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Social

ESSAY ON HUMAN (RACE RELATIONS) IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

This essay speaks to the context of domination and subordination in particular as it pertains to White Supremacy/White Privilege as manifested in the history of slavery and "Jim Crow" in the United States. It is within this historical context one can discern the present status of race relations in the United States that continues to foster race discrimination through the policies of the ethnic majority (white) power structure, e.g.-institutional racism, voter suppression laws, gerrymandering of voter districts and banking policies to name a few areas.

The research of books, papers, television interviews and personal experiences provides a testament to present government policies that endeavor to maintain a social construct of dominance and subordination by the white power structure in the United States.

Keywords: White Supremacy; White Power; Social Construct, Dominance; Subordination; "Jim Crow" Segregation; Institutional Racism; Slavery; Race Discrimination.

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1. Introduction

Bill O'Reilly, TV Commentator and Author recently released a video espousing his views on problems in minority community's which is being circulated via social media. While I agree with a portion of his analysis, however, I take issue with the majority of his statements which I find ill founded.

The Statement about teen-age pregnancies and out of wedlock babies is certainly a major problem that needs to be addressed as well as the absence of a father figure in the homes certainly is a cause of dysfunctional families. Mr. O' Reilly criticizes Minority leader's for not speaking out on these issues, particularly reverend Jesse Jackson who did address these very same issues (circa 1968). I recall a speech he made and the words he used, "Babies having babies"-Check it out.

So I am writing this essay to provide information on Race Relations and place it into a policy perspective for public discourse.

In research and writing articles, the writer searches for facts to reaffirm his or her beliefs. We take parts of records or documents and develop an argument to defend our position. It is in this context that this essay is written.

The concept of domination which is the main theme of this essay as a social construct will be examined in the following paragraph.

2. Domination and Subordination as a Social Construct

Dominance and subordination is a set of behaviors, customs and rituals involving the submission of one person or group to another. Those who take superior positions are referred to as dominants and those who take subordinate positions are called submissives. The inner conflict and surrender of the connection with dominance and submission are enduring themes in human culture and civilizations, (Wikipedia).

Dominance for the intent of this essay is to put it into the context of dominance (power) in a culturally diverse society by the ruling class, their beliefs, ideologies, explanations, perceptions, and mores that are imposed on society and become the accepted cultural norm (Wikipedia).

The chart below will reference several categories particularly regarding ethnicity, which is described as the state of belonging to a social group that has a common or natural origin; in economics, the haves and have mores refer to the wealthiest 1% in the country that control the majority of wealth; In religion Protestants are the majority religious group; Gender-male dominance is a well-known fact and sexual preference regarding heterosexuals vs. non-heterosexuals is a continuing issue.

The definition of a social construct in simple terms is a way of looking at a social phenomenon of creating, institutionalizing a tradition by mankind and in this case I refer to Dominant vs. Subordinate (Power) application. The following chart represents several examples:

Category	Dominant	Subordinate
Economic	Have-Have Mores	Have Not's
Ethnicity	Majority (Whites)	Minorities
Religion	Protestants	Non-Protestants
Gender	Male	Female
Sexual Preference	Heterosexual	Non- Heterosexuals

The Ideology of Racism as a basis for economic reasons that attempt to legitimatize White Supremacy/White Privilege will be explored in the next section.

3. Racism-White Supremacy/White Privilege

3.1. Overview

Given the concept of domination as presented in the previous section, I will endeavor to state the causes of the problems inherent in minority communities, such as the legacy of slavery,

institutional racism and the breakdowns of minority neighborhoods, economic inequality, the lack of educational opportunities and a host of other factors.

3.2. The legacy of Slavery

The United States in its infancy became an economic slave society (circa1600's). The economic dependency of the country was an economic society based on the subjugation of humans (slavery) and was referred to as the "original sin" of the country. Without going into the details of this slavery policy based on economics and its practices, we must look at the results slavery has left on the nation and its impact on minorities and the community's in which they live.

I reference the fact that the narrative following this practice of slavery which has its roots in economics was to legitimatize the practice of slavery and has driven the nation's policies and practices to dominate minority populations and that concept is "WHITE SUPREMACY/WHITE PRIVILEGE" and then this ideology evolved into the policies of segregation. And "Jim Crow".

