<u>31</u>	<u>16.2</u>
Total	191	100
Memorial holiday for Malcolm X only	5	2.6
Memorial holiday for King only	67	35.0
Memorial holiday for both	93	48.7
For None	15	7.9
Unknown	<u>11</u>	<u>5.8</u>
Total	191	100

The results of both the frequency distributions establish one thing for certain: the fact that King is esteemed higher than Malcolm X by most of the categories of the sample population; in other words, further underlining the information already adduced from the simple frequency distributions. However, they do not offer a clear indication of the major source or basis of the knowledge that informs these differential evaluations. For this we might consider some of the results of the X-tabulations.

Questionnaire items 25A and 25B (specified as Q25A, Q25B, respectively, in the "code book") attempt to ascertain whether the respondents considered the teachings of Malcolm X and King, respectively, as relevant to the needs and problems of black Americans. To determine whether their evaluations derive more from media influence, or from their being personally acquainted with the teachings of the two black leaders, Q25A and Q25B are cross-tabulated with questionnaire items 16A through 16C (dealing with exposure to the mass media, identified with reading newspapers, listening to the radio, and watching TV, respectively, on a more or less regular basis); and with items 20 and 21 (concerned respectively with whether the respondents have actually read the works of Malcolm X and King). Thus, from the X-tabulations of Q25A and Q25B, respectively, with Q16A through Q16C, and Q20 and Q21, the following results are obtained from the computer printouts.

Q25A: Consider the teachings of Malcolm X relevant

Q25B: Consider the teachings of King relevant

Q16A: Read papers regularly

Q16B: Listen to radio regularly

Q16C: Watch TV regularly

Q20: Ever read the work of Malcolm X

Q21: Ever read King's work

These are indicated in tables 8.13, through 8.20.

Table 8.13 (Q25A x Q20): Respondents' Evaluation of Malcolm X, and Familiarity With his Works.

		<u>Q20: Read M.X'S Works</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25A	<u>yes</u>	99	41	140
		(55%)	(22.8%)	77.8%
	<u>no</u>	19	21	40
		(10.6%)	(11.7%)	22.2%
Column total		118	62	
Percentage		65.6	34.4	100

Table 8.14 (Q25B X Q21): Respondents' evaluation of King, and Familiarity With His Works

		<u>Q21: Read King's Works</u>		
Q25B		<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	row total
	yes	148	31	179
		(79.6%)	(16.7%)	96.3%
	no	6	1	7
		(3.2%)	(0.5%)	3.7%
Column Total		154		186
Percentage		82.8%	17.2%	100

Table 8.15 (Q25A X Q16A): Evaluation of Malcolm X, and Exposure To The Press

		<u>Q16A: Exposure to the press</u>		
Q25A		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Row Total
	yes	92	21	113
		(66.2%)	(15.1%)	81.3%
	no	23	3	26
		(16.5%)	(2.2%)	18.7%
Column Total		115	24	139
Percentage		82.7%	17.3%	100

Table 8.16 (Q25A X Q16B): Evaluation of Malcolm X, and Exposure to Radio

		<u>Q16B: Exposure to radio</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25A		99	13	112
	yes	(73.3%)	(9.6%)	83%
	no	23	0	23
		(17%)	(0%)	17%
Column Total		122	13	135
percentage		90.4%	9.6%	100

Table 8.17 (Q25A X Q16C): Evaluation of Malcolm X and Exposure to Television

		<u>Q16C: Exposure to TV</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25A		109	3	112
	yes	(79%)	(2.2%)	81.2%
	no	26	0	26
		(18.8%)	0	18.8%
Column Total		135	3	138
Percentage		97.8%	2.2%	100

Table 8.18 (Q25B X Q16A): Evaluation of King, and Exposure to The Press

		<u>Q16A: Exposure to the press</u>		Row Total
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25B	Yes	119 (82.1%)	22 (15.2%)	141 97.3%
	No	2 (1.4%)	2 (1.4%)	4 2.8%
Column Total		121	24	145
Percentage		83.4%	16.6%	100

Table 8.19 (Q25B X Q16B): Evaluation of King, and Exposure to Radio

		<u>Q16B: Exposure to radio</u>		Row Total
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25B	Yes	122 (88.4%)	13 (9.4%)	135 97.8%
	No	2 (1.4%)	1 (0.8%)	3 2.2 %
Column Total		124	14	138
Percentage		89.9%	10.1%	100

Table 8.20 (Q25B X Q16C): Evaluation of King and Exposure to Television

		<u>Q16C: Exposure to TV</u>		Row Total
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Q25B		137	2	139
	Yes	(93.8%)	(1.4%)	95.2%
		6	1	7
	No	(4.1%)	(0.7%)	4.8%
Column Total		143	3	146
Percentage		97.9%	2.1%	100

From the tabulations (table 8.13), it seems evident that, while 77.8 percent of the respondents consider Malcolm X's teachings relevant, only 55.0 percent have actually read his work. And from table 8.14 it is noted that, whereas 96.2 percent of the people consider King's teachings relevant, only 79.6 percent are actually acquainted with his work. But when we examine the tabulations on tables 8.15 through 8.20 it seems evident that the percentages that accord relevance to the respective teachings of the two black leaders are comparable with the percentages that are regularly exposed to the media, especially the electronic media, and particularly the television.

A few other aspects of the cross-tabulations merit consideration here. Thus, the X-tabulations for age-distribution, and the relevance

accorded to the teachings of Malcolm X and King, indicate that more of the youth highly esteem the teachings of the former, than do to those of the latter (74 percent and 67 percent, respectively). Also, the X-tabulations of the same item with "education" show that more people with high school or college education (11.3 percent, 58.1 percent, respectively) accord more relevance to Malcolm X's teachings than the proportion that hold King's teachings in high esteem (10.4 percent and 55.2 percent, respectively).

While these percentage discrepancies may not seem substantial, they nevertheless carry quite significant sociological implications. Thus, if this is taken to mean that the black youth show greater appreciation and preference for, and find more relevance in, the teachings and protest thoughts of Malcolm X than they do King's, a probable explanation could be sought in the suggestion that the injection of Black Power thesis into the protest ideologies of the civil rights movements from the late sixties, could very well have turned the consciousness of the black American youth away from the traditional preoccupations of their elder generation. And whether one views this new element in the civil rights movements, in terms of the influence of the "militant" groups, such as the Black Panthers, or of the doctrines promulgated by Carmichael² and his associates, it cannot be denied that they all have their roots in the teachings and protest ideology of Malcolm X,³ and the Black Islamic community--The Nation of Islam.

And the correlation with education would hardly seem surprising, in view of the fact that, with the addition of the Black Power dimension to the framework of the civil rights movements in the late sixties and early seventies, a good deal of the black protest activism shifted from the streets and picket lines to the nation's institutions of learning--especially the high schools and universities. This was an era that could be appropriately characterized as "revolutionary" in black education--with the demands for "Black Studies" and related special programmes. And it was this "intellectual revolution" that added a new flavour to the black protest activism, and the entire civil rights movements.

In general, the results from the cross-tabulations do not warrant any definite conclusions regarding the direction and degree of association between the two sets of "variables" tabulated. In other words, they do not permit the inference that the views expressed by the respondents were, in fact, attributable to media-derived (external) sources, rather than to the situationally-defined (internal) sources. If anything, they simply affirm Mills' assertion regarding the complexity of the process(es) through which the public makes up its mind on issues of social consequence.⁴ And to the extent that the media influence is apparent from these results, it is, perhaps, more in the sense that they (the media, that is) reinforce--in a positive or negative manner--the views or opinions already held by the members of the public.⁵ But the question still looms regarding, in this case, the basis of the knowledge which informs this "already existing, or held opinion."

On this score, we might benefit from the insights of Mills', when he talks about "opinion circles," "opinion leaders," and "opinion followers," as well as their interrelated ramifications.⁶ Mills notes the fact that, not only are different people opinion leaders for different topics of opinion, but also these leaders are scattered throughout the population that constitutes a cultural public. Besides, various circles of opinion overlap with one another. But what seems most significant is the point made, to the effect that these opinion leaders are instrumental in influencing the acceptance or rejection of certain aspects of general knowledge which informs the opinions of the members of the cultural public. Thus, writes Mills:⁷

These circles with their opinion leaders can and do reject what the mass media contain; they can and do refract it, as well as pass it on. That is why you cannot understand the changing reality of American public opinion in terms merely of what the radio, newspaper, magazine and movies contain. They are only one force. . .and what they say is subject at all times to rejection and interpretation at the hands of the opinion circles and unofficial opinion leaders with their many shades of opinion.

