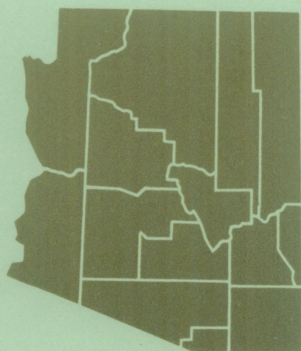


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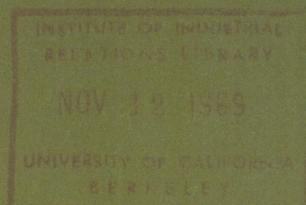
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ARIZONA GOVERNMENT STUDIES 5
THE INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT RESEARCH



DISCRIMINATION, POVERTY,
AND THE NEGRO:
Arizona in the
National Context.

John E. Crow



THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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FOREWORD

In recent years racial discrimination has probably attracted more public attention in this country than any other issue except that of poverty, now dramatized by the Johnson Administration's "War on Poverty." In this study Professor John E. Crow, Research Specialist, Institute of Government Research, University of Arizona, discusses the inter-relation of discrimination and poverty among the Negro citizens in the State of Arizona.

Professor Crow, Assistant Professor of Government, University of Arizona, received his doctorate from the University of Washington in 1965. He has taught at the University of Washington and Oregon State University as well as at the University of Arizona.

This is the fifth publication in the Arizona Government Studies published by the Institute of Government Research, University of Arizona. It will be of interest to students of problems of minority groups as well as to those interested in the status of Negro citizens in Arizona.

CURRIN V. SHIELDS, *Director*
Institute of Government Research

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I. RECENT TRENDS

A False Security

Arizonans take pride in the racial heterogeneity of their state. Few of the fifty states of the Federal Union can boast of three ethnic minorities, each of significant size, living with a predominant Anglo majority on terms of relative racial comity and harmony.

Or at least this describes the belief of most Anglos within the state. One of the three significant minorities, the Negro American, is caught in the residue of a long history of segregation and discrimination. On Buckeye Street in Phoenix, the concentration of Negroes in conditions of squalor is obvious to the visitor who happens to stray from the main highways through the bustling city.

Similarly, in the southern precincts of Tucson the passer-by who inadvertently takes one of the lesser-used routes in from the busy international airport will be struck by the numbers of Negro men sitting about or strolling in the warm desert sunshine, all hours of the day, each day of the year.

The mood in these neighborhoods has been a tranquil one, at least until the summer of 1967. For several years the restiveness of Negroes in eastern and western cities had not visibly touched the Negroes of either Phoenix or Tucson. The militant tactics of young southern Negroes had little counterpart in Arizona.

The first break in this quietude was the outbreak of a minor disorder in Tucson on July 23, 1967. Though termed a riot by some local headline-writers, less passionate observers thought it more accurately depicted as a rock throwing incident involving somewhere between 60 and 100 young people. A more serious disorder occurred in Phoenix two days later. But after several days of curfew and tight police control, the crisis in Phoenix ebbed.

Arizona Negroes, then, are relatively late in being affected by the winds of change that have been coursing through other parts of the country during the 1960's. Why this is so is a difficult question to answer.

Anglos have tended to regard the absence of trouble as a sign

2 RECENT TRENDS

that all is well; that the racially pluralistic society of Arizona is a contented one. Yet as we shall demonstrate, the Negro is discontented and very much on the bottom socially, economically, and even politically.

The reasons for this are several. To begin with, relatively few Negroes live in the state. According to the 1960 Census, Negroes account for only 3.3 percent of the state's population. Thus, the numbers are not great enough to make a quick political impact on the 75 percent Anglo majority.

A second factor in explaining this torpor is the gradual movement away from limited segregation to a condition of desegregation by voluntary action within the state. This movement took place in the political sphere largely during the 1950's. Segregation had taken a firm root in Arizona following statehood: from 1912 when Arizona joined the Union until 1954, the state required racially segregated common schools. Significantly, months before the epochal decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Brown v. Board of Education*, two Maricopa County judges ordered an end to legal segregation in the Phoenix School system.¹

While segregation was practiced in the first four decades of statehood in the schools, most public facilities, such as buses, jails, and swimming pools, were never segregated as a matter of law.²

Public accommodations, on the other hand, were frequently discriminatory on the basis of race or ethnicity. Theaters in Phoenix, prior to 1954, segregated Negro and Indian patrons from their white customers. In the year of the Brown decision, theater owners voluntarily discontinued this practice.³

In 1960, a series of sit-ins in Tucson, the "liberal capital" of Arizona, triggered a decision by the restaurant owners in Phoenix to voluntarily adopt an "open door" policy.⁴ Compliance was rapid, and no major incidents took place. None, that is, until 1963, when an incident occurred in the Mexican-American and Negro core of the "inner city" of Phoenix. A cafe operator of Mexican-American background refused to serve Negroes in her small restaurant. Even though demonstrators appeared before her door, she declined to comply with the "voluntary" policy unless compelled to do so. So the City Council acted, passing a public accommodations ordinance. The cafe owner then complied with the heretofore voluntary "open door" policy of the city's major restaurants.⁵

Other public facilities in private hands remained color conscious to some degree. Barber shops as late as 1962 remained sensitive to race: white clientele were served by white barbers in their own shops, while Negro clientele were served by Negro barbers in quite different shops.⁶

Discrimination by private persons in housing for both rental and sale of homes continued throughout the fifties and sixties.⁷ By the late sixties well-marked boundaries still existed in both Phoenix and Tucson to serve both as streets for traffic and a gulf for dividing the housing of Anglos and Negroes. The extent of change and direction of change in residential patterns through the sixties cannot be definitely known until after the 1970 Census. Some evidence suggests that a modest degree of integration in private housing took place in Phoenix and Tucson between 1960 and 1965. Even if this in fact occurred, it is still true that public housing remained heavily segregated through the same years (see Chapter II).

Post-War Progress

In most respects the experience of Arizona during the years following World War II was similar to the rest of the country. Perhaps the practices of the state resembled more closely the social and political practices of the border states than the practices of the non-south, but the uniqueness of these non-southern states should be stated with care. Arizona, like southern states, declared marriages between members of the Caucasian and Negro races to be contrary to public policy. Yet in the late fifties and early sixties the policy was first negated by the state courts as unconstitutional, then declared void by the state legislature. In a similar vein, it was the practice of the Arizona National Guard to avoid recruiting Negroes until 1950, when the first Negro joined the Guard in Phoenix.⁸ The state of Washington, hardly a southern or border state, took the same step only in the same year.

As was the case in the rest of the country, the effect of World War II was to work many changes in social life in the southwestern United States. Segregation in public policy was wholly obliterated by the mid-sixties in Arizona. Where political and legal equality had been denied in the name of the community, public policy now turned to acceptance of equal opportunity.

What remained, then, to be done to achieve integration?

The Law and Reality

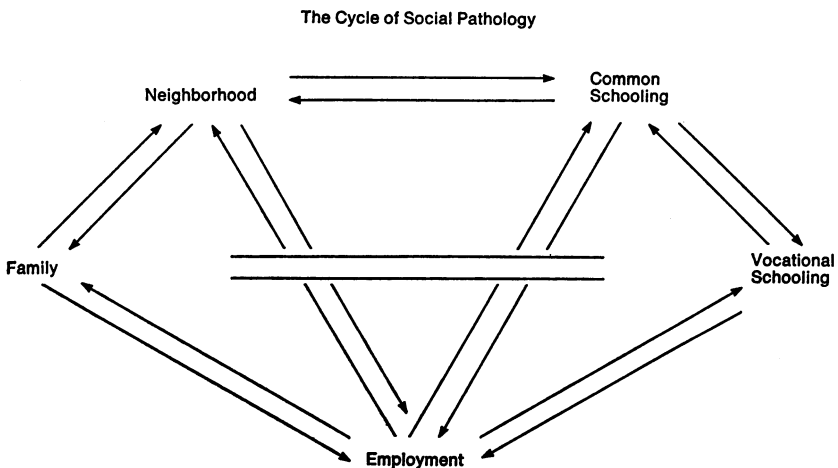
As a first step Arizona citizens have had to come to terms with the meaning of the concept of integration. If integration means simply the absence of legal segregation, then clearly Arizona achieved that happy state by the early 1960's. For that matter, the same could be said for most of the rest of the country, excepting the southern United States.

In the pages that follow an analysis is presented arguing the thesis that the absence of legal segregation does not mean that social and

economic integration has necessarily taken its place. The Negro American with his unique history has long been subject to forced separation from his fellow citizens. The reduction and elimination of ground rules requiring this separation has been largely successful. In the wake of this victory came the racial disorders which racked the country in the summer of 1967. These disorders re-emphasized the seriousness of the Negro's integration into the social and economic mainstreams of American life.

But, while our focus here is on the Arizona Negro, we should not leave the implication that only the Negro is subject to being trapped in a cycle of discrimination and poverty. There is substantial evidence to support the proposition that roughly the same process operates within Arizona as regards the Mexican-American and American Indian.⁹ Nor is it probable that certain blocs of the Anglo population, less readily identified by the Census Bureau than Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians, are able to escape altogether the tangle of social pathology which we find working within Arizona's three great minority groups. Where data that contrast and compare the status of Mexican-American and Indian populations are available these are included in the present report. But we have yet to develop fully the extent of the discrimination cycle's effect on groups other than the Negro.

The framework of this study is depicted in the diagram. Five discrete phases of the life of the Arizona Negro community are considered



in turn: family, neighborhood, common schooling, vocational preparation, and employment. The interdependence of these phases of life is suggested by the connecting arrows. Despite the gains made in the legal sphere in the last generation, both at the national and state levels, there

is ample evidence that in Arizona as elsewhere the cycle of discrimination continues to place the mass of Negroes in highly disadvantaged circumstances.

Chapter II develops this theme in depth and presents evidence both from Arizona and other states that bears on this theory. Chapter III considers the impact of civil rights laws on these socio-political processes. Chapter IV suggests further steps which may be taken by the people of Arizona to break down remaining barriers to integration.

