

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Representation Theory

Before I explain more about these representations, I would like to give the meaning of *representation* in the quotation below:

“Habitus disposes individuals toward certain practices. As we have seen in the case of matters of taste, it also disposes them towards what we can call certain **representations** of these practices: perceptions, evaluations, appreciations, and knowledge of them, particularly as they concern their own positions and those of others” (Thwaites, Davis, & Mules, 1994, p. 197).

The whites constructed these representations that enabled them to produce discrimination and segregation. Discrimination is established so that the blacks can't gain any power and can always be controlled. Segregation is used to keep the blacks to live in their own neighborhood, separately from the whites and as stated by Nearing (1969), “The term *discrimination* means refusal to grant Negroes equal rights with whites. In its extreme form it leads to exclusion and segregation – forcing Negroes into separate organizations and groups” (p. 63).

2.2 Post-structuralism

The term *post structuralism* evolved in the late 1960s as a critique of structuralism theory. The basis of post structuralism theories lies in the belief of the inadequacy of language (<http://www.swin.edu.au/sbs/media/gallery/david/pg.1.html>). In addition, Post-Structuralism is a body of work that is a response to structuralism; it rejects structuralism yet for various reasons still defines itself in relation to structuralism. Post structuralism begins at the point where the structuralists start to doubt the adequacy

of the comprehensive theory that they are imposing on literature. Post structuralism is concerned less with establishing a firm hold on the text than with acknowledging the text's elusive nature and the fallibility of all readings. If this idea seems difficult to grasp it is because it is difficult to envisage a form of criticism that is concerned to stress the indeterminacy of all texts and the inadequacy of all readings. Post-structural critics have called into question the very existence of the human "subject" or "self" posited by "humanism". The traditional view of individuals in society privileges the individual's coherent identity endowed with initiative, singular will, and purposefulness. However, the traditionalist concept is no longer seen as tenable in a poststructuralist view of human subjectivity. By the way of contrast, the post-structural subject or self is seen to be incoherent, disunified, and effect "decentred", so that depending upon the commentator a human being is described as, for example, a mere conveyor of unconscious mainstream ideologies, or as simply a "site" in which various cultural constructs and "discursive formations" created and sustained by the structures of power in a given social environment play themselves out ([http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/post structuralism](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/post_structuralism)).

2.3 Theory of Identity

In relations with post structuralism theory, I also used the theory of identity by Stuart Hall. Stuart Hall, a leading figure of the British left over the past thirty years and a visionary race theorist, had made profound contributions to the field of cultural studies at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University. His work has made possible multiple conversations taking place around questions of culture, race

and ethnicity. Now, I want to describe Hall's ideas about identity taken from *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* as seen in the quotation below:

"In this essay, Hall suggests that there are primary two different ways that one can think about identity. Identity can be defined in relation to a "shared culture"; specifically, identity reflects the shared historical experiences and cultural constructs which give us a stable "frame of reference" admits political and historical shifts. But identity, even though rooted in a shared cultural experience, also is based upon individuality – the notion that everyone is "different" and "unique" in some way. This distinction proves to be very helpful when discussing postcolonial literature because, as Hall points out, the identities of postcolonial subjects belong to a historical communal identities as well as they are becoming something new as they interact with and are influenced by other cultures" (Hall, 1993, p. 392).

From the above quotation, we can say that there are two kinds of identity. First is the identity as being (which offers a sense of unity and commonality) and identity as becoming (or a process of identification, which shows the discontinuity in our identity formation). Moreover Identities are the names we give the different ways: we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narratives of the past (http://www.eng.fju.edu.tw/Literary_Criticism/postcolonism/Hall.html).

Hall describes that the black people aren't objects that can be played like dolls, but he believes that the blacks can exist in a society:

"Blacks are not puppets attached by strings to some set of issues defined as 'black problems.' They form a natural minority in any cross-section of opinion. They are crucially affected by everything, which affects the rest of the society - education, welfare, common market, law and order. They have a right to access when these questions are being discussed" (<http://www.chronicleworld.org/tomsite/.html>).

He also gives a brief explanation about the 'identity' itself. It can be seen in the quotation below:

"As Hall points out, when dealing with the term identity, we cannot rely on a concept of some originary, essentialist identity about which there is a core "sameness" throughout time. The process is not one of revealing an already extant and secure identification with another person or group or set of ideals. We do not have something that merely entails the rediscovery of a "true" identity that reflects histories, experiences and cultural frames of reference held in common. What Hall posits as crucial to developing a politically efficacious concept of identity is something quite different: a process of narrating one's self in which the procedures of the narration are themselves foregrounded and their necessarily fictional status is placed under scrutiny. (When I say "fictional" I have no wish to suggest that these

narrational procedures are somehow without material effect in people's everyday lives; on the contrary, it is in examining the discursive structures through which an identity is pieced together that we begin to comprehend exactly how these fictive constructions can translate into real power.) This account of identity is based less in re-discovering or uncovering "authentic" histories and identities, than in locating a sense of identity in the process itself of retelling those histories.