This audience selectivity as evidenced in the relationship between the opinion leaders and their respective opinion circles might explain, in part, the fact that the overwhelming preference displayed by the particular black public of this study, for King's teachings and ideology, to those associated with Malcolm X, cannot be entirely attributed to direct influence of the dominant mass media. For, as can be seen in the frequency distributions for religious affiliation and active church membership (Q10, Q11, respectively, table 8.6), most of the sample population are not only affiliated with some church or religious body, but also

active members of such groups. More specifically, virtually all of these are Christian churches--and especially Baptist. It is also not insignificant that not a single respondent indicated membership in, or any kind of affiliation with, the black Islamic faith.

Thus, if it is considered that King was part of that national black Baptist community, and Malcolm X, associated with the Islamic faith, the fundamental antagonism between the Muslims and the Christians, more than anything else, could very well have influenced the current of opinion among this circle of Baptists, and their religious opinion leaders, in a direction that favoured the protest thoughts and ideology espoused by Martin Luther King, Jr., more than it did to present those by Malcolm X in a positive light.

Also, if it is acknowledged that the media did, in fact, influence this particular public's opinion--or reinforce the views already held by its members--it would stand to reason that the weight of that influence would tilt to a more positive regard for King and his ideology, than it would to Malcolm X's advantage, granting, as shown in Chapter Seven (supra) that the media in the Albuquerque area are virtually white-owned and white-controlled. Moreover, the white media--and the generality of the white cultural public--have been reconciled more to the doctrines and philosophies of the black Christian church, than they have been to those of the black Islamic counterpart.

But further evidence suggesting some influence of the dominant white media on the Albuquerque black community, could be adduced from the fact that, although there is conspicuously negligible presence of the black press and other media in the community, there is, nevertheless, a clear indication from some of the respondents' specifications⁸ and responses to questionnaire item 16A, that the few sources available are hardly taken advantage of by the black community of this place, as represented in the sample population.

But it must be pointed out, on the other hand, that a regular habit of reading newspapers or being exposed to other forms of the mass media, does not necessarily lead to one's view being moulded or influenced by the aspects of the media in question. For, it is the case that some members of the public may turn to the media, not necessarily to enrich their knowledge on the occurrences in the society, but rather to seek out, and select those items in the media, that would reinforce their pre-dispositions or already held inclinations. This is precisely the point underscored by Mills in reference to "self-selection of audiences" or publics. He notes, more specifically: ". . .One thing. . .well known about communication habits is that people of one or the other opinion tend to select the mass media with which they generally agree. . .This self-selection of audiences means that the chief influence of the mass media is not really to form or to change opinion but to reinforce a line of opinion already held, or at least already well-known."⁹

While the data presented here do not allow a precise determination of the exact degree of the media influence on the moulding of the public's

opinion or on their evaluation of the ideologies of King and Malcolm X, nevertheless, the dimension of that influence is suggested in the remarks appended by some of the respondents. Thus, one of them argues:

. . .it should be noted, however, that what an individual thinks about the importance of a certain leader and what effect that leader actually has on the masses may be different due (sic) to the racist system's exposure of that leader (R. 73; my emphasis).¹⁰

This remark further underlines the point made earlier (supra) to the effect that the dominant white media, insofar as they influenced the opinions of this black public, could have been biased against Malcolm X, and in favour of King, being more reconciled, perhaps, with the philosophies and doctrines of the religious group associated with the latter, than with those of the group associated with the former. In any case, another respondent emphatically notes that:

Each man (King and Malcolm X, that is) contributed in his way; each had a great impact. King more popular (sic) because of media coverage. Each came with a different offering (sic) to the people (R. 83).

If this view can be regarded as representative, in any way, it certainly suggests that, while most of the members of the black community may have accorded greater popularity to King than to Malcolm X, it is nevertheless the case that both black leaders are highly regarded in that community. This seems to be well attested to by the results of the frequency distribution for questionnaire item #27, seeking the opinion of the respondents on whether memorial holidays should be instituted for either King, Malcolm X, or for both of them. The indication is that most of the population would have memorial holidays instituted for both, as indicated in the bottom section of table 8.12.

These remarks underline the point made earlier to the effect that the teachings and doctrines of the black Christian church are such that they could have been viewed in a more favourable light by the agents of the white-controlled media, than they would those of the black Muslim community. But this need not be construed as a conscious attempt on the part of the white-controlled media, to slant the news and information items disseminated in their media, regarding King and Malcolm X, in favour of the former, and against the latter. The point, rather, is that any evidence suggestive of media distortion in news-reporting and knowledge dissemination, may very well simply reflect the form and manner of realities internalized by these white media agents, consequent upon their constituting a part of the white cultural public, and their media, an integral part of the white cultural apparatus. And, as was intimated in the consideration of the black American experience (supra, Chapter Four), the moulding of that rubric was not immune from the dominant influence of this cultural apparatus.

Observations on Some Methodological Problems:

One major problem of interpretation is posed by the attempt to reconcile what the respondent has in mind in registering a "yes" ("no") response to a questionnaire item, with the actual information that the researcher wishes to elicit from, or the significance he purports to assign to, such a response. For instance, regarding the "independent

variables" Q19 through Q21, dealing with the fact and process of the respondent's acquaintance with King and Malcolm X, as well as with their teachings and ideologies, would the mere fact that a respondent indicates that he/she has listened to either or both of the black leaders, or that he/she has read some aspects of their works, automatically warrant the inference that he/she, in fact, derived some pertinent "knowledge" or "worthwhile" information from so doing, to the extent that would be considered a sufficient basis for cultivating an informed opinion? I suggest that this need not necessarily follow. In other words, notwithstanding the potential statistical significations evidenced in the results, it is quite conceivable that the respondent's ratings for, or evaluations of, the leaders and their respective ideological systems, may or may not have anything to do with the fact that he/she was acquainted with their works and teachings.

John Rex addresses this issue when he remarks on the generally different levels of consciousness possessed by the researcher, on the one hand, and the research subjects, on the other; but which are compelled to converge when the respondents "are confronted with the necessity of making forced verbal choices by sociologists. . . (and) their ideas on this level take on a fixed and systematic character."¹¹

It must be admitted, of course, that the problems considered in the foregoing are perhaps amenable to resolution in interview survey schedule, through the so-called "depth-interview probing." But then, the problem of "reactivity"¹² and "forcing" of responses--as Rex intimates--which characterize interview survey research has to be reckoned with. Besides, the responses so elicited could not be

guaranteed to be completely immune from "put-on's." In other words, the problem of authenticating the responses is not necessarily resolved--if even somewhat mitigated--by "depth-interview probing." All that one could expect, perhaps, is that, at best, one set of problems would be substituted with a different--but by no means less serious--set of problems.

In summary, it may be said that, from the data presented here, the particular black public studied may not be representative of the national population, in its characteristics, especially in terms of its class, educational and occupational features. This unique attribute may be accounted for in part at least, by the peculiar circumstances that had conduced the development of the Albuquerque community as a whole. But in terms of the actual and potential influence of the dominant white cultural rubric on the local aspects of the black experience, this particular community does not seem to differ significantly from the national black population.

Thus, granting the influence of the media on the public, and in view of the virtual absence of any black-controlled media in this locale, then the experience of the black community of this public does not seem to have been immune from the realities defined through the agency of the white cultural apparatus. And this fact could very well have affected their evaluation of the ideologies of King and Malcolm X.

More specifically, the data indicate a higher preference for King and his ideological system, to that accorded to Malcolm X and his ideology. But this could be accounted for, not only in terms of possible bias of the dominant white media, for King and his social

philosophy, and against Malcolm X and his ideological system; but also in terms of what might be called the "cultural predisposition" of the local black population; the fact, for instance, that, as reflected in the sample population, most of the people are affiliated with the Black Christian Church with which King was identified, and to which the black Islamic faith associated with Malcolm X, was opposed.

And while the exact degree to which the media influenced the black public's evaluation of King's and Malcolm X's ideological systems, could not be determined from the empirical data, the fact of the influence is suggested therefrom. But it would be more appropriate to suggest that the knowledge which informs that public's opinion or evaluation, derive from both media derived (external) sources, as well as situationally-defined (internal) sources. But if it is granted that the internal sources of this knowledge derived from the black experience, impinged upon by the dominant cultural apparatus of which the media constitute an integral part, then it would not be unreasonable to assert that the impact of the media on the opinion formation of the public is quite significant.

In concluding this chapter, therefore, it may be argued that while the incidence and extent of the media in directly influencing this particular public's opinion could not be precisely established from the data; this is not to categorically dismiss the role of the media, as an important source of knowledge that has informed that public's views on the issues in question. But it may be that the influence of the media consists, not so much in directly dictating opinion formation and opinion changes, as it inheres in their constituting a crucial component of the dominant, white "cultural apparatus" that has impinged--

and continues to impinge--upon the life and experiences of the black public. And since the situationally defined sources of knowledge available to this black public, and that define their experience, have not been immune from the impact of the realities defined for the circumscribing white culture; and to the extent that the black experience itself has been shaped, to some degree, by the dominant cultural apparatus, the media could be said to have played a not insignificant role in moulding the views and opinions attributed to this black public.