The theme of this analysis was stated by the President of the United States in his address to the graduating class of Howard University in June, 1965. At that time, President Johnson urged:

You do not take a person who, for years has been hobbled in chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race, and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

How to get equality at the starting lines is a problem which, in varying forms in future decades Americans will address in different guises. About this matter many reasonable men with strong commitments to equality will differ among themselves. A most pressing aspect of this discussion will be what entity is capable of breaking the "tangled web" in which millions of American minority group members find themselves. Is it to be the federal government? Large scale private business? State and local governments? To depict the contours of the civil rights problems of the country is not to make a concealed justification for greater national programming. One leading student of urban problems has argued that the proliferation of national programs may be disastrous. The national government, in Moynihan's view, is a "superb instrument for redistributing power and wealth in our society . . . (b)ut as an instrument for providing services, especially to urban lower class Negroes, it is a highly unreliable device."¹⁰ Advocates of greater centralization of national power as well as advocates of states rights will find much in what follows to fuel their disputes.

Finding a Starting Point

A second issue will also divide the American people: At what stage in the cycle of discrimination and poverty should the effort be directed?

Where the emphasis comes will make a great deal of difference to the national government, to taxpayers, to state governments and to those who live in poverty. Poorly focused programs, though well intentioned, may be altogether useless. An analogy can be made with the problem of alcoholism. A chronic victim of alcoholism is often encouraged to take steps to a more effective control of his problems at the

age of 45 when his pattern of life is rigid and well-settled. When the individual's problem is addressed at this stage, only a limited number of tactics can be employed by the community. Unhappily, most of the effort will be only custodial in nature with little chance of success. If the problem drinker is 22 years old, however, and can be encouraged to take steps toward restoration of his personality, perhaps a very different result will ensue. The range of tactics used by the community, in any event, can be far greater.

Similarly, when the nation confronts the many aspects of racial segregation the part of the cycle that is attacked is of evident importance. An extreme choice would be to write off the prospect of effectively integrating all unemployed Negroes beyond the age of 35, regarding such people as hopeless cases save for those who have managed to survive in a segregated society and who are presently working and making effective contributions to the community. Upgrading an employment service of government that is already unused or under-used by employed minority group members may indeed be worse than doing nothing at all. The legislators who appropriate money for, say, increased services through the "unemployment offices" usually expect concrete results. If the money does not bring a result, then the expanded program and the years of misspent effort will both be lost.

A much more controversial possibility is that of using the military service as an institution for salvaging people of all races who are damaged by poverty. Such a potential use of the Pentagon's extensive resources has been urged by various national officials. This opportunity or option can be greatly clouded by opinion on current wars and political commitments. Radicals and liberals divide bitterly on the use of the Armed Services as tool of integration.

But rational consideration of the enigma of poverty and discrimination and intelligent answers to both the appropriate entity and the level at which a solution is to be sought can only proceed after the nature of segregation is fully understood.

II. THE TANGLE OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Negroes and Political Power

Broadly taken, the integration of the American Negro into the political system of the United States has posed a challenge to the workings of the system that is perhaps unparalleled in the nation's history. Political analysts have established the importance of concentrating a vote disposition in great cities in the heavily represented states of the Electoral College. Thus, for purposes of winning the Presidency, any group with an acutely felt common need that concentrates in big cities in competitive states will be crucially important. But while Negroes in Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia are important in determining who is chosen President, they remain hard pressed to translate this electoral power into support for programs relevant to breaking up the vestiges of a segregated society.

The chief barriers to the use of electoral power for policy decisions by Negroes are the same as face other electorally powerful minorities, whether these minorities are defined racially, philosophically, or economically. These handicaps are the absence of mandate elections in which a winning ticket can be pledged in advance to follow electoral victory with a specific policy result¹¹ and the hoary doctrine of the "separation of powers."

Value allocations sought by the President to benefit his constituency may only roughly parallel the value allocations sought by Congressional leaders. Convergence of interest between President and Congress was notably evident in the two years following the assassination of John F. Kennedy.¹² The civil rights movement was able to claim victory on a wide range of fronts in this active two year period, including the 1965 Voting Rights Law which Harry A. Bailey believes doubly important:

"... it at once provides the means for overriding virtually all legal barriers to Negro political participation and sets the stage for further changes in the political system."¹³

When the civil rights movement, and what David Danzig has called the Negro movement, began to divide into identifiably distinct sets of

pressures the separation of powers once again became important.¹⁴ Demands from the Negro movement were consistently more sympathetically received in the Executive branch than in the Legislative.

By 1967 and the 90th Congress, institutionalized conflict between the President and Congress was the order of the day. A powerful illustration of this conflict was provided just prior to the massive racial riots of the summer of 1967 when the President found his \$20 million riot control bill killed in the House of Representatives, though not until the bill had been subject to numerous "witty" comments from critics in both parties. The House was quick, though, to approve its own so-called "riot prevention" bill.

The President's distress over the priorities of the House of Representatives was widely communicated. Beyond showing his displeasure, however, there appeared to be little he could do to overcome the yawning gap created by the separation of powers.

The racial violence of 1967 came after several years of attention to the status of the Negro. Why then the confusion and shock at the outbreak of this furious violence?

The demands of Negroes for equal treatment under the law have presented a series of dilemmas for thoughtful Americans both in attempting to understand the nature of the struggle and in fashioning appropriate responses to the grievances presented.

When the demands of organized Negroes are stated in terms of achieving equality of treatment under the law, there is an arresting simplicity about what is sought from the political order. Two hundred years of living under the values and philosophy of the Declaration of Independence have well prepared most Americans to understand, in some minimal way, what equality of condition entails.¹⁵ Organized Negroes have indeed played a crucial part in the passage of four civil rights laws by Congress. It must be added quickly, though, that ambiguities remain in the public's understanding of equality, particularly in the general attachment to the concept of legal equality as opposed to a widespread coolness toward the nation of economic equality.¹⁶

The Fourteenth Amendment's phrasing of a guarantee of equal protection of the laws has a comparable simplicity, at least on its face. Yet however detailed the interpretation of the equal protection of the laws clause by the Supreme Court, many conscientious Americans reveal a very different concept of the operative meaning of the phrase when whites in the rural South are charged with the murder or aggravated assault of a Negro and acquitted despite a clear factual picture of guilt. This familiar sequence points overwhelmingly to the conclusion that within certain white communities murders or assaults against Negroes are not regarded as a crime.

The task of achieving equality of social or economic condition has proven to be one of great complexity. Nor has the difficulty been noticeably less in regions of the country where the tradition of slavery was never implanted.

Segregation is a protean thing, and its interpretation takes many forms. One view considers segregation as the social expression of a series of institutions reflecting unfavorable stereotypes of Negroes. Certainly segregation is perpetuated to the extent that whites regard Negroes as inferior in some way to themselves. Similarly poor preparation of Negroes for participation in the economy leads rapidly to underemployment, excessive employment in low-paying job categories, and unemployment. Negro schools in the slums often become a shambles in which authority of the teacher has to be insistently asserted and reasserted. All too often, classroom time thus spent is at the cost of instruction, badly needed by all the students, including the disruptive children.*

Segregation as a Social System

The basic facets of segregation — prejudiced attitudes, inferior schools, disorganized neighborhoods — are real enough. But taken together they are still not the equivalent of "segregation."

A broader understanding of the problem lies in an understanding of segregation as a social system—as a method of organizing people into a way of life that feeds upon itself with circuitry: impulse gives rise to action, action creates new impulse, and so on across generations.†

Continuity of the system is the aspect of segregation that is left unaccounted for by an attitudinal interpretation of segregation. Unfavorable stereotyping of Negroes and other minority group members is widely embedded in our culture. But the place of such attitudes and perspectives is merely an opinion held in one generation.‡ For example,

* All of which has led to an intense review of the assumptions under which modern education proceeds, particularly with respect to the need for orderliness and discipline which, if lacking, must be imposed by the teacher. The question seems to center upon whether the failing of the slum school is due to the faulty model of heavily structured education or (as has been generally thought until recently) to the conduct of the "disturbed," non-middle-class-mannered child.

† Wallace Mendelson has neatly stated this thesis: "At every point the cruel circle begins again. Each hardship leads to another. There is no saving grace by which a disability in one context is compensated by advantage in another. It comes to this: lifelong conditioning in the habits of inferiority." *Discrimination*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 3-4.

‡ This study leaves aside the issue of overt prejudicial attitudes on the part of political officials. In various communities civil rights groups regard this deliberate design feature of institutions as a casual nexus, perpetuating racial discrimination. Such a contention divided Oakland, California board officials and militant civil rights groups. See Ira M. Heyman, *Oakland*, part of the series *Civil Rights U.S.A.* Public Schools Cities in the North and West, 1963, Staff Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1963. While the author regards such charges as having merit, continuity of the process without particular regard to design or motive on the part of political officials is worth attention in its own right and will constitute the focus of attention here.

it is one thing for a person to believe that Negroes are incapable of understanding the nature of electricity. It is quite another to so arrange the institutions of a particular city and create a heritage of non-involvement of Negroes in the field of electrical work with the result that one's grandchildren grown to their maturity also regard Negroes as genetically incapable of dealing with the intricacies of an electrical motor.

"Regional chauvinism" is a standard difficulty standing in the way of a better understanding of segregation. Whites in most regions of the country tend to regard the American South as qualitatively different from their own regions as regards the practice of segregation. Were it so, we could all rest more easily by recalling the fast moving exodus on the part of Negroes from the South. Were the "Negro Problem" a Southern one, emptying that region of all Negroes would be a simple and perhaps painless solution to the racial problem.

But events of the early and mid-sixties have shaken this chauvinistic perspective. Whites watched with surprise and then chagrin riots in Los Angeles, mass rallies booing the Mayor of Chicago, boycotts of schools in New York City, anarchy in Cleveland, freedom marches in Detroit and Seattle, picket lines of protest against trade unions in Philadelphia and Washington, demonstrations against housing practices in Newark, picket marches against urban renewal in Boston, protests against the "white" waterfront in Portland, and sit-ins in union offices in Pittsburgh.

The Moynihan Model

The model of "social pathology" assumed by the Moynihan report¹⁷ may be most powerful in explaining the intractability of progress in ending segregation.

This tangle can best be understood as a social maze that encompasses five stages of the life cycle of the individual: family, neighborhood, common public schooling, vocational training (including college), and finally employment-unemployment patterns. Because each stage in the cycle supports a succeeding stage and reinforces what has preceded, the system is truly capable of feeding on itself. For example, the health problems of slum neighborhoods sap the physical and mental vitality of the slum residents for work. Non-slum dwelling co-workers escape. Lessened participation in the work force also has the effect of freezing the would-be worker into the slum. Since Negroes live in slums in greater numbers than whites, they are to that extent more exposed to this interdependent effect.