Considering the issue of identity from this viewpoint involves analyzing the modes of discourse within which histories are told, as much as those histories themselves. It entails, as Hall argues, "not an essence but a positioning"; that is, it involves coming to terms with identity as something unstable, never quite graspable, at once a "being" and a "becoming" (<http://www.newobservations.org/issues/124/robin/greeley.html>).

2.4 Deconstruction

I use 'deconstruction' as my method of analyzing this thesis. Now, I give a brief explanation of this method. Jacques Derrida developed deconstruction as a technique for uncovering the multiple interpretations of texts. Influenced by Heidegger and Nietzsche, Derrida suggests that all text has ambiguity and because of this the possibility of a final and complete interpretation is impossible. For Derrida, language or 'texts' are not a natural reflection of the world. Text structures are our interpretation of the world. Following Heidegger, Derrida thinks that language shapes us: texts create a clearing that we understand as reality. Derrida sees the history of western thought as based on opposition: good vs. evil mind vs. matter, man vs. woman, speech vs. writing. These oppositions are defined hierarchically: the second term is seen as a corruption of the first, the terms are not equal opposites. Derrida thought that all text contained a legacy of these assumptions, and as a result of this, these texts could be re-interpreted with an awareness of the hierarchies implicit in language. Derrida does not think that we can reach an end point of interpretation, a truth. For Derrida all texts exhibit 'difference': they allow multiple interpretations. Meaning is diffuse, not settled. Textuality always gives us a surplus of possibilities, yet we cannot stand outside of textuality in an attempt to find objectivity.

Derrida, however, the text should be seen as an endless stream of signifiers, with words only pointing to other words, without any final meaning. Such a view rejects concepts such as common sense and reason as merely ordering-strategies that the reader imposes on literature: the reader wants to pull the text into his or her own frame of reference. Writers also attempt to impose ordering strategies on language, but these always prove inadequate. The form of criticism that emerges such thinking is referred to as deconstruction. Deconstruction, which originates with Derrida, and which was taken up primarily by American critic such as J. Hillis Miller, is a rather less broadly-based outgrowth of structuralism. It is, at the same time, more overtly skeptical, tending to expose all the tactics any writer employs to marshal experience, and working with an idea of the impossibility of language achieving any kind of coherent engagement with the world. One consequence of deconstruction is that certainty in textual analysis becomes impossible. There may be competing interpretations, but there is no uninterpreted way one could assess the validity of these competing interpretations. Rather than basing our philosophical understanding on undeniable truths, the deconstructionist turns the settled bedrock of rationalism into the shifting sands of a multiplicity of interpretations (<http://www.philosopher.org.uk/poststr.html>).

Deconstruction, based on the work of Derrida aims to show that any and every text inevitably undermines its own claims to determine a definite meaning. Thus the lack of meaning sabotages any attempts to form a definite conclusion within a text. This raises the concept of the lack of closure within the text. However, deconstruction exists as the most influential feature of post structuralism because it dictates a new kind of reading that is the actual application of post structuralism theories. In *The Critique of Difference* (1981), Johnson suggests that:

"Deconstruction is not synonymous with 'destruction', however. It is in fact much closer to the original meaning of the word analysis itself, which etymologically means 'to undo'- a virtual synonym for 'to deconstruct'. The deconstruction of a text does not proceed by random doubt or arbitrary subversion, but by the careful teasing out of warring forces of signification within the text itself. If anything is destroyed in a deconstructive reading, it is not the text, but the claim to unequivocal domination of one mode of signifying over another. A deconstructive reading is a reading which analyses the specificity of a text's critical difference from itself" (p. 32).

A deconstructive reading is a sort of double reading; it acknowledges the way in which the writer attempts to order things, but then points to the contradictions and problems in the text, the complications that the writer cannot pull into her or his system. The critic's own response, however, can also be deconstructed, for the critic, too, is involved in trying to create coherence where none exists. Derrida's method is to look closely at individual texts, searching for the contradictions and, particularly in his studies of philosophical writing, the gap in what appears to be a logical argument.