PART V: IDEOLOGIES, THE MEDIA, AND
KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

As in most exploratory endeavors, it is hoped that the concluding section of the present undertaking does not signalize an end of the road; but, rather, should be considered as a branching-off point for other avenues pointing to new intellectual vistas. While the concepts of "ideology" and "knowledge" may be regarded by some as "common sense" phenomena, it is not the case, however, that the relationship between the two can always be taken as a matter of course. At any rate, "common sense knowledge" cannot, in any sense be considered a trivial component of the sociology of knowledge. But quite to the contrary, it has constituted a major preoccupation of some of the chief practitioners of the sub-discipline, as exemplified in the works of Alfred Schutz. In any case, it is suggested that "common sense (knowledge)" is not common.

Ideology, whether viewed in its original conception as a theory of ideas, or in its modern conception--as Mannheim points out--as deriving from "oppositional science," can be said to constitute an integral part of knowledge. In its broadest sense, "knowledge" entails, not only all that is knowable--in the language of Berger and Luckmann--but also the processes through which its acquisition is effected. In other words, knowledge, in this broad sense, deals with the process of "reality construction." On the

other hand, "ideology" could be construed as addressing the issue of, not only this process of reality fabrication, but also the various purposes for which these "realities" are created in society. If, as Berger and Luckmann intimate, the major task of the Sociology of Knowledge is to enable us analyze and understand the mechanism by which reality is socially constructed, then this seems to be ample justification for adopting it in this study, as an adequate and appropriate tool for analyzing the relationship between ideology and knowledge acquisition.

Thus, using the insight provided by the Sociology of Knowledge, the central argument here has been that the seemingly discrepant ideological systems associated with Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., can be better understood and appreciated, if placed within the proper perspective of the social contexts in which the two black leaders had their being, and from which their thought patterns emerged and developed. In particular, the correspondingly varying responses which their teachings and protest ideologies engendered, should also be understood in the context of their relationships to the various "cultural publics" within the social structure.

In this last section of the work, consideration is focused on, not only the issues of the reality-creating potentials of the media, in the black experience, but also, the problems and prospects of the ideology of a subjugated group in a dominant cultural milieu. At the same time, some attempt is made at suggesting alternative techniques for, potentially dealing with the issues and problems, such as typified by the subject matter of the present undertaking.

CHAPTER NINE: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE,
AND THE MEDIA AS REALITY-CREATORS

The idea of the media as reality creators almost invariably leads one to conjuring up the image of the press, the television, and the radio, as the major channels of knowledge dissemination and acquisition, in a mass society. But, while these three have constituted, perhaps, a major influence through their coverage of the images of Malcolm X and King, as presented to the larger society, it should be noted that a fourth component--the film or movie industry--has played no less significant role as one of the external factors that have mediated the moulding of the black American experience.

If it is granted that the public, in the main, depends on these media for the acquisition of the knowledge disseminated, regarding major issues of social consequence, it would then stand to reason to suggest that those who control these media, to a large extent, mediate--if not determine--the course of reality-creation in a mass society. Consequently, an attempt to ascertain the fact and extent of the impact of these "extraneous" forces on the black experience, generally, and the image-creation associated with King and Malcolm X, in particular, might begin with the examination of the extent of black control and/or ownership of the national media.

On the national level, it is almost impossible to identify a single black press or newspaper which comes close to matching the

influence and popularity of, say, The New York Times, or the Washington Post, or The Chicago Tribune, or The Detroit News, not only in terms of their wide circulation, but also in terms of the economic and political power each of these papers wields over the general public. Not even the combined resources of say, The Chicago Defender and the New York Amsterdam News (black papers) could compare with the potentials of any of the former group of papers. Not only do the white-controlled papers outnumber the black press out of all proportions; but it is the case that in areas where the semblance of competition between the two does exist, the white press find little or no difficulty in using their greater economic resources quite advantageously, to out-do their black competitors.

One might consider, for instance, the number of papers among the black press, that are economically situated and equipped to have correspondents in various localities across the country, much less instituting their own foreign correspondents in the manner that, say, The New York Times, or The Tribune, or The Christian Science Monitor can afford to do. This is not surprising, since the factors relating to the control of economic resources bear significantly on the issues and problems of the power of the press. Thus, writing on the particular case of the British press, Graham Martin notes:¹

The key to the problem lies in the economic and not in the institutional structure. As long as a major section of the press can be treated as a commodity, . . . there is little room for movement except along the road which the press is . . . travelling: mergers, concentration of resources in fewer and fewer hands. . . .

It is not, therefore, surprising that a good many of the black newspapers procure most of their non-local news items and reports, at best, secondhand, either through one of the wire services--incidentally white controlled--or by arrangement with one of the major white papers, through their correspondents. But this dependence on the auspices of the white press is by no means a phenomenon unique to the present day black press. For, as Martin E. Dann points out, most of the earlier black newspapers depended heavily on the re-editing of news items originally procured--directly or indirectly--from the white press. Dann writes, more specifically:²

Most newspapers subscribed to exchanges--that is, a newspaper would subscribe to other papers in return for subscriptions of their paper. Generally, basic news items (especially international news) were taken from large white daily papers and reprinted (emphasis added).

But what is true of the press, regarding the pattern of domination of the white press is no less true, in the case of the other aspects of the media, the radio and television, popularly identified as the "electronic media." If it is granted that the electronic media command a much larger audience--and therefore exert greater impact on the public--than the press, the implications for the black experience seem even much more serious. Yet, if it is the case that the white press outnumber their black counterpart by far out of all proportions, the ratio of the black electronic media to those that are white owned, operated, and controlled, seems even more infinitesimal. There may be a number of small, black owned radio stations in some large metropolitan

areas, such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles. But it is equally evident that the bulk of all the radio broadcasting networks aimed at an effective audience, across the nation, are white controlled. But matters seem even more serious when the distribution of TV networks and their control are considered.

It is common knowledge that most of the major TV networks also have, and control, affiliated radio networks. The three major TV networks which dominate American electronic media--the Columbia Broadcasting Service (C.B.S.), the National Broadcasting Company (N.B.C.), and the American Broadcasting Company (A.B.C.)--in fact control a chain of radio networks across the nation. And all of these are white-controlled. To the extent that the electronic media exert by far greater impact on the general public than the press, it seems reasonable to assume that they constitute the major reality--creators in our mass society. And granting, as some analysts have suggested,³ that the major effect of the media consists in the reinforcing of already existing tendencies or opinions, it seems trite to suggest that the electronic media are better equipped to do this most effectively. And this does not contradict the claim of Hartmann and Husband, that a major effect of the media is the creation of awareness;⁴ for opinion reinforcement is essentially an intimate aspect of the process of awareness creating, or what has been characterized as the "consciousness industry."⁵

But the power of this "consciousness industry" over the general public seems to be most manifest in the film industry. Perhaps the

film or movie industry is as powerful as, if not more powerful and more influential than, the television, with regard to this phenomenon of image--and awareness-creation. Carmichael and Hamilton, in this respect, underscore the role of the film industry in image and awareness creation, when they allude to the Hollywood image of black (Africans) as man-eating cannibals.⁶

The primary role of the film industry is not just that of mere entertainment--although it must be conceded a significant aspect of that role. But more than anything else, the industry assumes no less insignificant role in education, preservation and perpetuation of sanctioned cultural artifacts. But not only does the industry play the role of a purveyor of culture, it also constitutes an integral part of the entire cultural apparatus responsible for the determination and creation of these artifacts in the first place. It can be said, then, that the film or movie industry features prominently in the definition and creation of reality in society.

Commenting on the American movie industry, Richard Collins characterizes Hollywood as "archtypically the temple of distortion and the high altar. . .where sacrifices of truth and historicity are made to the aggrandized reputations of criminals."⁷ And in the particular case of Hollywood's portrayal of the machinations of the "The James Brothers"--Jesse and Frank James--he observes:⁸

Around the spectacular career of the James Brothers an accretion of legends and myths has gathered and precise differentiation of myth and history is no longer possible. History and myth are customarily regarded as antithetical. Myth is emphatically a question of belief, true of those with pre-existing convictions, and false for those without: rather, mythology pervades and informs responses to experience and offers models for its comprehension and ordering.

What seems more significant here is not so much the fact of the distortion of historical facts to the aggrandizement of criminality, or the position of mythology to inform responses to experience, as well as a model for comprehension; rather what seems important is the issue of the cultural basis for the determination of criminality, and of whose cultural interest is served by the creation of the myths and construction of models for the comprehension and ordering of experience. In other words, to answer the question of the influence of the film industry on the black American experience, in particular, one might begin by addressing the question of the role of black Americans in the American movie industry.