Bryan Stevenson, author in an interview on the Fareed Zakaria, TV Program (7 24/16) provided his views on racial differences in the US.

He feels that the narrative of racial differences in the country is something we have not confronted. He feels that the history of racial inequality is a pollution which he explains in the following context of domination.

Millions of Native Americans were killed by white settlers in the expansion of the west (circa 1870's) and slavery with all its evil presented a narrative of racial difference that was to legitimize slavery that developed into the ideology of white supremacy/white privilege and fostered the polices of segregation and "Jim crow".

The following information and facts attempt to clarify this practice that has subjugated and marginalized minority populations-a perfect example is the plight of Native Americans., which is for another paper.

The disintegration of Black neighborhoods is relevant to the conversation of race in America and must be placed in a historical perspective to provide an overlooked factor which will be reviewed in the next section.

3.3. Historical Context of Black Neighborhoods

One must look at the historical structure of the Black Community. The common history of this community provided a mechanism whereby race rather than social class was the basis for interaction in the Black community.

Even though there were lower and middle class sections in the inner-city areas the Black middle class tended to serve the lower class. Before the mid-1970 (post slavery) single parent families were not a dominant form as households were headed by widowed, separated or divorced adult women rather than unwed mothers.

Inner- city communities displayed social organizations in the form of a "sense of community", positive neighborhood identification, and explicit forms and sanctions of aberrant behavior".

After the civil rights movement (circa 1960'S), POVERTY, created the context for social dislocation in the presence of antidiscrimination and affirmative action, which gave rise to increases in Black unwed mothers and teen births. Changes in the American economy creating high rates of Black unemployment and the exodus of the Black middle class have contributed to the increasing poverty in the Inner-city. (Poverty in the Inner-City and Institutional Racism Contributing to the Poverty of Blacks-Winters, Paul and Loretta Winters-Wikipedia 1/13)

The practices of institutional racism are germane to the conversation and will be revealed in the next section.

4. Institutional Racism

Institutional Racism is a pattern of social institutions, such as government agencies, schools, banks and courts of law giving negative treatment to a people based on their race which lead to inequality.

(Wikipedia)

5. Structural (Systemic) Issues

Charles Blow an author and a New York Times Op-ed writer was recently interviewed on the Charlie Rose TV Program (7/12/16)

Following the police shooting in Dallas, Texas.

He offered his observations on the program as to the overall problems of race relations and their causes in the country particularly in the context of the recent shooting of police officers by minorities and police officers shooting minorities which is the reason for conflicts between law enforcement and minority communities. He suggests that there two forces at work in this context are happening simultaneously:

An interpersonal Racism bias that are intrinsic whether we are aware of them or not poses conflict when people are in contact with each other and other forces which is happening at the same time are the systemic forces of racism (institutional) and they come into conflict. Some of these systemic issues are noted below:

- 1) Income inequality-Income inequality is for all intents and purposes is defined as the disparate income distribution among Americans where the top one percent of the population (Haves) own more than forty percent of the country's wealth. This disparity has impacted the minority community (have not's) the hardest.
- 2) Bank Lending Policies- Banks enacted a policy of redlining districts particularly in innercity areas that cut these areas off from financial services. In addition, banks in 2008 engaged in predatory lending practices that maximized their profits thru high transaction fees which boosted their profits at the expense of the poorest Americans.

Family Structure- Single parent families are characterized as families with children under the age of eighteen, headed by a parent who is widowed, divorced and not married.

Single parent families have a myriad of problems and face special Challenges, particularly economic. Social scientists have found that single parent families are disadvantaged when compared To two biological parent families which is acute in minority communities and are at risk in the following ways (a limited list)

Is listed as follows:

- -Lower levels of educational achievement
- -More likely to become teen-age parents
- -Twice as likely to drop out of school
- -More frequently to abuse drugs and alcohol
- -More high risk sexual behavior
- -Twice as likely to go to jail and participate in a violent crime (Bedell, Frederick, "Nobody Rises to Low Expectations" Xlibris 2014)

Statistics relevant to the topic, (Bedell, 2014):