Segregation has an enormous number of such inter-dependent effects which cluster within various phases of the life cycle. These manifestations compose the tangle of social pathology, and the task of

policy is to find methods of dealing with these outcroppings and to design safeguards so that unintended consequences do not overwhelm the changes brought about.

It can be said, apropos of each stage, that "this is not the place to begin," or, roughly the same thing, that "you cannot expect to solve the problem here." But this can be said of each point in the life cycle. If that is all that is said, the future is bleak indeed as regards breaking in at any single point. A labor union leader's comments are typical: "You can't hope to break in here: look at the school preparation of Negroes, it's not enough. Why, when we consider an applicant for indoor electrical work, we expect candidates to be just as motivated and just as well prepared as college students going into electrical engineering."¹⁸

Publication of the Moynihan report finally led to discussion of yet another place where one ostensibly cannot begin—the family. Despite the fact that the President regarded the report so highly that he used it as the basis of his speech at Howard University in the spring of 1965, by the following fall civil rights groups of more militant cast had begun to regard the document as "racist." It was heatedly argued that no beginning could be made in family structure because of unemployment and underemployment of Negro males.*

* A report on the turbulent White House conference on the Negro family or November, 1965, is contained in *Newsweek*, December 6, 1965. The scope of the conference was severely limited so as to avoid the heated feelings of various civil rights groups on the issue. A statement of CORE on November 17, 1965, blasted what the group seemed to regard as a ducking of the problem involved. The statement is reprinted in *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, Vol. 12, No. 40 (November 29, 1965), p. 3 with the sympathetic title, "New Theories to Hide Old Failures."

Much of the intensity and acrimony at the conference seems to have developed out of profound perceptual differences as to the genesis of the plight facing many American Negroes. A formal report of the conference asserted, for example, ". . . the point was frequently made that whether it be rich or poor, white or Negro, the family today is not free of problems. . . . We want goals which are essentially the same for Negroes as well as whites, for rich as well as poor. . . ."

"The Family: Resources for Change: A Synopsis of the Panel Discussions on the Family, November 17 and 18, 1965, at the Planning Session on the White House Conference," and "To Fulfill these Rights" n.d., December, 1965, were mimeographed working documents prepared for the future use of government planners as policy guidelines. At the time of the White House Conference a second, more inclusive conference was in prospect. The working documents were never put to this intended use, for the second conference was cancelled. Moynihan has analyzed this sequence in "The Moynihan Report and Its Critics," *Commentary*, February, 1967. The course of conflict over the Moynihan study has also been analyzed by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *The Politics of Controversy*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967).

If the contentious issue can be summarized in a single question, it seems to be: in light of the statistics indicating breakdown of families in the poor population, who or what is to be blamed? Moynihan subsequently repeated his view that this evidence on family decomposition was "the best evidence of what is happening to the poor." From Moynihan, "White Blindness Lamented": Critics insist that Moynihan's evidence has led people to believe that the plight of the poor was of their own making. It seems doubtful that the discussion has ended.

It will be worthwhile to review the manifestations of the policy tangle in Arizona and elsewhere. We begin with the Negro family structure only for the sake of chronology. It should not imply that the family is seen as the basis of the cycle any more than any other stage which, in its essence, is self-repeating.

Family Structure

For an enormous number of American Negroes the social unit upon which all groups base their existence—the family—is a source of serious difficulties. The home life of many is marred by an absence of legal fathers, high illegitimacy rates, and low use of divorce when the family separates. Early marriages are common, causing young people to discontinue their formal educations. Such marriages encompass many years of fertility, and large numbers of progeny are born.

Welfare Looms Large

State welfare departments loom large in the maintenance of the Negro family, evidently through no particular design. Until 1962, welfare laws actually encouraged desertion, for benefits were commonly conditional upon the father being absent from the home. The change in national policy, allowing the unemployed father to remain at home, was ushered in by the so-called Kennedy amendments to the Social Security Laws.* Like most federal-state programs in the welfare field, participation is optional with the state legislature. Arizona is one of the minority of states to have adopted the new Aid to Dependent Children program for Unemployed Parents (ADC-UP). After a short period of operation, the 1967 legislature cut off all funds for the new phase of the ADC program in the state.¹⁹

Aid to Dependent Children statistics are the most useful and convenient way to measure the extent of relative dependence among various subsections of a state's population. As a matter of policy, however, data on the racial composition of recipients are not collected and reported.²¹ Only special and occasional surveys or analyses focused on race will yield data on ethnic or racial composition of beneficiaries. The most recent special study of ADC in Arizona was conducted in late 1961 by the Arizona Department of Public Welfare in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Results of the study indicated that Arizona Negroes, as well as Negroes throughout the United States, were heavily reliant on welfare. These data are less than

* The reform is described at length by Gilbert Y. Steiner, *Social Insecurity: The Politics of Welfare*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 5, 7, 81, and passim. Steiner notes that delay in adopting ADC-UP is comparable to the delay by the states in adopting ADC in the late 1930's as a result of hesitancy to get into new costly programs. See also Edgar May, *The Wasted Americans*, (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 51-55.

satisfactory for two reasons: first, they are some years old; and secondly, they do not distinguish within the white population as to Mexican-American and Anglo. Despite these limitations it is clear that the non-white population is heavily and disproportionately dependent on state welfare services. The non-white population in Arizona in 1960 accounted for 12.6 percent of those 19 or younger. Of the children receiving ADC benefits in 1961, 43.7% were non-white (18.7% Negro, 23.9% American Indian and 1.1% "Other" or Unknown). The reader will note this proportion represents only one point in time; the data do not take into account the number of Negro and Indian children over a period of time whose needs must be met by the aid program.

In various parts of the country, third generation welfare children are now being born. To these children, the model of a working, productive father is very remote indeed, for the last time a male in the family provided for it was back in the days before the New Deal.

Entire Family Victimized

Victims of these family problems are several. Children stigmatized by bastardy might be the most obvious victims. The father who leaves the broken home, or the home that was never established but still has children within it, can hardly help but see his action as evidence of his unworthiness and inadequacy. The deserted mother quite naturally feels considerable bitterness and chagrin at having to cope with the rearing of children unaided by the father. She is likely to feel a flowing stream of resentments against males in general and one (or two) in particular, which has a detrimental carryover effect on the fulfillment of her responsibilities to her various children. She will often have a strong tendency to reject her sons, regarding her daughters as more needful of maternal protection, since they will, the mother suspects from her own life, have to cope with many of the problems and hazards she herself is experiencing.²⁰

The male child, then, may be the one most victimized by the informal family structure. The absent father is not only unavailable as a source of affection; he also cannot provide a parental example. The male child must come to maturity without observing how a father cares for his family, how sacrifices are expected in some circumstances, and how a father and mother cope with joint problems.

Neighborhood

Aggravating the infirmities of family life are a set of influences growing out of the neighborhood. This second stage in the life cycle adds its unique burdens to the series of obstacles confronting many Negroes.

Health conditions in the American slum are well known to be sub-standard. This condition can be readily measured by the incidence

of tuberculosis, alcoholism, communicable diseases of various kinds, and of course that electrifying symbol of the northern city slum, the rat bite.*

To physical health problems are added mental health hazards. Life in many slums is so disorganized that many cases of ambulatory psychoses are either totally unperceived or, when they brush with authority, treated by hospitals custodially (rather than with more efficacious verbal therapies).²²

Pressures Toward Crime

Yet individual health problems of both a physical and mental nature are but the beginning of the neighborhood problems in the life cycle of victims of racial segregation. The incidence of crime, narcotics traffic, and prostitution is, of course, much greater in the slum. The Buckeye Road area in Phoenix is popularly known as the center of vice activity in the city. This is also the area where most Phoenix Negroes live.

For many youths growing up in the slum, the most visible occupations pursued by the people on their block include peddling heroin, policy running, and prostitution. Meaningful, productive work approved by societal norms is not for many directly observed within the neighborhood itself. Television may and certainly does bring into the home "success models." But identity with these creatures of mass communications is discouraged by their predominant whiteness, and, if that is not a sufficient factor, their electronic images recede rapidly beside the flesh-and-blood fellow on the block who is "turning" two hundred dollars a week selling "grass" and wearing the very best clothes.

Physical crowding also encourages forms of recreation that brings the seeker of fun to the attention of the police. If one cannot have a poker game in the apartment because two families are there with many children, and has to use instead the garage or street, trouble is more likely to be perceived by the police and taken care of by them. Sheer congestion also creates problems if one wants to have a party: noise means trouble, trouble means police, and police mean arrests. Doubtless because of the crime rates in various sections of the city of Phoenix, police are assigned in far greater proportions to the inner city area.†

* A special study of unemployment was conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor in November, 1966, the results of which were released to the public in late spring, 1967. Health problems or health deficiencies were involved in ten to twenty percent of the "sub-employment" cases in urban slums across the country. Rates of diseases in these slums were 25 to 50 percent higher than national averages. *A Sharper Look at Unemployment in U.S. Cities and Slums*, U.S. Department of Labor, 1967, Section 3, subsection 3, (no pagination). Hereafter cited as *A Sharper Look*.

† Squad cars are usually two-man assignments in the inner city. Based on "Beat Map" of Phoenix Police Department, Division of Field Operations, dated July 1, 1965.

Nor are police in slum neighborhoods likely to have a neutral outlook on the people pursuing their leisure in different forms of recreation. This lack of indifference is compounded by the fact that some, perhaps many, police do not like Negroes.* Recruited from upper-working-class families, many policemen regard their forced association with Negroes as degrading.²³

From attitude comes action. An Arizona example may suffice to illustrate. A Negro educator now serving on the Phoenix City Council told the 1967 annual meeting of the League of Arizona Cities and Towns that shortly before his election to the Council in 1965, he was accosted by two white policemen while walking his dog. Spread-eagled beside the police car, this man was subjected to a thorough search. When asked to explain, the police indicated that there had been an assault in the neighborhood and that the educator resembled the perpetrator of the alleged assault. The victim of this assault then asked the policemen whether they would be searching him if he were on the Arizona State University Faculty. They did not directly respond, but ordered him into the police car. The car was then driven through the neighborhood, the police demurring from any further conversation with their "suspect," while they allegedly looked for the victim of the assault. After an hour of futile driving, the police gave up and let their own victim go.†

What turned out to be merely a personal humiliation for this person is such a commonplace experience for Negroes that the official told the story quite without visible emotion or passion. The general point would

* Likening the role of police to that of guerrilla warfare soldiers, two Detroit officials treat the relationship of police to minority group members as an interactive one: "They (policemen) cannot tell the criminal from the honest citizen. In fact, all of a policeman's background, including the racial prejudice he was indoctrinated with as a child, come to the force and reinforces his feelings that there is no difference between the criminal and the remainder of the population in the high-crime areas." Harold Black and Marvin J. Labes, "Guerrilla Warfare: An Analogy to Police-Criminal Interaction," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (July, 1967), pp. 666-670.