There is no denying the fact that black Americans have featured prominently and extensively in the movie industry. But while the role of black actors and actresses as entertainers have attained world renown, the central question would seem to be: has this fact contributed positively to the enhancement of black culture? Has the role of blacks in the American movie industry served to educate the general public on the historical realities that have defined the black experience? In other words, have the roles of blacks in the movie industry served the needs of the black audience?

While these questions may fail to elicit categorical answers, nevertheless, the observations of Hartmann and Husband, regarding the role of blacks in American TV, seem quite suggestive; and what they say of the television is equally--if not more--applicable to the movie industry. Thus, the authors write:⁹

It would seem that blacks in American television drama are not functioning as representatives of any distinctive black culture; rather they are merely black skins in white roles.

Their presence does not add materially to the nature of the values which are displayed. . .The attempt to inject blacks to American TV succeeded, but if any conscious attempt to inject a black perspective based upon the black experience was made, it failed because white ownership and white production could not know what constituted that experience. A black perspective would result in black characters voicing the values of black Americans derived from their experience of oppression and their growing sense of identity (emphasis added).

They therefore identify the problem facing the American television (and film industry) as consisting in one of "the inevitable failure of a white dominated medium trying to serve the needs of a black audience."¹⁰

The point is that a white dominated movie industry cannot, conceivably, be expected to serve the best interests of a dominated black cultural public, the rather conspicuous roles of black characters--mainly as entertainers, notwithstanding. Thus, the American movie industry cannot be said to have contributed to the healthy growth of the black American experience. If anything, the industry has mediated the distortion of the realities which define that experience. It seems rather trite to state that the film industry is, for all practical purposes, white dominated. It would not seem to be contributing significantly here to attempt to adduce statistical information, regarding the ownership and control of the major movie houses which constitute the bulk of the movie industry operating across the nation.

But the knowledge of the fact that the major bulk of the media being white dominated seems fundamental in examining and understanding their coverage of issues pertinent to the black experience. In particular, it sheds light to our understanding of their coverage of the life activities of Malcolm X and King. For instance, could it have been mere chance that every January 15, and april 4, there are always

news items on major networks and the press, in reference to the anniversary of King's birth and assassination, respectively; and no such news items are carried on May 29 and February 21, regarding the corresponding respective anniversaries of Malcolm X's birth and assassination?

Granted that internal and external factors have impinged on the black American experience, the attempt in this chapter has been to focus on the latter. In doing so, the emphasis has been on the media, primarily the press, the electronic media, and the film industry. While not by this limitation implying the complete irrelevance of other sources, the assumption is that these, as major channels of mass dissemination and acquisition of knowledge and general information, constitute the principal purveyors of culture, and as such, central to awareness creation, and reality definition and determination. If it is the case that the dominant white culture has substantially impinged upon the black experience, then it seems reasonable to assume that the dominantly white media of mass communication, as described in the foregoing, and as an integral part of the dominant cultural apparatus, have mediated the nature and course of the black experience. It is in the light of this that, in the following--and concluding--chapter of this work, the consideration of the general issue of ideologies, the media, knowledge acquisition, and cultural publics, is undertaken.

CHAPTER TEN: IDEOLOGIES AND KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION.
THE MEDIA, PUBLICS, AND SOCIAL CHANGE--CONCLUSION.

In their work on propaganda, Hummel and Huntress suggest that, insofar as all propaganda begins with the audience, the analysis of propaganda begins with the analysis of the target audience.¹ But in the sense in which they use the term,² what is true of propaganda seems equally applicable to ideology. It is therefore suggested, in other words, that hardly any true understanding of an ideology could be gained without some insight into the public(s) it is addressed to.

If this study has made any major contributions to Sociology generally--and the Sociology of Knowledge in particular--one of these, perhaps, consists in its highlighting the public or audience, as an important component of an ideological system. The public is a part of the essential stuff that ideology is made of. For, not only does an ideology require a mind or minds to conceive the ideas that shape it, but it also has perhaps greater need for a public to develop it, and to give it sustenance.

An obvious implication which this carries for the sociology of knowledge is that, in trying to assess the merits of an ideological system through the perspectives of a public, one is, at one and the same time, engaged in two levels of analysis of "reality construction." For, not only are the ideas embodied in the ideological system based

on a body of knowledge deriving from the realities defined for the ideologist; but it is also the case that the views expressed by that public are based on another body of knowledge, deriving from the situational realities which define its total experience.

But there are many publics involved in what might be described as the total ideological framework, to wit: the public associated with the ideologist, the public to which the ideology is addressed, and the public associated with the intermediary agents and agencies. Admittedly, these various "cultural publics" could overlap with one another, as was indicated in Chapter Three of this work. Since, as Mills has pointed out, knowledge and power are very intimately related, and that the reality defined for any public is determined by men of power,³ it seems that, implicit in all ideological conflicts, is a struggle for power. This is, of course, the central thesis of Mannheim's distinction between "ideology" and "utopia," as indicated in Chapter Two of this work (supra).

The "ruling groups" and the "oppressed groups," with which Mannheim, respectively associates "ideology" and "utopia"⁴ conform to the concept of "cultural publics" introduced here. His concept of "relationism" is an apparent attempt to deal with the problem of the fact that the determination of the true merits of an ideology is vitiated by the fact of the "penetration of the social process into the intellectual sphere."⁵ This further underscores Mills' remark regarding the complexity of the process through which a public makes up its mind⁶ on any given issue, and reflects, in turn, the ramifications of the situational realities which constitute a major source of the knowledge and ideas that inform the opinion or views of the

members of a public.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the characterization of "ideologies" and "utopias" by Mannheim consists in the fact that, while the former "never succeed de facto in the realization of their projected contents," the latter do "succeed" in transforming the existing historical realities through "counteractivity."⁷ Here, then, lie the implications of ideologies and publics for social change. For, granting Mills' intimation that "public opinion" serves as a tool for the legitimation of authority,⁸ then the prospects for effecting a change in the existing realities depend, more or less, on the degree to which a given ideology can be impressed on a public. And if the primary role of the media consists in reinforcing the existing opinions,⁹ as well as in the creation of awareness,¹⁰ then the extent to which the media influence the process of social change, would depend on the effectiveness with which the media-defined sources are brought to bear on the situationally-defined sources of knowledge and ideas available to the members of the public.

It is in the light of the foregoing that the true meaning of the teachings of King and Malcolm X, to the black public, can be understood in terms, not only of what the two men meant to that public, but also of how that public relates to the public of the dominant media. Perhaps the real impact of the media here, consists, not so much in the fact that the black public is persuaded to accept the knowledge and ideas disseminated directly through these channels, regarding the specific occurrences or event-situations, in society--which could very well be the case--as it does in the fact that they form a crucial component of the dominant, white, "cultural apparatus" that impinges on

the shaping of the total black experience. And insofar as the situationally-defined sources of knowledge available to the black public derive from this black experience, then the dominant media have contributed significantly to the shaping of the opinion which this public holds for the ideologies of King and Malcolm X.

Every decision we make involves a choice of one form or the other. If even in a situation, one refuses to make a decision, that stance of the so-called "neutrality" or non-committal stance, in itself, implies a choice. It is also the case that, in every case of choice or decision-making, one accepts something, while at the same time, rejecting something else. But it is in the nature of "things" that everything has something "good," as well as something "bad," about it. Choice-making, therefore, involves--explicitly or implicitly--the assigning of priority for the "good" aspects of what one accepts over the "bad" things about it. Conversely, the rejection of something else presumes a priority assignment, in which the "bad" aspects of that object, by far obscure its "good" parts.

In the present exploratory undertaking I have opted for a questionnaire survey. The rationale for this option has already been elaborated upon (supra, Chapter Six). But this should not be construed as a categorical rejection of the merits of alternative options through which the information bearing pertinently on the research problem could otherwise have been adduced. In consequence, a brief consideration of the relative merits of some of these other options seems in order.

Perhaps, among the alternative options that could have been adopted for a research undertaking, such as embarked upon here, the

most significant would be the method of "content analysis." Although there are many and varying definitions¹¹ of content analysis, it would appear that they all address one central theme, to wit: the attempt to elicit some relevant meanings--manifest or latent--from communication. The presumption here, of course, is that "communication" can allude to a letter, a treatise, a speech, or any other form of documentary material. In a sense, then, content analysis constitutes an integral part of documentary research.

Content analysis would, therefore, seem particularly suitable for a comparative study and evaluative analysis of ideologies. For, as North and his associates point out: "It may be used to study conflicting goals or the content of ideologies. It may also be used. . . to gain systematic information concerning the cognitive and evaluative or affective states of those persons whose decisions are binding upon the state they represent."¹² And on its other uses, Holsti underlines its application as a tool to infer aspects of culture and culture¹³ change. There is no denying the fact that, using this method of analysis, one could gain a great deal of insight, not only into the major preoccupations which mark the respective ideological systems associated with King and Malcolm X, but also into the circumstances that defined their relationships with the various cultural publics which they represented, as well as those their ideologies were aimed at.