Children in Single parent families-Wikipedi	a-2014
Non-Hispanic-White	25%
Hispanic	42%
American Indian/Native Alaskan	53%
Non-Hispanic Blacks	67%

- 3) Black Teen-Age Pregnancy-Teen age pregnancy cast as a social problem was believed to be the result of lower levels of education, welfare dependency and low paying jobs as well as health problems was a major concern for black teen age pregnancy in particular.
- 4) More importantly, the rate for minor Black teen age pregnancies have been falling for over a decade and reports indicate that POVERTY is a cause rather than the result of the pregnancy.
 - (Winters, Paul and Loretta)-Wikipedia.
- 5) Politics-In Nicholas Carnes book, "White Collar Government:
 - The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making", he
 - states the fact that only two percent of the members of Congress come from the majority of voters. Donald Matthews, a political scientist observed, "More than a quarter of a century ago almost every legislator is better educated, possess higher status occupations, and have more privileged backgrounds than the people they represent.
 - This information presents a view of how inequalities in the social class make-up of American political institutions affect public policy in the US, which is compounded by the lack of minority representation in Congress.
 - Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Pacific Islanders make up 17% of the Congress (2015) which is below this groups (38%) share of the nation's population (Wikipedia).
- 6) Lack of Educational Opportunity- The fortunes of birth unfortunately are a determinate factor in economic justice. It is even more relevant in the realm of education. In a recent article published in the New York Times, (4/28/13) written by Sean Readon, titled, "No Rich Child Left Behind", the author states,:" The Rich (Haves) perform better in school

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on average than children from middle class and poor families (have not's). His premise is money is a better predictor of success than race.

"The Cultural Zeist has changed" Said Peter Sachs the author of the book, "Tearing Down the Gates: Confronting the Class Divide in Education". He intimates, "that quality education has moved in the direction of the wealthy".

In a report from the Lumina Foundation (circa 2013) states that "The large and persistent achievement gap between races in the US is increasing as referenced by the table below:

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-60% of Asian adults have a college degree
-43% of White adults " " "
-17% of Black adults " " "
-19% of Latino adults " " "
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The study further indicates that whites and Asians are doing Better than their parents compared to Blacks and Hispanics.

7) Criminal/Juvenile Justice System- I wrote a White Paper that was sent to governor's office in the state of New York in1980 on specific practices that had a negative impact on minorities and their communities-Issues affecting Minorities by the Police and actions of the Criminal Justice System, which is included in this paper as an addendum.

I will highlight some of the issues in the paper-for more details please read the entire paper.

The purpose of the paper was to draw attention to the issues in the fields of the Juvenile and Criminal Justice Systems and their effect on minorities and their communities. Some of these issues are noted below:

- Minorities are over represented as members of the residential population in the prison system and underrepresented in the agencies that make policy for the criminal/juvenile systems.
- Minorities represent the largest group incarcerated for criminal activity (street crime) in the US, which is not proportional to the largest area of criminal activity engaged in by whites (white collar crime) and non-minorities are not incarcerated in proportion to minorities for their crimes.

Bryan Stevenson, author and guest on the Fareed Zakahia, TV Program (7/24/16 offered the following statistics on the incarceration rates in the US, "to wit", when the war on drugs (Circa 1970's), kicked in it accounts for the higher rate of incarceration in the country as the rate went from 300,000 to over 2.3 million by today's count. We have 5% of the world's population and 25% of the world's imprisonment population. In addition 6 million people are on probation and parole and there are 70 million Americans with criminal arrests.

The Department of Criminal Justice (2016) recently released the following information (prediction):

one in three Black male babies is expected to go to jail and

• one in six Latino babies are expected to go to jail.

It is evident that there is a wide discrepancy regarding who is arrested, prosecuted, sentenced, and incarcerated which has a major negative impression on minorities and their communities.

- 8) Infrastructure Decisions-When new housing programs are implemented more often than not minority housing is torn down to make way for the new. During the 1960's, there was a saying,-"Urban Renewal, Black removal".

 When new highways are put in place and street ways are planned as to traffic flow to get to and off highways, minority neighborhoods seem to be the targeted areas. These and practices and policies as presented have put minorities at risk for a healthful living environment.
- 9) The Voting Rights Act-The voting rights act, signed into law, by President Lyndon Johnson on August 6th, 1965 aimed to overcome legal barriers at the state and local levels that prevented African-Americans from exercising their right to vote under the 15th amendment (1870) to the constitution of the United States (Wikipedia).