The city which these authors helped to administer provided several instances of this destructive interaction in the riots of 1967. An eyewitness account by a *Newsweek* correspondent is indicative: "When five carloads of police arrived, looters broke and scurried away, leaving the police with confused expressions. The looters were gone—or so it appeared. Suddenly, the cops broke for the crowd of onlookers, who wheeled and headed up West Grand Boulevard. Police pulled only two youths out of the entire contingent, and it seemed to me that the police conduct at that point fanned the flames. They had missed the main event, so they settled for harassment of spectators. One non-looting boy who got a late start leaving the area was caught from behind by a young cop who cracked him across the jaw with his rifle butt. The boy was down, the cop was on him, thrusting down hard with the gun butt. Whomp-whomp-whomp."

"A husky Negro standing with me was incensed, 'I'm going home and get my mother—shotgun,' he bellowed, and ran off." *Newsweek*, August 7, 1967, p. 26.

† Related to Flagstaff plenary session, League of Arizona Cities and Towns, May 11, 1967. The Phoenix Chief of Police was among the listeners. This reputedly was the first time that he had heard of the incident.

be that the chances of being detained for questioning are greater for Negroes than for whites; from such detention another cycle of problems for the individual begins.

Race and arrest rates for young people are linked, both in Arizona cities and nationally. Though the data are collected in ways that encourage caution by the analyst, official records indicate that minority groups are heavily over-represented in those cases that come through the Juvenile Court, to be finally disposed of through County Probation officers.*

Tucson arrests of juveniles illustrate the over-representation of minorities, particularly Arizona Negroes and Indians. In 1965 Negro young people made up 2.1 percent of the 17 years and younger population of the city, but comprised 7.5 percent of the young people referred to the Juvenile Court. "Other" races, primarily American Indian, formed .7 percent of the city's youth but accounted for 3.2 percent of the appearances in Juvenile Court.†

Living in disorganized neighborhoods under surveillance by non-neutral police, with many opportunities for entering disapproved lines of work, young Negroes feel the strain grow. And the labelling of a young troublemaker as a delinquent may leave a tag that is very difficult to shake, even if the young person is disposed to try to do so. Once incarcerated and stamped officially as a criminal, it may be far easier to accept this identity than to shake it.²⁴

Slums Hard to Escape

If it be objected that these neighborhood problems are not so different from the problems faced by other ethnic groups in their transit into the melting pot, it can be readily shown that unique among ethnic

* There is some reason to believe that official records are more useful as indicators of the workings of the court system than of delinquency in the young. Fundamentally no one knows to what degree prejudice and discrimination affect the statistics available. Prejudice may take a gross form in which the officer acts punitively toward young people from minority groups, thus skewing the incidence of reported cases and giving to the public a portrait of extensive delinquency among minorities. Prejudice may take a more subtle form: simply stated, the officer may take a special effort to refer Anglo youths to the Juvenile Court, since he regards them as "worth saving," while he impatiently excuses or glosses over infractions of minority group youth as not worth the administrative effort necessary to process them. Without a field investigation by a team of trained social scientists, existing records must be treated with caution.

† The proportions of young people are calculated from the Special Census of Tucson, Arizona, October, 1965. Referral figures on Juvenile Court are from the *Annual Report, Pima County Juvenile Court and Probation Department*, (Tucson, Arizona, 1966) for the calendar year 1965. Neglected dependent children are also within the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court in Arizona. Again, racial minorities are heavily over-represented. Neglected Indian children accounted for 4.5 percent of all cases referred to the court in this category, while Negro children accounted for 12 percent of all cases of neglect and dependency. *Ibid.*, p. 18. A similar national pattern is depicted by the *Moynihan Report*, pp. 38-40.

groups, middle-class Negroes are to an overwhelming extent forced to remain in the slum long after their income will support housing in "better" neighborhoods. As Taeuber has shown,²⁵ in no major city in the United States do Negroes live in neighborhoods on the basis of their income. Middle and high income Negroes live with poor Negroes in Negro neighborhoods. Nor does this phenomenon vary appreciably by region: whites live in white neighborhoods on the basis of what they can afford, but Negroes live with other Negroes.* Thus, middle-class Negro children are also exposed to many of the hazards of the slum.†

Concentration of Negroes in Phoenix within the older part of the city, or the inner city as it is called by Phoenixians, changed slightly in the course of the 1960's. A survey done by Don Rusk of census tracts in the city indicated that, as of early 1965, 88 percent of Phoenix Negroes lived in the inner city. This represented a percentage decline from the census figure taken in early 1960 when 98 percent of the city's Negroes were found in the same area. The absolute number of citizens who had apparently moved was around 3,000.²⁶

While this appears to be a salutary trend, closer examination suggests that a new ghetto area, just south of the old, accounts for much of the change. A new, heavily Negro section has grown up (Census Tract 1163) with 48.6 percent of its population non-white.²⁷ On a map this new area resembles a funnel, descending south from the Salt River slum (a part of the inner city and long heavily Negro). Few non-whites have as yet broken south beyond the boundary of this one census tract, coincidentally named Baseline Road.

Viewed through the objective eye of the census takers, both Phoenix and Tucson were heavily segregated cities as of late 1965, although Tucson was less so than Phoenix. This is portrayed by Table I. Twenty-nine of Phoenix's 134 tracts were "lily white," while only two of Tucson's could be so characterized. Within Phoenix's ten heavily-Negro tracts lived 20,197 of the city's 24,607 Negroes, or 82.5 percent

* This is not contravened by the existence of Negro suburbs, the national number of which has been recently estimated at 24. A comparison of the non-white population in 1950 with that of 1960 showed that the proportion of non-whites in these suburban rings rose steadily in 23 of the 24 suburban areas. Leo F. Schnore and Harry Sharp, "Racial Changes in Metropolitan Area, 1950-1960," reprinted in *Politics in the Metropolis*, Thomas R. Dye and Brett W. Hawkins, (eds.) (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1967), pp. 56-67.

† The argument that economic factors alone account for slum living by Negroes simply does not hold up to rigorous testing. Taeuber, *op. cit.*, constructed indexes for 15 major American cities illustrating the disparity between what could be expected in private housing choices by Negroes on the basis of income and what actually occurs in housing choices. "In fact," Taeuber concludes, "the more refined the technique, the more unequivocal the finding, that is, the less the portion of residential segregation that could be attributed directly to economic factors," p. 19.

TABLE I
**DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES BY CENSUS TRACTS
 IN PHOENIX AND TUCSON, 1965**

Number of Negroes Within Each Tract	Number of Tracts	
	Phoenix	Tucson
0	29	2
1-10	56	16
11-100	26	17
101-500	11	8
501-1000	2	3
1000+	10	3
	134	49

of the city's Negro population.* By contrast, within Tucson's three heavily Negro tracts, "only" 49.3 percent of the city's Negroes lived. Even if the next three Tucson tracts with more than 500 Negroes are added to make the comparison with Phoenix more meaningful, the proportion of residentially segregated Negroes in Tucson is 75 percent. Indeed, in two Phoenix tracts, the saturation point of a purely Negro population is being reached, while in Tucson no single tract had more than 40.9 percent of its population of the Negro race. (See Table II)

A final comparison between the two major cities of Arizona reveals that, while the colored ghetto in Phoenix is a physically continuous one, with each concentrated tract abutting on another, the less concentrated Tucson Negro population is dispersed over a wide area of the city: one heavily Negro tract lies in the westernmost part of the city, two tracts are north of the central business district, (neither of which is contiguous), while the remaining three tracts cluster south and east of the central business district.

Segregation in Public Housing

If private housing generally is tied in a knot of traditional forms of discrimination and poverty in the cities of Phoenix and Tucson, an even gloomier picture is presented by public housing. Phoenix has eleven public housing projects, each well within the inner city and not too distant from Buckeye Road. Some dramatic contrasts can be seen within these eleven complexes.

If an integrated public housing facility is conceived as one in which there at least is symbolic ethnic and racial mixing, then eight of the eleven projects in Phoenix can be said to be integrated. If integration means something more—a substantial heterogeneity beyond a token

* Specifically Tracts 1134, 1140, 1143, 1144, 1148, 1152, 1153, 1160, 1161, and 1163.

Mexican-American or Negro family—then integration is still remote in Phoenix public housing.

Three of the eleven Phoenix public housing complexes are substantially Anglo; in each the percentage of Negroes to total units is quite small, (6 percent, 2 percent and 6 percent). In three projects Negroes are the *only* residents, achieving a perfect 100 percent occupancy. In a fourth project, there are 195 Negroes and one Mexican-American family.

In the remaining four Phoenix public housing complexes, two can be characterized as Mexican-American ghettos (91 percent and 93 percent Mexican-American) and two as integrated Mexican-American-Negro facilities. There are no Anglo families in either of the last two complexes.²⁸

This pattern of segregation should not be interpreted as indicating, *prima facie*, the existence of official discrimination in assignments of housing units. Indeed, as one professional race relations worker in Phoenix put it, it may be that the great barrier to integrated public housing is the discriminatory preference of individuals to be situated with individuals of their own kind.