Another alternative option would have been the use of other forms of documents, such as televisionlogues, radiologues, or newspaperlogues, reflecting opinion polls elicited from various segments of the public, over the actual period spanning the life activities of

King and Malcolm X. Like other forms of documentary research, these approaches have the advantage of being immune from the problems of reactivity encountered in survey and related research methods designed to obtain "life data." In other words, with documentary research, one does not have to worry about the authenticity of the information adduced from the data, or what is otherwise identified as the problem of "put-on's," to which survey research is highly susceptible.

But it is also the case that, with a documentary research, such as "content analysis," it is almost impossible to determine the fact and extent of the role of the mass media in the moulding and development of ideologies. In other words, in content-analyzing any given document, the impact of the media on a particular form of ideology underlined therein, is difficult to determine, unless in cases where specific reference is made to some aspects of the media and their coverage and mode of news dissemination.¹⁴ Also, documentary research approach, such as the use of media-logues, could also engender the criticism of reliance on "secondary," as against "primary" sources, the latter being conceived as a major advantage of survey research.

It is in the light of the foregoing, and in conjunction with earlier elaborations that the particular research option adopted for this research undertaking should be considered on its own merit. Thus, notwithstanding its shortcomings, its merits are also equally affirmed.

Conclusion

The character of this research undertaking has been, in the main, exploratory, insofar as it has not been guided by any a priori formulations, or predictive propositional statements. However, it has proceeded on the simple assumptions that: ideologies are constructed on a system of ideas deriving from some body of knowledge--the receptivity of these ideologies or systems of ideas they comprise, by a public, is predicated on some form of judgment or assessment by that public; this evaluation process is based on some ideas deriving from some body of knowledge; in either case, there can be only two sources to this body of knowledge; and these sources are identified as media defined, or situationally defined.

The empirical efforts here have been premised on the assumption that, if the form and extent of the media sources can be determined, then the situationally-defined sources are also determined. But while the nature of the data used here, as well as their design, has precluded the possibility of making this determination with exactitude and precision, it is nevertheless the case that the results have cast more light on the pattern of their relative contribution to the shaping of the opinion of the public.

But the question does not seem to be completely resolved, in view of the role, as Hartmann and Husband point out, of the media as "interpreters of the world."¹⁵ For, if as one respondent claims (R.30),

King is favoured over Malcolm X because he is "better known" than the latter and "loved more than Malcolm," according to another (R.71), could it have been, as a female respondent intimates (R.56), because Malcolm X did not have "the opportunity to really reach and be accepted by the mass of black people"? If so, could it be because Malcolm X's world was interpreted to the public differently from the interpretation offered of King's world by the media, in a manner that made the teachings of the latter appear more appealing to the black public, than do those of the former?

Perhaps an important contribution of this study to Sociology--and the Sociology of Knowledge, more specifically--consists in the suggestion that a sociology of knowledge that seeks to deal adequately with these and related questions and issues, should strive to ascertain the basis of the knowledge which informs the opinion of a public regarding any social issue. For instance, granting Malcolm X's charge¹⁶ that he was portrayed as a "violent" man, and King as espousing the ideology of "non-violence," the question could be raised regarding what constitutes "violence," with reference to the lives and activities of these two black leaders. Could it be that the distinction between "violence" and "non-violence" consists in the media interpretations of these two worlds of realities and activities?

In this respect the observations of one reader of a newspaper seem quite instructive:¹⁷

Following each assassination or assassination attempt on a public figure the American media proceeds (sic) to relentlessly bombard the American public with entreaties calling for intense probing. . .to determine the cause of such murderous deeds. . . Why, we are asked, in our ultracivilized, Judeo-Christian society, are men, even those with such divergent philosophies as Gov. George Wallace and Dr. Martin Luther King, subjected

to death in exchange for exercising a constitutional right?

Such goings-on, which usually last a month after each assassination would lead one to conclude that violence is something which has just recently reared its ugly head on the American scene and that is so new and so alien to us that we find ourselves thoroughly confounded by it. Rarely does one hear a media representative examine, or for that matter even mention the relationship of recent assassinations to the three hundred years of violence that have characterized this nation and on which it was founded. Instead. . .the media often omit the fact that the same people now being called on to examine themselves and their society in the aftermath of a vicious attempt against the life of Goy. Wallace, are the direct descendants of those who systematically annihilated over one million American Indians. . .who enslaved, mutilated and murdered millions of blacks without pang of conscience. . . who take pleasure in the slaughter of animals under the guise of sport. . .responsible for thousands of deaths and maimings of innocents in Vietnam, of scores at Attica. . . who overturn school buses with their precious cargoes of black children, who blow up churches and, indeed whose very heritage and mode of existence is bathed in blood and saturated with death (emphasis added).

The point of the above remark consists, not so much in the suggestion that the media influence the creation of social issues, as it does in the intimation that they determine, to a large degree, the relevance accorded to these issues. And it further underlines the charge by Hartmann and Husband, that it is the "white public" which dictates newsworthy events in the United States. For the dominant media are, for all practical purposes, white-controlled; and they form an integral part of the dominant, white, "cultural apparatus" which has constituted a major influence in the shaping of the black experience. One may also consider in this light, Malcolm X's indictment against the Columbia Broadcasting System--but more generally, against the entire media system--for the "hate" image with which many in the American public had come to associate the black Islamic community with which he was associated--The Nation of Islam. And one

reader of another newspaper notes, in the same vein: "We should be aware that more information is thrown away everyday than is printed . . . Editors are the people who decide what to print and what to throw away. Editors, too, are humans with biases and weaknesses."²⁰

In conclusion, then, it could hardly be viewed as presumptuous to say that, if the protest thoughts of King have been received more by the black public, than it has those of Malcolm X, the role of the media in determining that choice has not been insignificant.

And while the society remains polarized into "the ruling group"--the white society--and "the oppressed group"--the black community--to invoke Mannheim's typology,²¹ there will continue to be "ideologies" (representing the stance of the ruling group) and "utopias" (associated with the oppressed group), the voice of dissent and protest. This study has concerned itself primarily with the utopias identifying black ideologies. It has been argued that the black ideologies are a product of the black American experience. But that experience is a composite of many factors, including, among other things, the African cultural heritage of black Americans as well as the situational realities of the American political, economic, and social scene. And, in a larger sense, the black experience has also been impinged upon by the dominant white cultural rubric, through its all-pervading cultural apparatus. Black views and opinions have been informed, not only by the internal factors deriving from the black experience, but also by the external circumstances associated with the dominant cultural apparatus.

If anything, the conclusion here is to the effect that, not only are the protest ideologies of King and Malcolm X understandable in terms of these external and internal factors; but also, the public response--particularly the black public's response--to their respective ideological systems should be understood in terms of these inter- and intra-cultural dynamics. For, it is a fact that the various sub-cultural publics that comprise the black American community, as well as their lives, have been fashioned by these forces.

NOTES

Chapter 1

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3. Ibid.
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5. Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968; p.115. Also, Lewis M. Killian, The Impossible Revolution? New York: Random House, Inc., 1968; p. 169.
6. Floyd B. Barbour (ed.), The Black Power Revolt, Boston, Mass.: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1968; p. 192.
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10. Coretta Scott King, op. cit., p. 356.
11. Lewis M. Killian, op. cit., pp. 47, 56, 57.
12. Ibid., pp. 94, 98.
13. The Greater Milwaukee Star, Vol. VIII, #15, Wednesday, April 10, 1968; p. 4.
14. The Realist, February, 1967, p. 22.
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16. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage. New York: Basic Books (Bantam ed.), Inc., 1968: p. 168.
17. Martin Luther King, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? New York: Harper & Row Publishers (Bantam ed.) 1968; pp. 146 seq.
18. Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 377-8.
19. Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual. New York: William Morrow, and Company, Inc., 1967; p. 226.
20. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, loc. cit.
21. Malcolm X, loc. cit.
22. See, for instance, Sammuel F. Yette, op. cit., pp. 27 seq. Also, George Breitman and Herman Porter, The Assassination of Malcolm X. New York: Merit Publishers, 1969. It is rather remarkable that, in the wake of Dr. King's assassination in April 1968, the official mood of the nation was such that President Lyndon B. Johnson deemed it serious and urgent enough to summon a special joint session of the U. S. Congress--albeit, a congress that never met.
23. While Georgia is King's home state, as well as the center of his life activities, New York's Harlem contains the largest concentration of Blacks in the nation. It could very well be argued that this act of recognition by the New York authorities suggests the general acceptance of King's leadership, by the plurality of black Americans.
24. This is, obviously, a means of institutionalizing his philosophy of "non-violent direct action."