He is fully aware, however, that his own readings can be deconstructed, for all readings are misreading in that they impose ordering-strategies. The standard ordering strategy for Western culture is the organization of our thoughts in binary pairs (for example, good and evil, black and white, man and woman). Derrida draws attention to the presence of, and inadequacy of, such an ordering strategy in texts but, as already suggested, is aware that his own text is likely to betray a similar dependency upon binary pairs in order to create a coherent case. The analysis of a text reveals what Derrida called 'dissemination' and 'trace'. Dissemination is used to describe the scattering or dispersal of meaning, whilst trace represents the absence of a signifier in a sign. Derrida's deconstructive theory displaces the traditional 'violent hierarchy' of speech over writing by suggesting that they are both forms of one science of language, grammatology (<http://www.swin.edu.au/sbs/media/gallery/david/pg1.html>).

2.5 Blacks as the Weak

In the early eighteen-century, the whites had more power than the blacks. The whites felt very superior to other races in the world. As a result of this condition, they used their power to control and dominate the blacks. In the slave era, the whites built a plantation and needed many workers to do the work in the plantation. The whites had captured and brought millions of black people from Africa by boat then forced them to work in the whites' plantation as slaves. The blacks were brought to America by boat and they were sold as slaves in the slave market. In addition to this condition, Kovits (1941) illustrates:

"Roughly speaking, the six to twelve million Negro slaves brought to America came from that part of the West Coast of Africa between the Senegal and Congo rivers. True enough these West Coast slave markets did in turn obtain some slaves from far in the interior of the continent, but the principal markets were about the mouths of the Senegal, Gambia, Niger and Congo, and the majority of the blacks were obtained from this West Coast region" (p. 41).

As slaves, the blacks suffered a lot of pains; they were forced to do the work in the whites' plantation without being paid. If they refused to work, they would receive punishments. They had to receive some unkind treatment from their master and as reported by Kovits (1941):

"The slave if he is indisposed to work and especially if he is not treated well, or does not like the master who hired him, will sham sickness – even make himself sick or lame – that he need not work. But a more serious loss frequently arises, when the slave, thinking he is worked too hard, or being angered by punishment or unkind treatment, "getting the sulks," takes to "the swamp," and comes back when he has a mind to. Often this will not be till the year is up for which he is engaged, when he will return to his owner, who, glad to find his property safe, and that it has not died in the swamp, or gone to Canada, forgets to punish him, and immediately sends him for another year to a new master" (p. 101-2).

In the early eighteen-century, the whites had more power than the blacks. The whites felt very superior to other races in the world. As a result of this condition, they used their power to control and dominate the blacks. I think the whites that have a lot of power had exploited the black people by collecting them from Africa and made them to

become slaves. They were also being forced to work and receive some unkind treatment and punishments. They had to accept this condition because they didn't have any power and courage to be free from the whites' domination. That's the reason why the whites represented the blacks as the weak.

I say that the main factor that divides the whites from the blacks is the blacks were powerless at that time. The whites that have a greater power and position can easily control and dominate the blacks. As Nearing (1969) stated, "The deepest race lines were those which separate the Negroes from the whites: because the two races were so obviously different; because the Negroes were slaves; because they were so numerous; because the marks of race difference persist, in one generation after another" (p. 151). I believe that the blacks also suffered jobs discrimination. After they were free from slavery, they tried to work in the field as farmers. In the era of the Great Migration, many blacks gave up their jobs and tried to find better jobs and positions in the cities. They wanted to get a job in the industrial companies where they could earn more money. However, many industrialists in the South were the whites and they controlled almost all of the power of the industrial companies. And the whites also controlled the strategic centers of economic power such as railroad, textile, steel, lumber, manufacturing, building and banking. The whites had closed the blacks' opportunity to get better jobs and positions in the South. As a result of this condition, the blacks only worked as labors in the factories that gave them little salary.

The whites had controlled the economical power in the South and the blacks were being dominated by them and as reported by Nearing (1969) "The South was a white man's country where Negroes work under the whites' supervision" (p. 65). Many black people only worked as building workers, mechanics, artisans, and craftsmen. The

whites held the power of the offices and factories in the South so the blacks only became their workers. The blacks worked as blue-collar workers-people who worked as labors in the factories. The whites prohibited the blacks to work as white-collar workers-people who worked as employees in the offices. And Duncan (1922) also believed, "The Negro masses were being held to the lowest, most menial occupations. The Negro had room at the bottom but no fixed industrial status" (p. 82).