This professional's speculation is echoed by the Housing Authority of Phoenix which puts the issue in terms of the personal choice of those served by public housing:

The fact that the people applying for low-rent housing, as a rule consist of the lowest social-economic level, still their rights as citizens of the community and above all as human beings should not be overlooked.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN CENSUS TRACTS
IN PHOENIX AND TUCSON, 1965

Phoenix			Tucson		
Tract	Number Negro	% Negro	Tract	Number Negro	% Negro
1139	2,429	36.1	3	959	40.9
1140	1,384	37.7	8	519	26.5
1143	2,218	40.5	14	1,552	39.6
1144	1,357	31.6	21	1,228	23.9
1148	2,375	64.4	22	1,307	38.3
1152	2,179	87.5	44	731	25.2
1153	1,193	45.2			
1160	3,210	69.3			
1161	2,217	85.0			
1163	1,635	48.6			
	20,197			5,296	

By the same token, these families should not be forced to live in areas not to their liking for whatever their respective reasons might be. Their rights and desires should be observed and respected.²⁹

With such official deference to individual preferences, and assuming that individual preferences really are to segregate, the end result is the pattern of living depicted above: apartness or separation of the races and ethnic groups in public housing. And this end product is not so very different from what would be expected under legally enforced discrimination. In any event, of the eleven public housing complexes in Phoenix not one has substantial numbers of Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Negroes living next door to one another.

Given the national political climate in the 1960's, it is not surprising that the Housing Authority officials are sensitive to the situation they face. Whatever signs of integration that can be identified are displayed with real relief and emphasized in the pages of official reports. Thus, the most recent assay of the racial composition of Phoenix public housing praises the slight forward steps taken in 1966, but glosses over the slight backward steps taken in the same months.* Thus, progress in integration in public housing can be said to be modest at best.†

Negroes are heavy users of public housing nationally.‡ Urbanization of the Negro has meant not only his movement to the cities from the farms of the Deep South, but also his concentration in the core of the cities—the most dilapidated and aging parts of the cities. In this respect, Tucson and Phoenix are like most American cities in having their public housing facilities in the core areas.

The traditional rationale for this policy has been that locating public housing in the central area is a service to those who will use the facilities; by definition these are low-income people hence likely to be dependent

* Two surveys were actually taken in 1966, the first on March 31, the second on October 1. Of three all-Negro complexes found in the spring, one by the fall had two white families residents. Of the two complexes primarily Anglo and Mexican-American, one received a total of eight new Negro tenant families, and the second received four new Negro families. These steps were hailed by the Authority, *Report of the Phoenix Human Relations Commission*, June 6, 1966, p. 14. The Authority did acknowledge that of two Negro complexes one remained all Negro and the other increased its proportion of Negro residents from 87 percent to 95 percent. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

† As a result of the way in which the Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix presents its data it is impossible to ascertain figures precise enough to evaluate the direction of change in racial composition. Specific figures are published to exemplify instances of *integration* but where *segregation* apparently is increasing, only composite percentages are given, avoiding specific references to specific projects.

‡ As of March, 1966, 46 percent of the occupied public housing units in the United States were occupied by Negroes. In Cincinnati alone of the 24 major cities, a local government authority has permitted a low-rent public housing unit to be built in the suburbs. See *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 23. The study is herein after cited as *RIPS*.

on public transportation to move about the city, likely to use the medical services available to the indigent at county hospitals, and finally, likely to find employment in service jobs, the greater proportion of which are available in the central city. Whether this rationale is meaningful in Arizona's two major cities can be disputed, but an unarguable side effect is that dependent groups are heavily concentrated in core areas.

National policy in both housing and welfare has brought about a result that is unfortunate when a particular group is heavily dependent on both. Both policies—low-rent housing and aid to dependent children—were developed to meet the needs of low-income families. Any group that as a result of low income is a heavy user of public housing must expose its young people to the problems of crowding, disapproved forms of recreation, and other hazards of concentration.

The circular effect of welfare and housing programs is clearly illustrated by the use of both by the Arizona Negro. The same people that tend to depend heavily on public housing are also very likely to depend on public welfare programs. Of all the families using Phoenix Public Housing facilities in the fall of 1966, more than three fifths (62.8 percent) were receiving some form of aid from public assistance programs.* While a general economic boom was felt through Maricopa County,† the effects of this boom were felt quite differently by various groups of its residents. The Anglo population using public housing declined 3.3 percent while the Negro population increased 2.9 percent.³⁰

Public Education

Housing in racial slums creates new problems for the schools, the scope of which are of sometimes bewildering complexity. This can be seen nationally, as well as in Arizona.

The blackboard jungle atmosphere in many urban classrooms is so widely recognized as not to require extensive comment. Teaching a class in which children with severe character disorders are present is a challenge to which few teachers have been happy to respond and even fewer to master.

Contributing to the process by which segregation renews itself, slum neighborhood schooling is deficient in a number of ways. Teachers

* Of the nearly 1000 families on welfare, 15 percent were Anglo, 34 percent Mexican-American, 50 percent Negro, and the remaining one percent "other." Source: *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix*, p. 17.

† Maricopa County and its principal city, Phoenix, experienced steadily expanding prosperity in 1966. Business activity was 11 percent higher than in 1965; value of residential building contracts rose 13 percent while non-residential building contracts rose by more than 35 percent. See George F. Leaming, "The Arizona Economy in 1966 and the Outlook for 1967." *Arizona Review* (March, 1967), p. 28.

and job counselors regard the potential achievements of their charges as lower than what can be expected in other school settings. Many job counselors in Negro schools do not regard the chances of advanced vocational achievement as very high. The school counselors too have lived in a segregated social system. Even if once fired up with zeal to compel and expect achievement, these counselors in many cases have become incorrigible in their belief that, if black, the student can achieve only so much, and not much at that.*

For obscure reasons, intellectual performance of Negroes tend to fall as their years in school increase. Perhaps this is due to the inflexible nature of our system of education and to the portions of intelligence measured by standard I.Q. metrics.†

Whatever the source, an excessive rate of dropouts from education is a natural outgrowth.‡ If the counselors and teachers are discouraging about following a line of study, and one gets so little from the classroom that intellectual ability objectively falls, the spirit and zest for continuation is understandably weak. As one educator working in the youth opportunity program comments, "Motivation is nearly destroyed by all facets of the child's society. If he sees himself as part of a chaotic, unworthy group, he must see himself as chaotic and unworthy."³¹

* While this study does not take up the specific maintenance processes of segregation in the rural areas of the South, analogous methods of perpetuating social patterns can be observed there. With respect to low achievement expectations, note the comments of Extension Service officials made to staff members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: "corn is just not a Negro crop;" northern investigators "often fail to understand the irresponsibility of the Negro race;" sheep-showing demonstrations are being held only for whites since "Negroes don't have any interest in sheep;" and finally, "if you could have dairying from Monday to Friday, many Negro farmers would be dairymen, but since it is a seven-day business, Negro farmers won't work seven days." Quoted in *Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs*, Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, on Services Rendered by Agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1965, p. 48.

† Noted by Ed Hodges, former Executive Director of Michigan FEPC and now Employment Manager of General Personnel Department, Michigan Bell Telephone Company, at White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity, August, 1965 (ditto). See also Howard C. Lockwood, "Testing Minority Applicants for Employment," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 7, (July-August, 1965), pp. 356-360. Issues as to what is involved in sampling intelligence via objective testing techniques are extensively discussed in psychological journals. A convenient summary is made by Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, *Creativity and Intelligence* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1962), Chapter 1.

‡ Whether "drop out" or "throw out" is a more precise term excites some discussion among civil rights activists. An academic has vigorously challenged the view taken among many educators toward the "unteachable child." Frank Reissman points to much survey evidence that indicates that deprived families maintain highly favorable attitudes toward education at the same time they dislike schools as they are presently organized. For many poor, the schools have seemed to be unsympathetic to the values of the poor community, uninterested in the strengths of the poor, and geared too often to the needs of bureaucracy and professionalism rather than to the local people. See Frank Reissman, "The Culturally Deprived Child: A New View," reprinted in *Minority Problems*, A. M. Rose and C. B. Rose, (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 239-244. See also Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation*, (New York: Horizon Press, 1964), pp. 19-48.

Education for Work

But these sets of experience, important as they are in shaping expectations, do not exhaust the hazards that operate to maintain racial segregation. Building on this tangle of social pathology is the under-utilization of higher education and vocational training by Negro Americans.

The great social and geographical mobility possible through formal education is well known. Minimally this involves holding to the level of parental achievement. An obvious example of mobility would be that of the lawyer son of the janitor who swept the law school halls. The attorney would feel, and most Americans would agree, that he had achieved and bettered his circumstances. Not everyone, of course, aspires to such rapid advances in mobility and many feel satisfaction when reaching a circumstance comparable with that of the father: the plumbing son of a plumbing father, and the lathemaker offspring of a lathemaking sire. Needless to say, the threshold of the greatest importance over which the young must pass in their transit to employment success is that of formal education and/or training.

The basic evidence of faulty educational preparation can be quickly summarized in these ways: (1) Of the unemployed adults in urban slums in 1966, one third had never been to high school. Two thirds had less than a high school education. (2) In a slum survey area of one city analyzed in the fall of 1966, four high schools educated the young people. Dropout rates in these four schools ranged from 36 to 45 percent. (3) Most of those currently employed and residing in these slum areas were in jobs that would afford them little or no training for better paying jobs elsewhere. (4) Many job applicants did not have the commonly accepted employment aids such as a car, workman's tools, a driver's license or a chauffeur's license.³²

Why does this happen? In part, Negro under-use of formal education and job training facilities is due to the under-preparation of the inadequate primary school system. The mass public university demands much in mental and emotional as well as learned knowledge on the part of the entering student.

But not as many Negroes as whites finish high school. Nor do as many Negroes as whites, proportionally, enter college. Nor do as many Negroes as whites, proportionally, finish college. Nor do Negroes enter graduate and professional school to the extent whites do. Nor do as many Negroes as whites, proportionally, finish professional school.

The urbanization of Negroes works its own problems in respect to equality of educational opportunity. The tax base from which school funds come is under greater financial pressure in the central parts of cities where most Negroes live than it is in suburbs where most whites live. In areas removed from the central city, a greater share of tax

dollars may be given to the schools, while in the central city these dollars must pay for services such as transportation, sanitation, and fire protection. In short,

. . . cities spend a third more per capita for welfare and two times more for public safety than suburbs, while suburbs spend more than half again as much per capita for education.³³

Often explanations of under-utilization of school opportunities are couched in the failing of the segregated school system that nearly broke down under the strain of the Great Depression. To a degree, for the South such explanations seem valid, since a great many of the present generation of teachers of the Negro race themselves experienced school in a setting like that described in a document by the Florida Advisory Committee for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

To some extent, the inferiority of Negro education in modern Florida is still the result of the conditions that prevailed in the State's Negro schools less than 30 years ago, in an era when many of today's Negro teachers were trained. . . .