North Carolina (circa 2013) passed a voting rights law requiring a photo ID, for all residents to vote, in addition the law eliminated some early voting days, ended same day registration and out of precinct voting and stopped pre-registration of 16-17 year olds in the state. It was obvious that the intent of the law was to blunt the growing clout of African-American voters.

Recently, (July, 2016) There was a unanimous decision by a three judge panel of the US Court of Appeals for the fourth circuit in North Carolina that struck down the discriminatory law. Similar decisions occurred in Texas and Wisconsin, (Washington Post.7/29/16)

It is obvious that the systems, Political, economic and social imposed on minority communities were to subjugate and marginalize them for the benefit of the majority ethnic group (White Supremacy/White Privilege).

6. Conclusions

The impact of institutional racism on minority communities was addressed by a case involving Kwame Ture vs. Charles V. Homella in "Black Power, Politics of Liberation (Wikipedia), the author states, "When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five children and when an white individual murders 8 black church goers in a church in Charleston, South Carolina that is individual racism, however, when five hundred black babies die each year because of lack of power, food ,shelter and medical facilities and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of POVERTY and discrimination that is a function of institutional racism".

The social construct of domination (explained earlier) by a majority white ethnic group that subjugate and marginalize minority's to exploit them for economic gains through the practices of slavery and segregation and then those practices and policies are incorporated into housing (question? who are the owners of tenement housing), banking (loan policies) the lack of

educational opportunities, income inequality and the inequities rampant in the juvenile and criminal justice systems are evidence of "White Supremacy/White Privilege".

This is not to say that there are not criminal elements in minority neighborhoods, however, institutional racism gives credence to the fact that it contributes to this behavior.

People are forced to live in these areas because of little choice. The frustration with the system manifests itself into violence "black on black crime" usually because these people cannot attack the oppressors and prey on the weak. I submit that this frustration is one of the reasons for the shooting of the police officers across the country-"Who do you take it out on" is the question.

Perception-Couple the aforementioned racist practices with the negative stereotypes portrayed of blacks in media-newspapers, magazines and television. Go back to the great depression in the 30's when white men were on bread lines and lined up for soup kitchens which engendered a nationwide sympathy for their condition. Who can forget the movie" The Grapes of Wrath" which depicted White farmers who were destitute because of the drought that elicited a nationwide sympathy.

Now compare that to the negative portrayal of poor blacks as they are portrayed as being welfare "whores and cheats" promoting the perception that they are lazy, shiftless and want to live on the public dole.

When I was a school principal (circa 1970's) in an affluent suburb in New York State, I was surprised as to how many families were up against it and on welfare and they were White. It may surprise you but the majority of people on welfare are White.

The lack of job opportunities and the unemployment rates that have become a nationwide issue have hit minorities catastrophically.

It is evident that the incarceration rate for minorities is double for that of Whites. Minorities are generally locked up for street crimes as compared to Whites who commit White collar crimes. In 2008, "The Great Recession" there was a predominance of fraud committed by white Wall Street financiers who were found guilty and fined but nobody went to jail.

I wrote a white paper on "Issues Affecting Minorities by the Policies and Actions of the Criminal Justice System" Which is an addendum to this essay.

It is evident there is a wide discrepancy between whites and minorities as to who is arrested, prosecuted, sentenced and incarcerated which has a major negative impact on the social fabric of the minority community.

It is also evident that the legacy of slavery and the narrative that accompanied this practice of "White Supremacy/White Privilege" to legitimize it and followed by practices of segregation fostered on Afro-Americans and Latinos by the dominant race/culture to subjugate and exploit them for economic reasons has led to a resentment and negative impressions that can be attributed to the strained race relations in this country today.

Another primary example of this dominance is the treatment of Native Americans where the government could not subjugate them so they develop a policy to annihilate them by destroying their food supply (the buffalo) and is a subject to be addressed in another paper.