The whites owned many industrial companies and offices; they closed the blacks' opportunity to apply better jobs and positions. Several careful industrial surveys made by the urban league show a sharp division of policy between employers on the question of employing blacks labors. I believe that the whites didn't want to employ the blacks in their company as they were used to be slaves. The whites only employed the blacks to do the work in the factories as labors and paid them with very little salary and as added by Nearing (1969) "In many important plants Negro workers were excluded merely because we didn't hire Negro help. Generally where Negroes were hired they do dirty work" (p. 80). The opportunity of finding better jobs and positions for the blacks in the South was very hard since the whites had held the economical power in the South.

As a result, it was very rare to see the black people that worked in the offices and stores owned by the whites. And Thomas also (1926) stated:

"There was probably not a Negro bookkeeper, stenographer, 'honest-to-goodness' clerk in the whole south, employed other than by his own race; not a Negro supervisor in the post office, for however long the Negro might work in the post office and regardless of how efficient he might be, he did not get beyond the position of clerk; no street car conductors or motormen, telephone and switchboard operators" (p. 49).

The next quotation below was an example of a case in which the blacks could not work in the whites' stores as a salesperson. This example described a woman with fair

skin that was fired from her jobs, after the manager of the department store had found out that she was a Negro. As Nearing (1969) illustrated:

"A Negro woman, graduate of a southern college, applied for a job in a Chicago department store. She was very fair, and as she did not state that she was a Negro, the employment department never suspected it. Within two months this woman had the best sales record of any one in the department. At the end of four years, she stood out as one of the most efficient saleswomen in the entire store. One morning she was called into the manager's office at three minutes of nine. At two minutes after nine she was leaving the store - dismissed. The management had discovered that the woman was of Negro extraction" (p. 79).

Many black people were working as labors in the South at that time. Not only men but also women were working in the factories. As we see from the pictures below, many black men and women in Chicago worked in the factories where they did a lot of hard work and received very little salary. The blacks in Chicago also worked under the white's control. The condition of the black people worked as labors in the South also happened in Chicago as can be seen in the pictures in the next page (taken from *Scott Nearing, Black America*, 1969, pp.99-100):

Picture 1 Negroes on The Job

BLACK AMERICA



31. Negroes waiting and standing outside in leather boots
January, Chicago.



32. Negroes working on belt knife-shaping machine.
Chicago.

NEGROES ON THE JOB



33. Negro workers on rubber-gluing machine, Chicago.



34. Negro women workers assembling food containers
at factory, Chicago.

I would like to conclude that the whites had limited the blacks' opportunity to get better jobs and positions in the South, especially in Chicago. The blacks could only work as laborers and they continued to be controlled by the whites. This condition made the blacks become more miserable. As a result of their jobs as laborers, the black people only earned very little money. And the money wasn't enough to fulfill all of their needs, such as in housing and education.

2.6 Blacks as the Bad

The whites also discriminated the blacks in the color line. The whites felt that they have a higher status and the blacks were considered to have a lower status. This condition happened in the United States long time ago, where many of its citizens were white people. The whites didn't want to live together and mix with the blacks because their skin color was black. I think that the whites had discriminated in the color line and also in the social status and as said by Nearing (1969):

"On one side of this line men are white – and superior. On the other side they are colored – and inferior. That is the next, logical step. First people are separated according to the skin color. Then, those with colored skins are racially inferior. The belief in white racial superiority is one of the most deep-seated and generally accepted of all the ideas held by the people of the United States" (p. 150).

I think the whites also believe that the color 'black' has negative meanings. With this perception, the whites always thought that the blacks could bring them into a big trouble. So, the whites didn't want to live together with the blacks. In addition to negative meanings of the color 'black', Moore (1995) adds:

"The symbolism of white as positive and blacks as negative is pervasive in our culture, with the black/white words used in the beginning of this essay only one of the many aspects. "Good guys" wear white hats and ride white horse, "bad guys" wear black hats and ride black horses. Angels are white, and devils are black. The definition of *black* includes "without any moral light or goodness, evil, wicked,

indicating disgrace, sinful," while the white includes "morally pure, spotless, innocent, free from evil intent" (p. 378).

Furthermore, the whites had believed in some connotation of the color 'black'.

So, they always considered the color of 'black' in negative meanings. The whites also considered the color 'black' had a connection with the black people's attitudes. And Johnson also (1922) admits:

"Along with the advantageous social position of the mulatto there has been a pronounced disadvantage for blacks in ideological heritage of the society generally. The concept of blackness has held, in the popular mind, an unfavorable connotation. 'Black is evil', 'black as sin', black as the devil, are phrases which suggest the emotional and aesthetic implications of the association. The evil and ugliness of blackness have long been contrasted in popular thinking with the goodness and purity of the whiteness. Whether with respect to men or things this color association has been deeply meaningful; it is an inescapable element of the cultural heritage" (p. 257).