The Negroes of that county (Alachua) were taught in one and two-teacher schools, some of them in churches, others in sawmill or turpentine camp homes. Textbooks, blackboards, heating systems, desks, water sanitary facilities, and most important, qualified teachers were all scarce. Only 13 of the 109 Negro teachers in the county were college graduates of a poorly endowed Negro college; 17 came from "normal schools"; 66 were high school graduates; and 13 had less than high school experience. The average salary of these teachers was \$237.³⁴

But a full generation of affluence stands between today and the schools in the turpentine camps of Alachua County, Florida. So a strong presumptive case rests against laying the blame for the present on the incapacities of the state governments in the Depression Era; much has happened, even in public sector spending, in the intervening years.

It has been postulated as an alternative explanation that, because Negro families are far more prone to break up than whites, under-achievement or under-utilization of education can be accounted for in terms of family disorganization. Long thought to be significant in explaining school failure even by the most sympathetic analysts,³⁵ recent studies have shown this explanation to be largely false. Alan B. Wilson has subjected educational achievement records to very close analysis and found, as have other researchers, that father presence or absence as such has little to do with school achievement. Clearly broken homes reflect existing and continuing personal or social problems, perhaps of great severity, but these problems have little *systematic* effect on school success.³⁶

Apprenticeship Programs

Whatever may account for school success or failure, it is important to recall that college and its academic emphasis is not the only place where an individual prepares for his life's work. Gateways at least as important for highly skilled jobs are maintained through work-apprenticeship programs administered jointly by trade unions and employers. These programs have been administered in ways highly detrimental to the Negro. Deliberate patterns of closing these crucial entry channels have been unveiled in Newark, New Jersey; Cincinnati, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, D.C.; New York City; and Seattle, Washington.*

These trade-union-apprenticeship council barriers are extremely difficult to identify in Arizona. Obstacles to entry based on race have been formally repudiated. Underlying reality is more elusive. The Arizona Apprenticeship Council adopted a non-discriminatory policy in September, 1964, some ten weeks after the signing of the Civil Rights Law of 1964. The extent of change that was then ushered in by this formal breakthrough is uncertain.

Statistics are not maintained on apprentices with respect to race.† Some 1200 individuals are in the state apprenticeship program in Arizona. In the opinion of a full-time race relations worker in Tucson, among the total enrollees there may be one or two Negroes in training, though he personally was dubious even about that.³⁷ The State Supervisor of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, estimates that probably two or three Negroes were registered apprentices.³⁸

But again the question can be raised as to whether the absence of Negroes from these crucial training programs indicates the presence of segregation and discrimination. In a large defense plant where extra

* The polemical literature on this most sensitive topic is extensive. Among the more penetrating and factual material is: *Report on New Jersey, New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, September, 1963, pp. 44-54; testimony of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, August 31, 1965 (mimeo); *Report on Washington, D.C. Employment, the District of Columbia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, July, 1963; pp. 20-22; Charles A. Valentine, *DEEDS: Background and Basis* (A Report on Research Leading to the Drive for Equal Employment in Downtown Seattle, CORE Mimeo, October, 1964) and generally, Michael Harrington, *The Other America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), pp. 76-77.

† This is a state application of national policy. A recent study of the national apprenticeship program asserts: "... the statistics on apprenticeship in general are bad, and those on Negro participation in these programs almost nonexistent ..." F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs*, A Report to the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Department of Economics, University of Texas, December, 1966, p. 48.

effort has been made for sometime to see that the facilities are thoroughly integrated and equality in job opportunity a fact of life in the plant, no apprenticeship program has ever included a Negro. The plant has never had large-scale apprenticeship training effort and the officials were not enthusiastic about this type of effort since they saw it as terribly expensive and of uncertain return to the company. Asked if they contemplated trouble with the unions in the event more effort was funneled into apprentices for the future, they answered emphatically not.³⁹

For the state as a whole, a federal official insists that the unions have always been open in the state, and therefore the unions involved in apprenticeship training have also always been open to integration.

There is an evident note of irritation among many officials in this area with the degree of attention and pressure,* that is presently being brought to bear on the area of vocational education. They complain that minority group leaders do not make any noticeable effort to get Negro young people into apprenticeship training. While unable to explain why this is so, these officials do not believe it their place to go out and explain job opportunities to minority group youth any more than it is their place to go out and sell apprenticeships to young people of the majority.

These officials perceive the apprenticeship program as more demanding than college in the pressures that are placed on the individual young apprentice. As the State Supervisor for Arizona put it,

. . . It should be remembered that one who is (sic) into a situation that requires four of five years of hard work and hard study and nearly-perfect deportment on and off the job does require motivation and a long-range outlook in life even greater than that that carries the youth from a high school into college as a matter of course. This in itself must surely stop many young people from even applying for the training.⁴⁰

If this view of the demands on the individual are fairly stated, the individual who emerges from circumstances of chaos in which the key images of self are those of unworthiness, the chances of integrating apprenticeship programs are slight, unless the social structure of the family is restored. The cyclical effect of poverty and discrimination again must help us to understand the pattern, for in 1967 there were at most three Negroes out of 1,200 in the highly skilled position of apprenticeship blue-collar work in Arizona.

* A convenient summary of these conflicting pressures is made by Marshall and Briggs (pp. 54-55); "Civil Rights groups have emphasized discrimination as a casual factor, while unions stressed lack of qualified Negroes. Specialized government agencies often add to the confusion by supporting the civil rights leaders (if they are anti-discrimination organizations) or the industry (if they are apprenticeship officials)." These economists find merit in each position and argue that the most difficult problem is to assign weights to each of the several factors. Unhappily they do not suggest a metric system with which this can be done.

Further discouraging participation of the Negro in the skilled work force in the North, West, and Southwest is the operation of racial consciousness as regards job-holders and employers in the American South. Operative in that region is a racial qualification for particular modes of work. In Houston, Texas, certain kinds of work have traditionally been performed by Negroes. Therefore, junior college and vocational high school courses reflect this racial method of allocating work roles. For example, since Negroes have always done automotive repair work, the Negro vocational high school offers courses in the maintenance and repair of cars. Negroes have never done, on the other hand, air conditioning repair, so it makes "no sense" for their schools to teach the subject.⁴¹

In Miami, Florida, a striking division of labor is observed in handling of refuse. Whites have always driven the trucks in which garbage is hauled away; Negroes have always handled the refuse, but never driven.⁴²

Nor is this solely a Southern regional pattern. In Detroit, extension programs are available to those seeking entry to apprenticeable trades, provided they are already employed. Though administration costs for apprenticeship programs are paid by federal money and are presumably available equally, Detroit Negroes were virtually absent from the program: of 932 trainees, four were Negro. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charged that employer and union discrimination were primarily responsible.⁴³

Negroes of course are supposed to be free to participate in federally-funded employee retraining projects. But Negroes, like whites, must meet the qualification of a reasonable chance for employment in the new trade. The traditional racial content of work roles has been strictly applied against Negroes in South Carolina.

Elsewhere in the South, despite high unemployment rates among Negroes, little use has been made of federal training courses specifically designed to deal with structural unemployment. In nine Alabama urban areas, for example, where federally sponsored training courses are available, in 1963 54 percent of all unemployed persons were Negroes. But the 1963 training programs were only 10 percent Negro. Virtually all working Negroes participating were being trained to work as clothing pressers and auto mechanics in Birmingham (one of the nine Alabama cities in the program).⁴⁴ Again, traditionally defined areas of work determined the training to be received or not received.

Prospects for the immediate future are not good. To the extent basic industry in Birmingham automates, Negro unemployment will probably increase. Very generally economic development for the South emphasizes new and complex industries such as aerospace activity. Will

the slack in unemployment be taken up by expanding job opportunities in space work? If the Negro cannot be trained to repair a home air conditioning unit, it seems unlikely he will be trained to service cooling mechanisms in a space vehicle.

And rules worked out by unions for reasons having nothing to do with race operate to continue the non-participation of Negroes in the skilled unions. According to the head of the AFL-CIO in Washington state, no less than one-half of the apprentices currently in training in that state are selected on the basis of family relationship with a current union member.*

Employment-Unemployment Patterns

Racial discrimination in employment reflects all the social and educational processes discussed above. Discrimination in employment adds to the force with which these processes serve to maintain poverty.

Viewed from virtually any perspective, the participation of Negroes in the American economy is a disastrously inefficient use of human resources. The unemployment rates for Negroes nationally have been at catastrophic levels for just about a full generation.⁴⁵

Usually under-participation in the economy is measured by unemployment, and unemployment rates are regarded as the most crucial measure of discrimination. Illustrative of this, the U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Report of 1964 asserted that "their disproportionately high rate of unemployment is essentially the climax of all the discriminatory forces shaping the lives of Negroes . . ."⁴⁶

Perhaps more devastating than unemployment levels is the concentration of non-white males in low paying jobs. Here, despite a fairly diligent work record, income is not sufficient to remove the individual from poverty status. The chances of poverty for the non-white worker are very strong even though he has worked all week, every week of the year.

Table III, Employment Status of Poor by Race, merits special attention. It is a familiar observation that the unemployment rate of Negroes compared to whites has remained unfavorable for the colored minority. What is novel about the data contained in Table II is that an active work life, *even for Negro families where the male is present*, is not sufficient to get the family out of poverty in more than 3 in 10 cases. The chances of a Negro family remaining in poverty even though the male is present and employed full-time are four and one-half times that of white families.

Again regional variations do not appear to be the key to the

* Personal communication to the author, November 19, 1965. The state is one of the highest in the nation in respect to the prominence of craft unions entered by an apprenticeship, relative to the total work force.

TABLE III
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF U.S. POOR BY RACE

Employment Status of Head, March, 1966*	Percent of families with male head with income below the economy level†	
	White	Non-white
Not in labor force.....	25	50
Unemployed	22	47
Employed	7	31

* Of all the families in the sample, 10 percent of the whites and 34 percent of the non-whites had male heads with income below the economy level. Of those male family heads in the sample employed in year-round full-time jobs in 1963, 5 percent of the whites and 23 percent of the non-whites were in this category.

Source: Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," *Social Security Bulletin*, January, 1965, p. 18.