Chapter 2

1. See, for instance: (1) Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966 (Anchor ed., 1967); pp. 5 seq.; (2) Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966; p. 278.
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5. Ibid., p. 15.
6. Ibid., pp. 16, 19. See also, John Lewis, The Life and Teachings of Karl Marx. New York: International Publishers, 1965; pp. 104, 105.
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8. Louis Althusser, For Marx. New York: Random House (Vintage ed.) 1970; p. 234.
9. Ibid., p. 107.
10. See, for instance: Norman Birnbaum, "The Sociological Study of Ideology (1940-1960): A Trend Report and Bibliography," in Current Sociology, Vol. 9, #2, 1960; p. 94; Raya Dunayevskaya, Philosophy and Revolution. New York: Delacorte Press, 1973, p. 199; Robert Tucker, Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx. Cambridge University Press, 1972; p. 123.
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13. Ibid., p. 74.
14. Ibid., p. 36.
15. Ibid., p. 87.
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19. Ibid., pp. 23-27, 37 seq.
20. Werner Stark, The Sociology of Knowledge--An Essay in Aid of a Deeper Understanding of the History of Ideas. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971; p. 141.
21. Ibid., pp. 77 seq. Also, p. 48.
22. Ibid., p. 80.
23. Ibid., pp. 69-70; 247.
24. Alfred Schutz (Maurice Natanson, ed.), Collected Papers, Vol. I. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971; passim.
25. Ibid., pp. 310-16.
26. Alfred Schutz (Arvid Brodersen, ed.), Collected Papers, Vol. II. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971; p. 131.
27. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Revised & enlarged ed.), New York: The Free Press, 1957; p. 456.
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29. Charles P. Loomis and Joan Huber Rytina, "Marxist Dialectic and Pragmatism: Power as Knowledge," American Sociological Review, Vol. 35, #2, April 1970; pp. 308-18.
30. Ibid., p. 308.
31. John Walton, "Discipline, Method, and Community Power: A Note on the Sociology of Knowledge," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, #5, Oct. 1966; pp. 684-89.
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53. Ibid., p. 222.
54. T. M. Bottomore, loc. cit.
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22. Louis Wirth, loc. cit.
23. See C. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 592.
24. Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, op. cit., p. 60.
25. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 595.
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27. The possibility should, of course, be allowed, of the overlap in membership of more than one public. For example, the "ideologist" here could belong to the black "public," the Christian "public," and the "learned public."
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33. Peter L. Berger, et al., op. cit., passim.
34. C. Wright Mills (Horowitz, ed.), op. cit., pp. 590 seq.
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37. Ibid., p. 611.
38. Ibid., p. 595.
39. Ibid., pp. 594-95.
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Chapter Four

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3. W. E. B. DuBois, The World and Africa. New York: International Publishers, 1965; pp. 44 seq.
4. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
5. John H. Bracey, Jr., et. al., Black Matriarchy: Myth or Reality? Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. 1971; pp. 20-51.
6. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. New York: Random House (Vintage Books), 1967; p. 25.
7. Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1966; pp. 29 seq. Also, Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968; p. 48.
8. Andrew Billingsley, Ibid., loc. cit.
9. Lerone Bennett, Jr., loc. cit.
10. Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Preacher in America. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1972.
11. Ibid., pp. 32 seq.
12. Andrew Billingsley, op. cit., p. 49.
13. Ibid., pp. 52 seq. See also, John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970; pp. 41 seq.
14. Malcolm X, op. cit. pp. 33-9.
15. Ibid., p. 35.
16. Charles V. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 34.
17. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1961 (first published, 1903); p. 150.

18. W. E. B. DuBois, "The Talented Tenth," in Booker T. Washington, et. al., The Negro Problem. New York: James Pott & Company, 1903; pp. 33-75, as quoted in Francis L. Broderick and August Meier (eds.), Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965; p. 44.
19. Charles V. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 34-5.
20. W. E. B. DuBois, op. cit. (1961), p. 142.
21. Andrew Billingsley, op. cit., p. 116.
22. James H. Cone, Black Theology and Black Power. New York: The Seabury Press, 1969; p. 93.
23. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
24. Ibid., p. 117.
25. Ibid.
26. Benjamin Mays, The Negro God. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1968; pp. 19, 21, as quoted in Charles V. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 45-6.
27. (G. Franklin Edwards, ed.), E. Franklin Frazier, On Race Relations: Selected Writings. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968; p. 276.
28. C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961; p. iv.
29. See, for instance: Louis E. Lomax, When the Word Is Given. . . New York: The New American Library, 1964; p. 41; C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., pp. 10 seq.; Essien U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism--A Search for an Identity in America. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc. - 1964; pp. 18-19.
30. Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt. New York: The New American Library, 1963; pp. 181-182; Louis E. Lomax, op. cit., (1964), p. 61; C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit. pp. 107-08; Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press, Inc., pp. 236-38; Essien U. Essien-Udom, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
31. C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit.; Louis E. Lomax, op. cit. (1964), p. 61.
32. C. Eric Lincoln, Ibid., pp. 11, 12.
33. Essien-Udom, op. cit., p. 9.

34. Nat Turner was a black slave preacher-activist, who led the abortive Virginia slave revolt in 1831. For details of this historic episode, see William Styron (ed.), The Confessions of Nat Turner, New York: Random House, 1967. Also, Joanne Grant (ed.), Black Protest--History, Documents, and Analyses. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970; pp. 53-9.
35. Charles V. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 46.
36. E. Franklin Frazier, op. cit., p. 278.
37. Louis Lomax, op. cit. (1963), p. 58.
38. Robert Hill, The Strengths of Black Families. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, Inc., 1972; pp. 33-34.
39. Henry Lee Moon, "Beyond Objectivity. The 'Fighting' Press," in Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein (eds.), Race and the News Media. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1971; p. 133.
40. Martin E. Dann, (ed.), The Black Press, New York: Capricorn Books, 1972; pp. 34-35.
41. Ibid., pp. 20 seq.
42. The Crisis, Vol. 1, #1, November 1910 (editorial).
43. Charles S. Johnston, "The Rise of the Negro Magazine," in Journal of Negro History, Vol. 13, #1, January 1928, pp. 7-21.
44. Ibid., p. 8.
45. See, for instance, Joanne Grant (ed.), op. cit., pp. 89-92; 103 seq.
46. Ibid., pp. 180-184. See also, Martine Dann (ed.), op. cit., pp. 236-291.
47. David E. Christensen, "The Negroes' Changing Place in Southern Agriculture," in Francis Redding et al, (eds.), The Negro in American Society. Tampa, Florida: Florida Grower Press, 1958; p. 45.
48. Ibid., pp. 44-45. See also, Andrew Billingsley, op. cit., pp. 72 seq.

Chapter Five

1. Peter I. rose, in "Forward" to Lewis M. Killian, The Impossible Revolution? New York: Random House, Inc., 1968; p. ix.
2. Quoted in Ralph McGill, "W. E. B. DuBois," Atlantic Monthly, November 1965; p. 79.
3. Ibid.
4. Pertinent here, is perhaps the remark attributed to Alexander Walters: "There are certain things which those of us who live in the South can accomplish and certain other things which those of us who live in the North can accomplish. We may take different methods to reach the same ends, but the results will be for the common advantage." Alexander Walters, My Life and Work (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917); as quoted in Francis Broderick and August Meier (eds.) Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965; p. 19.
5. C. Eric Lincoln (ed.), Martin Luther King, Jr., A Profile. New York: Hill and Wang, 1970; p. xvii.
6. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publishers, Inc., 1961; p. 89.
7. Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963; pp. 114, 115. For more details regarding King's household, see also, pp. 109-117.
8. For details on Garvey and the movement associated with his name see, for instance: Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism. New York: The Macmillan Company (Collier edition), 1970; Essien U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism--A Search for an Identity in America. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1964; pp. 48-59.
9. Louis E. Lomax, When the Word is Given. . New York: The New American Library, 1964; p. 49.
10. Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965; p. 3.
11. C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961; p. 190.
12. Malcolm X, op. cit., p. 10
13. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1958; p. 17.
14. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

15. Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 11-13.
16. Ibid., p. 21.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. p. 22.
19. This is, perhaps, a good illustration of what Ryan calls 'victim blaming.' See William Ryan, Blaming the Victim. New York: Random House (Vintage edition), 1971.
20. Philip S. Foner (ed.), The Voice of Black America. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972; p. 919.
21. C. Eric Lincoln, (ed.), loc. cit.
22. Malcolm X, op. cit., p. 25.
23. Louis E. Lomax, op. cit., p. 50. Also, C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., p. 191.
24. Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 35-7.
25. Ibid., pp. 36-7.
26. See Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Preacher in America. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1972.
27. Andrew Billingsley, loc. cit.
28. Ibid., p. 116.
29. Louis E. Lomax, op. cit., p. 50. See also, C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., p. 191.
30. For more details on this, see Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 39-265.
31. Quoted in Essien U. Essien-Udom, op. cit., p. 195.
32. Martin Luther King, Jr., op. cit., pp. 28-38. See also: Joanne Grant (ed.), Black Protest--History, Documents, and Analyses. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968; pp. 276-80; Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt. New York: The New American Library, 1963; pp. 16-17.
33. Martin Luther King, Jr., op. cit., p. 29.
34. Ibid., p. 50.
35. Ibid., pp. 41-46.
36. Ibid., p. 154.