The whites also created some bad names for the blacks. These names were created in order to insult the black people. I believe that the whites used these names in every day conversation with the blacks. On the contrary, the blacks have to respect the whites by calling their names with polite manner. They weren't allowed to call the whites with bad names and as illustrated by Ayers (1992):

"Whites never addressed black men they did not know as "mister", but rather as "boy", "Jack", or "George"; black women were never called "Mrs.," but rather "aunt" or their first name. A black person, regardless of age and gender, was referred to in white newspaper accounts as simply a "Negro," as in "two men and two women were killed, and four Negroes." The epithets "nigger" and "darky" were commonly used even in the presence of Negroes, though it was usually well known that Negroes found them insulting" (p. 132).

In conclusion, the whites with their higher status continued to dominate the blacks. They also discriminated the black people based on the color line. Moreover, the whites also believed that the color of 'black' had negative images that connected with the attitudes of the blacks. They created some bad names for the blacks and they felt very insulted with these names. This condition had made the blacks more suffered and couldn't free from the whites' discrimination.

2.7 Blacks as the Uneducated

As I have mentioned above, the whites had controlled the economical power in the South and the blacks only worked as labors with very little salary. As a result of this condition, many black people didn't have enough money to send their children to school. At that time, many black families were very poor and they couldn't afford to send their children to school. So, some black children in the South were uneducated. On the other hand, the upper class black families that could afford to send their children to school also faced the whites' discrimination; they must study in separate schools.

If the blacks went to school, they would be smart and their social status would be higher than the whites. The whites didn't want the blacks to have a higher status because they wanted to continue to control and dominate the blacks. As a result of the whites' discrimination in schools, many black children couldn't enter schools provided with a complete facility. Black children only have an opportunity to enter kindergarten schools. If they wanted to continue their study, it would be very hard since the white's domination in the South was very strong. As Nearing (1969) said, "Opportunities for the higher education of Negroes were even less abundant than those for elementary education. Educationally the South punished children who are born black" (p. 64).

I add that some black children might only have little education that didn't give any improvement for their future. Furthermore, many blacks' schools weren't in a good condition as they lacked of funds and as reported by Nearing (1969):

"Numerous studies and comments had been made on the educational discrimination, which was systematically carried on against the Negro in favor of the white throughout the south. With the segregated schools and with inadequate school funds, Negro boys and girls were fortunate if they were able to attend the elementary schools. High school and college training was beyond the reach of vast majority" (p. 61).

I believe that many black schools are in a poor condition if it is compared with the whites' schools. Since the whites controlled the power in the South, only small amounts of money were spent for the blacks' schools. The whites' school building was in a nice building, while the blacks' school was in a poor building. And Woofter also (1928) summed up about educational facilities in the South:

"School funds were not adequate to meet the needs, either in the North or in the South. The South, however, is not only poorer than the north but also less disposed to distribute such funds as are available according to the school population. The Negro schools are secondary consideration. In comparison with schools for white children they have fewer seats in proportion to the school population, more pupils per teacher, more double sessions, fewer teachers, poorer salaries, fewer and smaller playgrounds, and less adequate provision for the health and comfort of pupils and teacher" (p. 201).

As we see from the pictures below, the first pictures described the segregated schools that were created by the whites especially for the blacks, as they didn't want to study in the same schools with the blacks. The second pictures illustrated the blacks' schools made from the logs of woods. Schools for the blacks usually located in an isolated areas in which the room was damp, has little space and light also lack of school's equipment. The condition of the blacks' school buildings in Chicago were clearly seen in the pictures below (taken from *James R. Grossman, Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration*, 1989, pp.248-249):

Picture 2 Negroes' Schools



Mosley School in Chicago (source: *CCRK Negro in Chicago*, 242).



A black school in the rural South (courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

I want to sum up that the education for the black people at that time in the South was very hard to gain, especially for the poor families. Furthermore, for the upper class black families that could afford to send their children to school; they also must face the whites' discrimination. They had to study in the blacks' schools, separately from the whites. In the South, the whites also limited the fund for blacks schools and as a result of this condition, many blacks' schools lack of teachers and schools' equipments.