†Economy level is a somewhat more restricted measurement of poverty status as opposed to a flat figure of \$3,000 income per family.

pattern of low-level of job skills and low income. The 1960 Census showed in Seattle barely 10 percent of employed Negroes held professional or managerial positions, while nearly 30 percent of employed whites were in these classifications. Nearly half (48 percent) of all employed Negroes performed unskilled and semi-skilled work while only 15 percent of white workers were so employed.⁴⁷

Arizona Patterns

Low utilization of Negroes in the Arizona economy is most readily seen in patterns of governmental employment. States and creatures of the states such as cities, towns, and counties are under a clear federal constitutional mandate to extend equal protection of the laws. Beyond this constitutional directive, political pressures to be color-blind in employment practices have been substantial, in all parts of the country save the South.* These pressures have been felt in Arizona as well. A fairly sweeping civil rights law passed the state legislature in 1965. Covered by the law was discrimination in voting, public accommodations, and private employment.†

Notwithstanding these constitutional and legislative mandates, state and municipal governments have not achieved integration in employment. The Anglo population in Arizona comprises 75 percent of the state's population, yet Anglos fill 89.1 percent of all state jobs and

* Perhaps the most clear indication of this general pressure is that 31 states have passed equal employment opportunity laws that are "enforceable" by standards used by the national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, while another four states have passed laws declaring employment discrimination contrary to state policy. See *1st Annual Report, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*, 1967, p. 33.

† The law, signed by Governor Samuel Goddard on April 1, 1965, also created the Arizona Civil Rights Commission.

hold 93 percent of the white collar posts.* (See graph.) The same over-representation appears in the racial composition of employees of the two principal municipal governments, Phoenix and Tucson. Each of the three large minority groups in Arizona are heavily over-represented in the menial or semi-skilled positions within each governmental unit.

Clear as this pattern of under-utilization and low achievement is, it could be argued that once again another phase of the life cycle of minority groups explains the pattern. In this instance, it might be said that low educational achievement is the primary reason. Such an argument asserts that Anglos are better prepared educationally to occupy the more demanding and better paying jobs, while minority group members have not equipped themselves in the necessary way for these white collar positions.

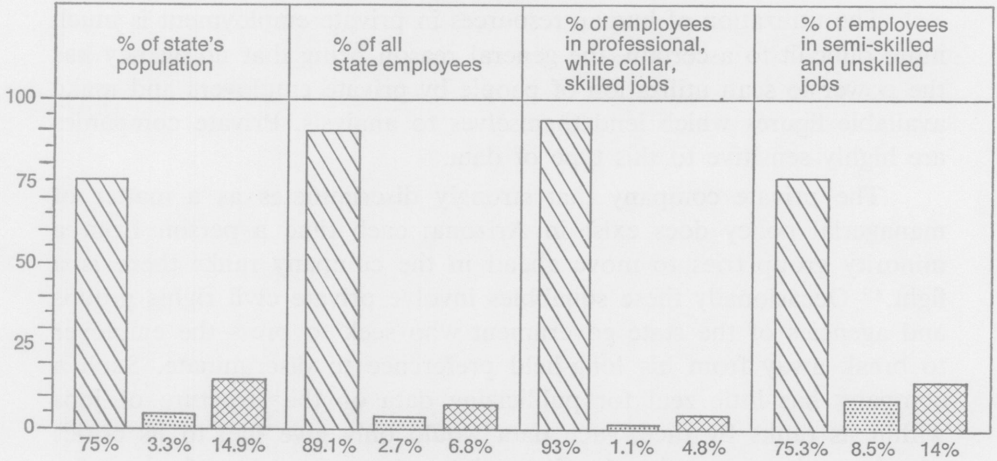
The only direct evidence available suggests that this argument is not valid. Even when educational achievement matches that of Anglos, under-utilization continues in employment patterns. The evidence for this was presented by the Human Relations Commission of Phoenix in its survey of municipal employment in Phoenix in March, 1966. The commission included in its survey a query on educational achievement among employees in menial jobs. While none of the American Indians sweeping city streets had gone to college, those in blue collar jobs that attended college were 22 percent Anglo, 22 percent Mexican-American and 57 percent Negro.⁴⁸

The point is important and should be made as clearly as possible that under-utilization and under-achievement is not proven or disproven by the total proportions of minority groups in a public agency; the key is the distribution of minority group members among the jobs levels within an agency. Unless the job skill level is taken into account, even the most obdurately segregationist employer may appear to have achieved integration. A prime example would be the previously mentioned Miami Florida Sanitation Commission which scrupulously hires both Negroes and whites, but only whites drive the garbage truck and only Negroes handle refuse.

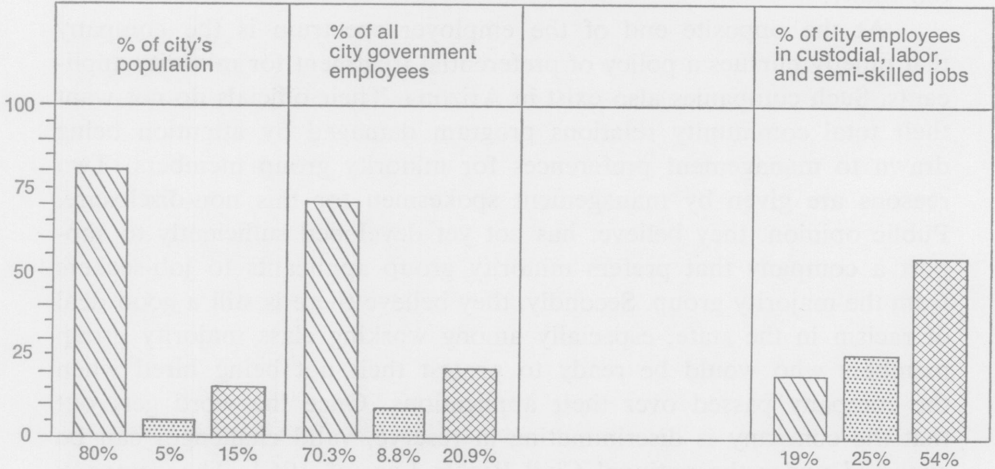
* Sources of original data: *First Annual Report*, Arizona Civil Rights Commission, 1965-66 (Phoenix, 1966), Table 1; "Minority Group Employment in Arizona State Agencies, 1966," Arizona Civil Rights Commission, n.d., Table 2 (ditto); "City of Phoenix Employment Progress Report," n.d. Xerox from Phoenix Human Relations Commission, original data valid as of September 30, 1965; "Survey of City Employees in Custodial, Laboring and Semi-skilled Jobs," Human Relations Department, City of Phoenix, original data valid as of March 31, 1966; "Ethnic Survey of City Employees," Tucson Commission on Human Relations, release dated December 17, 1965. Omitted are data on the employment of American Indians who constitute 6.4 percent of the state's population. The only available inventory was taken by the Arizona Civil Rights Commission. The study showed American Indians provided .8 percent of all state employees, .5 percent of the employees in professional, white collar and skilled jobs, and 2 percent of employees in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BY RACE AND ETHNICITY 1965-1966

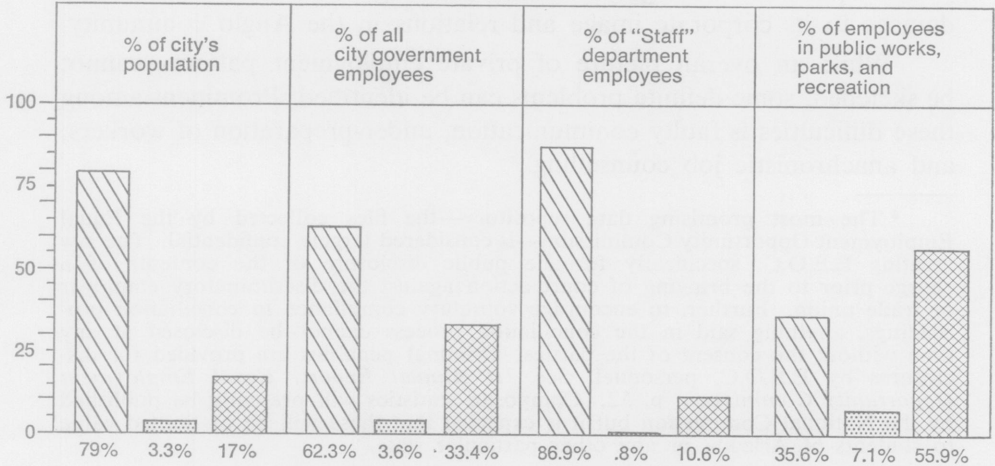
State Government






Phoenix City Government



Tucson City Government



 ANGLOS
  NEGROES
  MEXICAN-AMERICANS

The utilization of human resources in private employment is much more difficult to ascertain, the general reason being that no agency has the power to scan utilization of people by private employers and make available figures which lend themselves to analysis. Private companies are highly sensitive to this type of data.

The private company that strongly discriminates as a matter of managerial policy does exist in Arizona; each time a person from a minority group tries to move ahead in the company ranks there is a fight.⁴⁹ Occasionally these squabbles involve private civil rights groups and agencies of the state government who seek to press the employer to break away from his long-held preference to discriminate. Such a company has little zeal for publicizing data on the structure of jobs within its ranks by race; such data would only give fuel to its critics of whom there are already, from the company's point of view, far too many.

At the opposite end of the employer spectrum is the company that quietly pursues a policy of preferential treatment for minority applicants. Such companies also exist in Arizona. Their officials do not want their total community relations program damaged by attention being drawn to management preferences for minority group members. Two reasons are given by management spokesmen for this non-disclosure. Public opinion, they believe, has not yet developed sufficiently to support a company that prefers minority group applicants to job-seekers from the majority group. Secondly, they believe there is still a good deal of racism in the state, especially among working class majority group members who would be ready to protest their not being hired when the company passed over their applications. Once the word gets out that the company is discriminating in reserve, valid challenges can be expected under the national Civil Rights Law of 1964. The company could expect, if challenged for discriminating in reverse, considerable damage to its corporate image and relations in the Anglo community.