Actions Speak Louder than Words- There is an old adage that "actions speak louder than words" Let's look at three examples:

- 1) During President Obama's State of the Union Address a southern congressman blurted out "You Lie", this outburst was one of a kind as it never happened to any previous sitting president.
- 2) The Governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, Ran across the airport tarmac and poked her finger in President Obama's face as if to scold him as he was preparing to board his plane. And last but not least,
- 3) The current republican President, while he was a presidential candidate led a crusade to question President Obama's birth place which is commonly referred to as the "Birther Movement"-These events speak for themselves.

The state of the Criminal Justice System is a major issue in the discourse in the 2016 presidential debates and some of these issues are noted below.

The inequality of justice and its administration in the minority community and the police interactions can be viewed as reactions from the systemic causes and the history of racism as detailed in this essay.

"The police are articulations of the notion of our desires for law and order and the nation is complicit in policies that push people together in minority communities resulting in bad behavior and more often than not we attack each other because we are powerless to address the political forces that dominate us"- as stated by Mr. Blow (the Charlie Rose TV Show).

Chief Brown, police chief of the Dallas, Texas police force, put in eloquently when he said 'We are asking our police to do too much"

I think our goal and expectations in this regard needs to be reexamined- Policing is local-not federal and state. We as a collection of diverse communities in conjunction with law enforcement need to look at this in a different context.

And last but not least, I cite a conversation given on the Charlie Rose TV Program (8/9/16) given by Mike Morell, former deputy director of the CIA in regard to current issues facing America. I was struck by the discourse pertaining to his perception of the racial attitudes that were prevalent in the Republican presidential candidate's (Donald Trump, 2016) statements in his campaign rhetoric.

He was asked by an Australian Magazine to give an analysis of the politics in the US which he did. One of the three cited examples interested me the most was the one that appealed to the segment of the population attracted to Donald Trump the (2016) Republican presidential candidate at the time. He stated, "That there is a number of uneducated White Americans who fear the "Browning of America"; who fear the growing number of minorities and the influence

of minorities in America manifested by the election of Barack Obama to the presidency" which is a direct threat to the ideology of "White Supremacy/White Privilege". I submit that this social construct of dominance and subordination is behind the current policies of immigration that propose the limitation of Latino and other minority populations entering the country and the deportation of these groups.

Let us look at some recommendations that are worth noting.

7. Recommendations and Conclusions

To address the concerns of race relations in general Mr. Blow offers the following suggestions;

- legislative initiatives in the area of over policing 'Stop and Frisk" and the policy of racial profiling" need to be reexamined.
- He feels that these policies and others have a racial imbalance embedded in them as laws should be able to limit the adverse impact of forces on communities, after all the law enforcement motto is to "Protect and Serve".

Back in the day we as communities had respect for our institutions e.g. teachers and police officers. I use the term "creditable authority" that my Friend Carl Boyd, teacher and motivational speaker, used in working with teachers and parents- Creditable authority he intimated has to be built over time from trust and respect. We have to get to this stage and it is a challenge we as communities and a nation must undertake.

In addition the nation must accept the reality that we are a diverse society. Our national identity has been founded on the core concepts of "political equality, equal opportunity, freedom of speech, and of the press, a dedication to open inquiry and truth and to democracy and the rule of the law". "We are not a creed. We are not a race. We are a condition and that government should be of the people, for the people and by the people" as expressed by Robert Reich (2018).

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Appendix

Addendum-the White Paper on "Issues in the Criminal/Juvenile Justice Systems"- I wrote this paper to highlight the issues affecting minorities both In the juvenile and criminal justices systems. With the present conflict with law enforcement and minority communities the paper written in 1980, 36 years ago is still relevant today(2018).

A Paper on the Issues Affecting Minorities as Raised by Reports Written Pertaining to the Inequality of Justice And it's Administration

Frederick D. Bedell November, 1980 Albany, New York

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to issues in the fields of Juvenile and Criminal Justice; their affect on minorities and their subsequent impact on minority communities.

Background Data: The theme can be stated as the Inequality of justice and its administration in the minority community. The data to support the premise is that there is inequality of justice and its administration, thereof, for minorities; this data has been culled from three reports that speak to this issue.