2.8 Blacks as the Isolated

In the South, the whites' domination in the economical power had given a bad impact to the black people. The most effect was the blacks couldn't afford to buy a nice house with little salary that they received from their jobs as labors. The whites also produce a system that was called *segregation*. According to Hornby (1995), segregation is the action of separating a group of people from the rest of community, especially because of their race or religion and treats them differently. I believe that segregation could make the blacks more isolated from the outside world. As Nearing (1969) emphasizes, "Segregation was used to force Negroes into separate organizations and groups" (p. 163). This system was used to isolate the blacks from the whites' neighborhood.

As a result of segregation, the blacks couldn't live in the whites' community and many of them lived in a poor neighborhood. In addition to this condition, the blacks also faced problems in social relationship with the whites. The whites didn't want to have any kind of relationship with the blacks and the blacks become more and more isolated. According to the segregation principal, the blacks could only spend their time with other black, except when they were working with the whites. The whites didn't want the black

people to enter their neighborhood and try to avoid making any relationship with them. The whites' segregation made the blacks couldn't exist as an identity in the whites' community.

Many black people lived in poor houses because they didn't have enough money to buy a nice house or rent an apartment for their families. The houses of the black people were usually small, without any electricity, lack of sunshine, with no garden, bathroom, living room, and lack of furniture and as illustrated by Nearing (1969):

"The Negro shanties built of logs in a few cases and of wood in most instances, were usually unpainted, old, out of repair, squalid, lacking modern convenience, unsupplied with the simplest necessities such as running water, adequate toilet facilities, heating facilities and the like. These were typical instances that gave a fair picture of the housing of the Southern Negro masses that lived in the southern communities" (p. 59).

Furthermore, the Chicago South Side on race relations reported the result of a thorough going investigation of Negro housing. I believe that the many blacks' houses didn't have some facilities that were needed by the black people, such as kitchen, bedrooms, etc. And Johnson also (1922) believed:

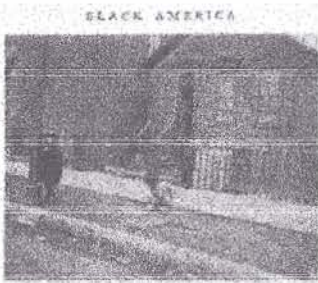
"On the South Side, where most of the Negro population lives, the low quality of housing was widespread, although there were some houses of a better grade which were greatly in demand. The ordinary conveniences considered necessities by the average of white citizens often lacking. Bathrooms were often missing. Gas lighting was common and electric lighting a rarity. Wood or coal stoves commonly did heating, and furnaces were rather exceptional; when the furnaces were present, they were sometimes out of commission. Under the heading of the housing conditions such notation as these were often found: no gas, bath or toilet. Plumbing was very bad, toilet leaked; bowl broke, leaked in the kitchen sink, soggy and wet all the time. Plastering off in front room. General appearance was very bad inside and out. This was the common situation of the dweller in the districts mentioned" (pp. 152-153).

I want to add that poor housing gives bad effects for black children. First, they couldn't play around with limited space inside their house. Second, they couldn't study without any electricity. Third, they couldn't eat healthy food that contained lots of vitamin. Finally, they couldn't buy some toys, candies, chocolates, etc. This condition had made the black children become more isolated. And as said by Nearing (1969):

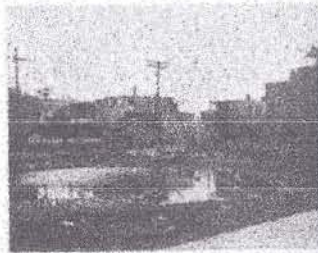
"When Negro mothers and fathers moved to industrial areas their children grow to adulthood surrounded by physical and social conditions of a very low order. Instead of securing from society the best that life had to give, these Negro children literally received life's worst. They were lack of sunshine, fresh air, sanitation, cleanliness, play space and normal recreation. They were outcasts, living in the least desirable parts of town, in the poorest houses, subject to the most intense exploitation. From infancy these children felt the pressure of objection" (p. 123).

The condition of the poor housing also happened in Chicago. Many black parents in Chicago also worked as labors with very little salary and they didn't have enough money to buy nice houses for their families. Many black people in South Chicago lived in the slum areas. It could be seen in the following pictures (taken from *Scott Nearing, Black America*, 1969, pp.133-135):