37. Lewis M. Killian, op. cit., p. 168.
38. C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., p. iv.
39. See, for instance; Louis E. Lomax, op. cit. (1964), p. 41; C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., pp. 10 seq. Essien U. Essien, Udom, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
40. Louis E. Lomax, op. cit. (1963), pp. 181-82; Louis E. Lomax, op. cit. (1964), p. 61; C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., pp. 107-08; Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 236-68; Essien U. Essien-Udom, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
41. For full details on this episode, see Malcolm X, op. cit., pp. 151-235.
42. W. Haywood Burns, "The Black Muslims in America: A Reinterpretation," in Race--The Journal of the Institute of Race Relations. Vol. V, #1, July 1963; pp. 26-37.
43. Ibid., p. 28.
44. Ibid., p. 29.
45. C. Eric Lincoln, op. cit., p. 28.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 78.
48. Ibid., p. 79.
49. James H. Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation. Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970; pp. 236-37.
50. Louis E. Lomax, op. cit. (1964), p. 42. Also, Malcolm X, op. cit., p. 163.
51. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., Black Christian Nationalism--New Directions for the Black Church. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1972; p. 17.
52. Malcolm X, op. cit., p. 176.
53. Martin Luther King, Jr., op. cit., pp. 73, 77-81, 98.
54. Ibid., p. 79.
55. Malcolm X, op. cit., p. 176.
56. Ibid., p. 177.
57. Martin E. Dann (ed.), The Black Press: 1827-1890. New York: Capricorn Books, 1972; pp. 95-6.

Chapter Six

1. In other words, of the total of 400 in the original sample, to whom questionnaires were mailed, only 191 completed and returned their questionnaires. There were some--a few--questionnaires that were returned as complete "blanks;" these were not included in the figure of 191 eventually used for the study.
2. This, in a sense, accords with Billingsley's claim that, at least in the urban centers of the nation where most of the black population is concentrated, half of the black American population would be considered lower class. See Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968: pp. 122-23.
3. See, for instance, Gudmund R. Iversen, Statistics and Sociology. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972; pp. 10-12.
4. Ibid., p. 9.

Chapter Seven

1. Crime and Justice in Metropolitan Albuquerque--A Report of the Criminal Justice Program. Institute for Social Research and Development, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque: 1971; pp. 3, 6. (Referred to subsequently as ISRAD Report.)
2. See Barbara J. Richardson, Black Directory for the State of New Mexico, 1973. Unfortunately, information regarding the publisher of this directory is not provided, nor is the book pagged.
3. Ibid.
4. ISRAD Report, op. cit., pp. 3-5.
5. Brian A. Young, "The History of the Black in New Mexico from the Sixteenth Century through the Nineteenth Century Pioneer Period." Master's Thesis: University of New Mexico, 1967.
6. Ibid., passim.
7. Ibid., pp. 78 seq., 108-110.
8. The University of New Mexico, and the previously owned (Catholic) University of Albuquerque, are the two major institutions. However, there are other smaller institutions, such as the Southwest College, and the Technical Vocational Institute (TVI).
9. ISRAD Report, loc. cit.,
10. Barbara Richardson, op. cit. Unfortunately, the figures for the other institutions were not available to this researcher.
11. All of the above figures were obtained from the Institutional Research Department of the University of New Mexico.
12. Barbara Richardson, op. cit.
13. Ibid.
14. All of the 172, incidentally, are listed as females.
15. Barbara J. Richardson, op. cit.
16. Ibid.
17. Within the Southwest, Arizona is, of course, where their activities are centered, and from where, perhaps, the activities of the entire Region are coordinated.

18. There are, in actual fact, four TV stations: apart from the three major stations affiliated with the national broadcasting companies, there is the University station--KNME-TV. It is estimated that there are some 19 AM and FM radio stations in the area; while none of these is black-owned, managed, or operated, there is known to be, at least, one radio station exclusively serving the Spanish-speaking community of Albuquerque. See for instance, Seer's Catalogue (an Albuquerque publication) Vol. 3, #18, August 29-Sept. 12, 1974; p. 1.).
19. Barbara J. Richardson, op. cit.
20. I am indebted to Mrs. Helena Quintana, the director of Ethnic Studies Department of the University of New Mexico's Zimmerman Library, for this information,
21. F. Madison Strait, et al., New Mexico Segregated Schools. Albuquerque: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Albuquerque Civil Rights Committee, 1949; p. 1.
22. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
23. The Civil Rights Status of Minority Groups in Clovis, New Mexico--A Summary of a Meeting of the New Mexico State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1969.
24. Barbara J. Richardson, op. cit.

Chapter Eight

1. Of the total of 400 in the original sample, to whom questionnaires were mailed, only 191 completed and returned their questionnaires. There were some questionnaires that were returned completely "blank;" and, as such, these were not included in the figure of 191 eventually used for the study.
2. During his 1973 visit to the University of New Mexico, Stokely Carmichael responded to a statement from a member of an audience he was addressing, by remarking that he considered himself flattered, in being compared with, or even considered a disciple of, Malcolm X.
3. In introducing the Post-Prison Writings of Eldridge Cleaver, the editor, for instance, notes in part: "To Eldridge Cleaver, recently released from prison and trying to carry on the work of the murdered black leader, Malcolm X, the sight of armed Black Panthers inspired awe, pride, and confidence. . . The Black Panther Party had been organized in Oakland, California, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. Inspired by the writings of Malcolm X. . . They formulated a political philosophy and wrote the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party" (emphasis added). Black Defiance--Black Profiles in Courage. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1972; p. 222.
4. C. Wright Mills (Irving L. Horowitz, ed.) Power, Politics, and People, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963; p. 578.
5. Ibid., p. 595
6. Ibid., pp. 596-98.
7. Ibid., p. 597.
8. Among those respondents who indicated a regular habit of reading newspapers, none expressed any preference for any black newspaper or magazine. And, although no black-owned or black-managed paper is published in the Albuquerque area, it is also the case that, while some of the respondents indicated that they subscribe to such papers as The New York Times, or The Washington Post, there was no corresponding interest for say, The New York Amsterdam News, or The Chicago Defender, or even Muhammad Speaks.
9. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 589.
10. The numbers in the parenthesis simply allude to the numbering codes used to identify the respondents. Actually the completed questionnaires are numbered in the chronological order in which they were returned to, and received by, this investigator.

11. John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson (World University Series), 1970; pp. 63-4; 66.
12. For more on the problem of reactivity in social research, see for instance, Eugene J. Webb, et al, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research In the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966.

Chapter Nine

1. Graham Martin, "The Press," in Denys Thompson (ed.), Discrimination and Popular Culture. London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1973; p. 98.
2. Martin E. Dann, The Black Press: 1827-1890. New York: Capricorn books, 1972; p. 8.
3. See, for instance, Denys Thompson (ed.), op. cit., p. 58; C. Wright Mills (Irving Louis Horowitz, ed.), Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963; p. 595.
4. Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, Racism and the Mass Media. London: Davis-Poynter Ltd., 1974; p. 127.
5. Ruth S. Hamilton, and Richard Thomas, in a section of a working paper, entitled "The Black Experience and the Quest for a Decent Society," (Michigan State University, 1974), talk about the "Consciousness Industry."
6. Stokely Carmichael & Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. New York: Random House (Vintage Books), 1967; pp. 38-39.
7. Richard Collins, "The Film," in Denys Thompson (ed.), op. cit., p. 225.
8. Ibid., p. 227.
9. Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, op. cit., p. 196.
10. Ibid., p. 197.

Chapter Ten

1. William Hummel and Keith Huntress, The Analysis of Propaganda. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1949; p. 28.
2. They define propaganda as "any attempt to persuade anyone to a belief or to a form of action," (Ibid., p. 2), and this is, precisely, what ideology does, in effect.
3. C. Wright Mills (Irving L. Horowitz, ed.), Power, Politics and People. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963; pp. 580, 594-5, 606, 611.
4. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia--An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1966; p. 36.
5. Ibid., p. 240.
6. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., pp. 577-8.
7. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., pp. 175-76.
8. C. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 580.
9. Ibid., p. 595.
10. Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, Racism and the Mass Media. London: Davis-Poynter, Ltd., 1974; pp. 94-5; 127.
11. See, for instance, Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969; pp. 2-3.
12. Robert C. North, et al., Content Analysis: A Handbook with Applications for the Study of International Crisis. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963; p. 38.
13. Ole R. Holsti, op. cit., pp. 80 seq.
14. Consider, for instance, Malcolm X's charge that the C.B.S. TV network was responsible for the "hate" image, in which the black Islamic group, the Nation of Islam, is portrayed. Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press, Inc. 1966; pp. 238 seq.
15. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1966; pp. 36 seq.