- 1) The National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice released the findings of a four-year study entitled, "The Inequality of Justice" at a conference held in Washington D.C. on October 17-18, 1980. The report focuses on criminal justice and their impact on minority communities. The activities of the minority council were funded by the Office of Juvenile Assistance Research and Statistics Unit within the Department of Justice.
- 2) In July of 1980 a National Hispanic on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Conference was held in Washington D. C. and numerous reports were discussed that addressed juvenile and criminal justices issues that affected Hispanic people. In addition to the aforementioned reports-
- 3) A report sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention entitled ,"Assessment of JJDP's Policy and Performance on issues concerning minorities"

It should be noted that the OJJCP report was prepared as a result of charges brought up at a Senate Confirmation Hearings of Ira Schwartz (LEAA Administrator) in December, 1979, by the National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice which detailed issues concerning minorities.

The Issue(s)-Inequality of Justice: It is a fact that minorities are overrepresented as members of the residential populations in the prison system and underrepresented in the groups that make policy for criminal/juvenile justice agencies. With this fact in mind, one can speculate that this disparity of overrepresentation in the system on one hand and underrepresentation in the decision-making mechanisms on the other hand, finds faults in the structure of the systems. By structure of the system I mean legislation enacted in this area, the courts, juvenile and correctional services including probation and parole.

In a recent article in the New York Times, (November 9, 1980. The author is quoted as saying," It is widely believed among Blacks that criminal justice officials ignore the monetarily greater damage of White collar crime in which Whites predominate".

The report prepared by the National Minority Council demonstrates that in America minorities suffer often as victims of crimes, that they are disproportionately involved as perpetrators of crime and they experience the additional cruel effects of inequality whether at the hands of the police before judges or behind prison bars.

Minorities represent the largest group incarcerated for criminal activity in this country, (street crime) which is not proportional to the largest area of criminal activity engaged in by whites, (middle and upper class-white- collar crime). In other words, Non-minorities are involved in the largest percentage of criminal activity in the country, but they are not incarcerated in proportion to minorities for their crimes.

Highlights cited from the report of the Minority Advisory Council pertaining to criminal justice issues reveal the following:

Minorities

- Are more likely to be suspected of crime than Whites
- More likely to be arrested
- Less likely to secure bail
- After being arrested, minorities are more likely to be indicted Than Whites and less likely to have cases dismissed
- If tried, minorities are more likely to be imprisoned and more likely to serve full terms without parole

Highlights cited from data culled from the office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention reveal the following, when holding reasons for arrest, constant members of racial minorities are:

- More likely to be arrested, particularly at an earlier age
- More likely to be formally referred for formal court processing
- More likely to spend a longer time in the system. Particularly,

Up to the time of disposition, and more likely to be detained.

Furthermore the report cites that:

- -Most youth adjudicated as status offenders are predominately White, and
- The deinstitutionalization of status offenders and current Restitution programs impact heavily on White youngsters
- Removing them from the system and its institutions which has the effect of creating an overrepresentation of minorities in institutions.

The information gleaned from these reports is particularly relevant at this time not only because of the social issues raised but more importantly the priority established by the federal government in this area which is manifested in the present zero-based program budget of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) which, in the opinion of minorities, will directly and adversely impact and effect the minority community in this country.

Comments and Conclusions: The three reports which represent the data base for this paper clearly emphasize the need for the state to address the impact of criminal/juvenile justice issues as to their effect on minority communities.

It should not be a surprise to anyone that the data suggests that there are two systems operating within these systems one for minorities and one for non-minorities. The underrepresentation of minorities in policy-making positions, on the one hand and the overrepresentation of minorities in the institutions, on the other hand supports this observation.

Given these facts I wrote my dissertation for my doctorate degree on the controversies surrounding status offender jurisdictions on these very issues.

The causes of crime, its effect and the disposition of offenders needs to be reviewed within the context of environmental factors and social policy formulation that speak to justice and equity for the victim as well as the victimizers.

This report was written in 1980 over 36 years ago It seem very little has changed, maybe it has gotten worse, and with the current breakdown of community harmony and police shootings, it is time to revisit these issues and come up with some solutions.

So in summary the essay on Race relations and the paper on juvenile and criminal incarceration policies provide a framework for the discrimination of minorities in our society which gives credence to White Power/White Privilege.

Fred Bedell August-2016 Revisited February 9, 2018

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