Picture 3 Negroes' Housing



3. Negro children making mud pies in South Chicago slum.



4. Where Negro children live and play in South Chicago.

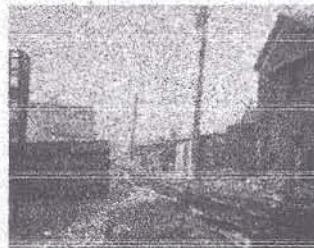


5. Negro backyard in South Chicago.

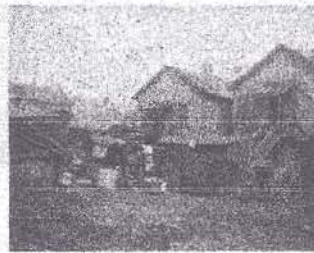


6. Negro boy in front of Negro house in South Chicago.

NEGROES IN INDUSTRIAL CENTERS



7. Alley in Negro quarter of South Chicago.



8. Negro house in South Chicago.

NEGROES IN INDUSTRIAL CENTERS

As we seen from the pictures above taken from *Black America*, we can see that black children really isolated from the whites' community. They could only play with other black children. Their house were located in the area where its lack of sanitary. This condition gave them a bad impact: they couldn't grow like any other children; they weren't happy and free.

I believe that in the South, the whites also discriminated the blacks in social relationships. The whites didn't want to have any kind of relationship with the blacks; they didn't want to talk to them. The blacks couldn't enter to the whites' neighborhood or bother the whites. They couldn't talk with the whites but only with their own race. And Nearing also (1969) reported:

"Little needs to be said for the social position of the southern Negro. He was a field hand. He was a servant. Even where he had become a skilled mechanic, a businessman or a professional man, he was treated as though he were still doing menial work. The Negro, in the south, was a member of a subject, exploited race, universally denied equality by the whites. Negro children grew up with the fact of their inferiority constantly thrown in their faces" (p. 64).

The black people were usually excluded from social gatherings. The blacks could not participate in more or less formal social relationship, such as those involved in outings, excursions, summer camps, recreation centers, and receptions. If they tried to enter the whites' community or bothered the whites, the whites had prepared a punishment for them. This punishment was used to make the blacks to obey the segregation principal and stay away from the whites' community. This punishment was known as lynching.

I say that lynching was a very cruel action done by the whites toward the black people. The whites did it by hanging the blacks in the tree or burning the blacks in the crowded places, like in the street where other people could see it. As Nearing (1969) said:

"Lynch law was the method by which discrimination and segregation were enforced against recalcitrant members of the black race. White mob law in its dealings with Negroes had contigued past the political and economic frontier to the frontier of race relations. It was the means by which the dominant white population of the united states, and particularly of the south, forced its will upon those members of the inferior black population who dared to question or threaten white supremacy. Mob rule in the case of the Negro ordinarily took the form of lynching. Lynching were frequently advertised in advance and staged in public places" (p. 197).

I want to add that lynching was very inhumanity because it was done by a group of whites without any legal law and as stated by Cutler (1969) "A lynching might be defined as an illegal and summary execution at the hands of a mob, or a number of persons, who had in some degree the public opinion of the community behind them." (p. 276).

However, no attempt was made to punish the people that did the lynching, even in the states that had laws that prohibited lynching. The whites often did lynching to punish the blacks that broke the segregation principal and bothered the whites. As a result of lynching, it gives bad effects to the black community. The blacks were afraid to go outside and walk freely in the street. Moreover for the black children, it could cause them to suffer a trauma. And Johnson also (1922) reports:

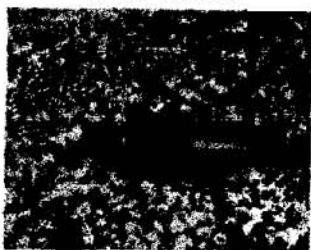
"During and shortly after a lynching the Negro community lives in terror. Negroes remain at home and out of sight. When the white community quiets down, the Negroes back to their usual occupations. The incident is not forgotten, but the routine of the plantation does on. The lynching, in fact, is part of the routine...the effect on children is profound and permanent. After a time the Negro community returns to 'normal'. Life goes on, but Negro youth 'let the white folks tend to their business'. Contact with whites is avoided as far as possible. The youth may work for white people but intimacy is avoided. The Negro servant or laborer continues friendly to his employers. The employers may be liked and regarded as 'good white folks', but ultimate trust is held in abeyance" (pp. 317-318).