APPENDICES

Appendix 6.1

PLEASE YOU ARE REQUESTED TO TAKE A FEW MINUTES
OF YOUR TIME TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

This survey is designed to enable the researcher to compare and evaluate the protest thoughts of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as the impact their teachings have had on Black protest struggles, generally within the last two decades. It is understood that the information given in the questionnaires will be kept confidential; and no name associated with any specific information will be divulged or otherwise made public, without written permission from, or authorization by the individual concerned.

1. Name
2. Address and Phone Number (please indicate whether you live in the N.E., S.E., N.W., S.W. section of the city.)
3. Sex
4. Age:
 - (a) Under 20 years
 - (b) 20-25 "
 - (c) 25-35 "
 - (d) 35-40 "
 - (e) 40-45 "
 - (f) over 45 "
5. Marital Status:
 - (a) Single (Never Married)
 - (b) Married and living with spouse
 - (c) Separated but not divorced
 - (d) Divorced
6. Do you have any children? Indicate the number of children.
7. Income
 - (Less than \$5,000.00)
 - (\$5,000.00 - \$10,000.00)
 - (\$10,000.00 - \$15,000.00)
 - (\$15,000.00 - \$20,000.00)
 - (Over \$20,000.00)

8. Occupation
9. Years of schooling
10. Do you belong to any religious groups, or church? If Yes, please indicate what church.
11. Do you consider yourself an active member of this church or religious group?
12. Do you belong to any political party? If Yes, please indicate which party.
13. Are you registered to vote?
14. Have you ever voted:
 - (a) in any local elections;
 - (b) in any state elections;
 - (c) in any national elections
15. Have you ever run for any public office?
 - (a) locally;
 - (b) in the state;
 - (c) nationally
16. Do you
 - (a) read newspapers regularly (please indicate which paper)
 - (b) listen to radio news regularly
 - (c) Watch TV regularly (please indicate your favourite channels or stations).
17. Do you agree that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. were two of the most prominent Black leaders of our time?
- 18A. How did you first come to know or hear about Malcolm X
 - (a) through reading newspapers;
 - (b) listening to radio news
 - (c) watching TV news
 - (d) through friends and/or relatives
 - (e) through other means (please specify)

18B. How did you first come to know or hear about Martin Luther King

- (a) through reading newspapers
- (b) listening to radio news
- (c) watching TV news
- (d) through friends and/or relatives
- (e) through other means (please specify)

19A. Did you ever listen to, or hear Malcolm X speak

- (a) life
- (b) on radio
- (c) on TV

19B. Did you ever listen to, or hear, Martin Luther King, Jr. speak

- (a) life
- (b) on radio
- (c) on TV

20. Have you ever read any speech or book by Malcolm X? Have you listened to any taped recordings of his speeches?

21. Have you ever read any speech or book by Martin Luther King? Have you listened to any taped recordings of his speeches?

22. Do you think Malcolm contributed to the cause of Black struggles more than King?

23. Do you think both leaders contributed equally to the cause?

24. Do you think Malcolm X understood the problems and situation of Black Americans more than Martin Luther King?

25.A. Do you think that the teachings of Malcolm X were:

- (a) relevant to the actual needs of Blacks
- (b) not relevant to the actual needs of Blacks?

25.B. Do you think that the teachings of Martin Luther King were:

- (a) relevant to the actual needs of Blacks
- (b) not relevant to the actual needs of Blacks?

26. Do you think:
 - (a) Malcolm X was a more popular leader than King?
 - (b) King was more popular?

27. Do you feel there should be national holidays
 - (a) in honor of Malcolm X
 - (b) in honor of Martin Luther King?

28. Do you think that
 - (a) Malcolm X's teachings have had any impact on the Black movement of today
 - (b) Martin Luther King's teachings have had any impact on the Black movement today?

- 29A. Do you think that the Muslims have done anything useful for Blacks as a whole?

- 29B. Do you think that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has done anything for Blacks as a whole?

- 30A. Do you think Black leaders are
 - (a) too religious
 - (b) religious enough
 - (c) not very religious?

- 30B. Do you think that Black people are
 - (a) too religious?
 - (b) religious enough?
 - (c) not very religious?

31. Do you have any other comments? Please indicate.

Appendix 6.2CODE BOOK

<u>Variable List</u>	<u>Column C.C.</u>	<u>Question Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q1	1-3	1	I.D. Number	
Q2	4	2	Residential Zone	1. N.E. 2. S.E. 3. N.W. 4. S.W. 8. No answer
Q3	5	3	Sex	1. Male 2. Female 8. N.A.
Q4	6	4	Age	1. Under 20 2. 20-25 3. 26-35 4. 36-40 5. 41-45 6. Over 45 8. N.A.
Q5	7	5	Marital Status	1. Single, never married 2. Married, living with spouse 3. Separated, not divorced 4. Divorced 5. Widowed 8. N.A.
Q6	8-9	6	No. of Children	88. N.A.
Q7	10	7	Income	1. Below \$5,000.00 2. \$5 - 10,000.00 3. \$10 - 15,000.00 4. \$15 - 20,000.00 5. Over \$20,000.00 8. N.A.
Q8	11	8	Occupation	1. Lower Class 2. Middle Class 3. Upper Class 8. N.A.

<u>Var. List</u>	<u>C.C.</u>	<u>Q. Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q9	12	9	Education	1. Below Elem. Educ. 2. Elem. Educ. 3. Below High School 4. High School 5. Below College 6. College 8. N.A.
Q10	13	10	Religious Affiliation	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q11	14	11	Act. Rel. Member	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q12	15	12	Political Affiliation	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q13	16	13	Voter Reg.	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q14	17	14	Voting Rec.	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q15A	18	15A	Pub-Off-L	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q15B	19	15B	Pub-Off-S	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q15C	20	15C	Pub-Off-N	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q16A	21	16A	Pap-News	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.

<u>Var. List</u>	<u>C.C.</u>	<u>Q. Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q16B	22	16B	Rad-News	1. Yes 2. No 3. N.A.
Q16C	23	16C	TV-News	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q17	24	17	Prom-X K	1. yes 2. no 8. N.A.
Q18A1	25	18A1	X-Paper	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18A2	26	18A2	X-Radio	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18A3	27	18A3	X-TV	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18A4	28	18A4	X-Friend	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18A5	29	18A5	X-Other	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18B1	30	18B1	K-Paper	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18B2	31	18B2	K-Radio	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.

<u>Var. List</u>	<u>C.C.</u>	<u>Q. Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q18B3	32	18B3	K-TV	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18B4	33	18B4	K-Friend	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q18B5	34	18B5	K-Other	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19A1	35	19A1	Dir.-X-Live	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19A2	36	19A2	Dir.-X-Rad	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19A3	37	19A3	Dir.-X-TV	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19B1	38	19B1	Dir-K-Live	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19B2	39	19B2	Dir-K-Rad	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q19B3	40	19B3	Dir-K-TV	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q20	41	20	X-Write	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.

<u>Var. List</u>	<u>C.C.</u>	<u>Q. Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q21	42	21	K-Write	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A.
Q22	43	22	XK-Cont	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. No Opinion
Q23	44	23	XK-Equal	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q24	45	24	XK-Under	1. X Understands 2. K Understands 3. Both Understand 8. n.a. 9. N.O.
Q25A	46	25A	X-Relev	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q25B	47	25B	K-Relev	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q26	48	26	XK-Pop	1. X more popular 2. K more popular 7. Equally popular 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q27	49	27	XK-Pop	1. For X only 2. For K only 3. For both 4. For none 8. N.A. 9. N.O.

<u>Var. List</u>	<u>C.C.</u>	<u>Q. Item</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	
Q28A	50	28A	X-Teach	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q28B	51	28B	K-Teach	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q29A	52	29A	Mus-Impac	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q29B	53	29B	SCL-Impac	1. Yes 2. No 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q30A	54	30A	B-Lead-Rel	1. Too Rel. 2. Rel. En. 3. Not Rel. En. 8. N.A. 9. N.O.
Q30B	55	30B	BP-Rel	1. Too Rel. 2. Rel. En. 3. Not Rel. En. 8. N.A. 9. N.O.

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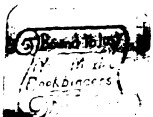
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