The whites often did lynching and many blacks became the victims of this action. I want to describe the lynching that happened in many areas in the South. I take these pictures from the lynching that happened in Chicago, Texas, and Mississippi. As we seen from the pictures in the next page, we can see that lynching was very cruel. It

was done in the form of hanging and burning people. Many victims of lynching are mostly black people. Lynching is very inhumanity since it is an illegal action done by the whites to express their discrimination towards the blacks. The blacks continued to be tortured and became the whites' victims. Lynching is very cruel as can be seen in the pictures below (taken from *Scott Nearing, Black America, 1969, pp.190, 193, 195*):

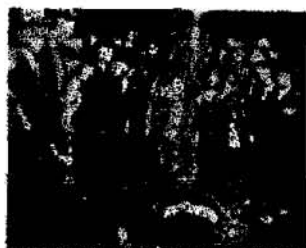
Picture 4 Negroes' Lynching

BLACK AMERICA



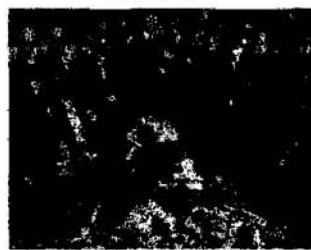
1. The Negroes sit and the white waiting for the action in Wood, Texas.

LYNCH LAW



2. A mobster's hangover. Eyes as a prey.

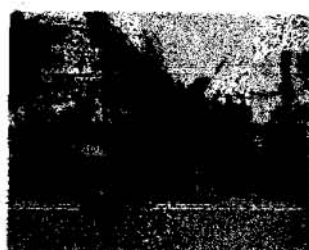
LYNCH LAW



3. White mob crawling over its dead nation. Death as a death in Mississippi.



4. The Negroes burned for a night.



5. Burned at the stake, County, Texas.



6. Negro stoned to death by whites in Chicago race riot.

Another matter happened besides lynching was the incident that broke between the whites and the blacks when they both had a fight. The fighting between the whites and the blacks mostly led to race riot or race war. I think that race riot or race war wasn't good. First, many people from both sides would become innocent victims. Second, it could bring many people to lose lots of things, for instance, their house became ruin. Finally, many children would lose their parents and became an orphan.

The race riot mostly happened in South where lots of black people after the Great Migration went to the cities to look for better job and then they decided to live there. The majority of the blacks tended to live in the Southern community, especially in

Chicago. In Chicago, the white had more power and they dominated and discriminated the blacks. I would like to describe the race riot happened in Chicago long time ago. The race riot in Chicago started casually enough. The quotation below was an example of the race riot happened in Chicago and as illustrated by Nearing (1969):

"White and Negroes were bathing in lake Michigan on two beaches in the neighborhood of Twenty-ninth Street, south side. The races kept apart, the white using the northern beach and the Negroes the southern. There was no official segregation, but the separation took place by common consent. Sunday afternoon, July 27, four Negroes walked through the bathing beach and started into water. White men ordered them to leave. There was a discussion and some stones were thrown. The Negroes went back to their own beach, returned with reinforcements and the conflict continued. A seventeen-year-old Negro boy had left the Negro bathing beach and was swimming opposite the beach on which the whites were bathing. During the stone throwing he apparently became frightened and instead of swimming back to the Negro beach, got hold of a piece of wood stayed out of stone range in deep water. A white man started to swim toward the Negro boy. The latter he let go his hold of the piece of wood, took a few strokes and went down. There was no evidence that the whites hit the Negro boy with a stone. Several Negroes, however, charged that he had been struck by a stone and pointed out a white man who had been throwing at him. The white policeman refused to arrest the white man charged with stoning the Negro boy. White and Negroes joined in diving for the boy's body. There was excited talk and a crowd of Negroes gathered as news spread that a Negro boy had been stoned to death. A group of police appeared and in the course of a conflict with the crowd of Negroes, a member of the crowd shot a Negro policeman. The Negro policeman drew his own revolver and killed his assailant. The Sunday afternoon the Negro crowd at Twenty-ninth Street beat 4 white men, stabbed 5 others and shot 1. Further west during the evening white crowds beat 27 Negroes, stabbed 7, shot 4. Monday morning in Chicago went to work as usual, but during the afternoon Negroes on their way home from the work were dragged from the cars and mobbed by the whites. During these attacks 4 Negroes and 1 white were killed and 30 Negro men were severely beaten. Negro mobs were also active. In the course of evening they stabbed 6 white men, shot 5 others, severely beat 9 and killed 4. On the same evening there was a clash with the police who fired into the mob. Four Negroes were killed and many injured. "At this point Monday night, both white and Negroes showed signs of panic. Each race grouped by itself. Small mobs began systematically, in various neighborhoods, to terrorize and kill" (p. 209).

In conclusion, the whites' residential segregation has made the blacks become isolated. As a result of this condition, the blacks lived in poor housing, in the slum areas. The whites also isolated the blacks in making social relationship. If they tried to fight the whites' system, they would receive a punishment in the form of lynching. Lynching was made by the whites in order to punish the blacks that disobeyed the whites' segregation system and bothered the whites.