While an overall picture of private employment patterns cannot be sketched, some definite problems can be identified. Prominent among these difficulties is faulty communication, under-preparation of workers, and anachronistic job counselling.*

* The most promising data repository—the files collected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—is considered largely confidential. The law creating E.E.O.C. specifically forbade public disclosure of the contents of a charge prior to the bringing of court action against the discriminatory employer or trade union. Further, to encourage voluntary compliance in conciliation proceedings, anything said in the conciliation process cannot be disclosed at any time without the consent of the parties. Criminal penalties are provided for disclosures by E.E.O.C. personnel. See *1st Annual Report, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*, p. 52. Composite statistics will presently be published by the National Commission but it is expected that these will be of limited value to students of Arizona or any other particular state.

Recent Training Efforts

Private employers in the two principal cities of Arizona complain about one chronic problem in the employment picture: the difficulty in getting adequately prepared applicants from minority groups. To remedy this part of the discrimination problem, four Phoenix-based companies have undertaken training programs in cooperation with the Urban League. These programs are regarded by the Urban League as successful in terms of reaching the definite and limited goals set. Sears and Roebuck has offered sales training, Arizona Public Service has given general educational development training, and Air Research, Goodyear, Motorola, General Electric, and Sperry Phoenix have participated in a joint program for machine operators at the entry level.

One "large scale" effort was undertaken by Western Electric. The company was concerned about the number of rejected applicants from minority groups. It was found that most such applicants had only marginal skills for clerical work. The company, with the Phoenix Urban League, worked out a relevant training program for 35 people the cost of which was born by the company (some \$200 per person). Instruction was provided by volunteer teachers and administrative support provided by the two sponsoring agencies.⁵⁰ The program reached 35 minority group members.

When successfully completed, the Western Electric program was promoted as a model for other businesses. Interestingly, the Urban League does not feel it has the staff or resources to handle many recurring programs of this type and will have to find alternative administration groups.⁵¹ The Urban League does not have an office in Tucson, the second major city of the state.

These model programs are at once highly practical and of community service. Still, only over an extended period of time can the benefits of such programs be useful to a large number of minority group members. Where the "extensive" Western Electric program reached 35 people, the Negro population of Phoenix is slightly more than 25,000, of whom several thousand are "on the welfare."

The residue of segregation serves to discourage young people from staying in school long enough to graduate or to participate in open apprenticeship programs. Lingering segregation also works its hazards in the absence of a tangible community structure which can be activated by an aggressive employer whose firm is scrupulously seeking out minority group workers.

Qualified Negroes Are Hard to Find

As if summarizing the tangle of the Arizona Negro, an official of a large defense contractor catalogued his problems in finding qualified minority group people to work for his organization. The first barrier is that of obsolete information in the minds of job counselors working

in schools attended by minority group youth. To these key people in the high schools the flow of industrial news and employer needs is extremely slow. While a personnel executive may on occasion take the time from his office to go to a school assembly and describe to students in a general way the changing picture of job opportunity, his message is necessarily as brief as his physical presence.

The school job counselor is on the spot from day to day and week to week. The school official has the opportunity to get a message across but all too often has little up-to-date material to communicate. In light of this, a management spokesman has contended that the typical Arizona school counselor simply has no idea of what is needed by industry today, and there is no existing mechanism to bridge the gap.

This weakness in job counseling is compounded by the extent of Negro community disorganization. Personnel officials from private companies often find it necessary to improvise a series of contacts within the Negro community as is necessary with no other group. Usually the American Indian is found in the same difficult circumstances as the American Negro but in contacting American Indians living on reservations for job opportunities the personnel official has a far simpler task. The Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs has an official on each Indian reservation who can be contacted with news of jobs. This functionary can be of further aid in checking back on problems that arise after employment has begun, for example, drinking problems that accompany tribal celebration days on the reservation. The Indian Agent, in short, can serve in lieu of indigenous organizations on the reservation, but there is no comparable figure in the Negro community.

Even an aggressive employer, determined to upgrade the overall participation of Negroes, may find it difficult to do so in a lagging economy. While Maricopa County economy has been continuously booming, this does not hold true in other parts of the state. What this means for the Arizona Negro who is not a citizen of Maricopa County is exemplified by the employment patterns for semi-skilled posts such as bookkeepers and file clerks. In a competitive, expanding general employment market, high school graduates both white and Negro with some clerical aptitude may expect to be hired for these semi-skilled openings. On a constricted economic scene, however, competition becomes more intense, and high school graduation is simply not enough. College graduates will offer themselves for the same clerical positions, not finding more challenging opportunities within the community. Thus company officials are faced with a dilemma which, in the best interest of the company as they see it, should usually be resolved in favor of the much more prepared and capable individual (measured by the holding of a college degree). To do less, they feel, would be doing a disservice to the company.

Nationally, the unemployment rates for Negro teenagers is highly advertised, but it is not less of a problem for all this attention. In 1962, the unemployment rate of non-white teenagers held around 25 percent, compared with about 12 percent for white youth in the same age group.⁵²

Even among educationally-matched and employed groups, however, income differences between white and colored have persisted through the prosperous 1960's. Elementary educated Negroes achieved 58 percent the income of similarly educated whites; college educated colored achieved 78 percent of the income of like-educated whites.*

This comparison of matched groups shows that discrimination continues to exist, despite common educational achievement. The more compelling fact is, though, that whites and Negroes do not match as populations. Unemployed people in the urban slums of the country tend to be young, of a minority group, and poorly educated. A recent special survey by the U.S. Department of Labor found half of those unemployed were non-white; virtually all of these citizens were Negro. The unemployment rate of those more than 20 years of age was 6.8 percent. Among those in the 16-19 age group (one third of the unemployed in these areas), the rate of unemployment was four times as high, (38.1 percent). Only one in three of those unemployed in these big city slums had a high school education.⁵³

Moreover, there is some reason to suspect that the jobs open to Negroes are more vulnerable to automation and labor displacement. An automatic trench-digger will take the work of a half-dozen men who can do little more complex work than that of digging in the ground. No one has yet devised a self-guiding machine that will dispense legal services or medical advice.⁵⁴

Segregation, then, is part of Arizona. Vestiges can be observed in housing, schooling, work-preparation, and work itself. Defining and identifying the character of segregation is a necessary first step. The residual effects of segregation are doubtless better understood today than was the case ten or even five years ago. At all levels of government techniques have been devised to deal with these residues. In light of present day knowledge we are able to evaluate, at least in a tentative way, how well some of these techniques are working, and to suggest others that should be tried in the immediate future.

* Special Labor Force Report No. 33, "Economic Status of Non-white Workers, 1955-1962," *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1963, Table 10, p. 12. Preliminary estimates of 1965 income indicate the disparity continues. According to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, mean income of white families in 1965 was \$6,900 with 15 percent below the \$3,000 level; mean income for Negroes was \$3,700 for families with 39 percent below the \$3,000 level. Comments of Willard Wirtz, *Fourth Annual Review Conference of Plans for Progress*, January 25, 1966; published by Plans for Progress, 1966, pp. 38-43.

III. FASHIONABLE NOSTRUMS AND THEIR LIMITS

The segregation tangle has many facets: family and neighborhood conditions, educational and vocational training, and work. Techniques that break down the poverty cycle are by no means self-evident. This is at no time more clear than when the civil rights "problem" is perceived solely as a legal one. Indicative of the perception of civil rights as a purely legal phenomenon is the comment of a high-ranking U.S. Senator expressing his contentment with the work of the 89th Congress to this author in the fall of 1965: "No further action is necessary now that civil rights laws are behind us." This well-intentioned man, in musing about the impact of the 1965 Voting Rights Law, reflects a widely held opinion that legal techniques are or will be presently effective in dissolving the tangled web in which so many Negroes find themselves.

Certainly no one should diminish the potential impact of new voting laws. Men like the Senator can point to reforms of procedural democracy and to a lesser degree of changes in substantive governmental policy that meet some of the needs of those caught in the tangle.

But the irrepressible question remains: are such laws enough to get equality at the starting line for all races in the United States? Substantial political strength has worked to pass procedural reforms in democratic government during the 1960's, both nationally and in Arizona. Though there is as yet little experience with such reforms, some things can be said about them.

The Machinery of the Law

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at the national level, created by the Civil Rights Law of 1964, operates through the filing of complaints by individuals who believe themselves discriminated against. Each of the three principal agencies⁵⁵ concerned with integration in Arizona operate in the same manner—through the filing of complaints by the person who believes himself victimized.

Presumably the person whose shoe fits poorly is best able to find the place for remedying his problem and to locate the government office

where a better fit can be achieved. Thus, on the surface complainant-initiated administrative activity is attractive as an anti-discrimination technique. But several difficulties attend heavy reliance on this type of approach.

Many individuals are unfamiliar with the machinery for setting in motion a government agency. They are often physically quite remote from the office in which complaints can be filed. There is wide-spread ignorance of the proper basis of complaints, since the terms of a law are not easily disseminated. Is private housing covered? Is this unit with seven apartments covered by the law? Is the place with three apartments covered?

If the victim of discrimination is highly informed about the 1965 law, he is well prepared to protect his rights. If he is not, then he must be sufficiently determined to find out what his rights are, either from a lawyer or from some other highly informed and accessible person.

Moreover, many people in minority groups are extremely distrustful of the government's problem-solving capacity. They are often fatalistic and do not believe that any government agency is going to end discrimination; they remain to be shown. Non-utilization of the anti-discrimination agency, of course, confirms this belief, since complaints do not get filed by many like-minded skeptical persons.

It takes some daring to file a complaint when the allegedly discriminating person is one's employer. Fear of reprisal, even if ill-founded, may discourage all but the most determined victim of discrimination.

Administrative adjudication is typically slow moving. Despite the determined efforts of anti-discrimination agency people, the machinery cannot be pressed to operate at a high speed. Where the person who discriminates is clever, the process may consume several months and rarely can be pressed to completion in less than a month. The individual who is not hired on a job because he is Negro, Mexican-American, or American Indian usually does not have and cannot afford to have a long time perspective. If he is unlawfully turned down at a discriminating employment office, he must still find work and so goes elsewhere to get it.

Finally, it is difficult to prove the practice of discrimination in a legal test. Extensive research and surveillance is often required to get the facts of discrimination established. The experience of one city's Human Relations Commission with a local government unit will illustrate the point. The Human Relations Commission suspected that an agency head was discriminating in his hiring practices, contrary to the city ordinance. Though many Negroes were referred along with qualified whites to fill positions as they occurred in the city agency, the head invariably chose an Anglo for the post. After a year of watching, it

turned out fortuitously that the only eligible person remaining on the qualified list was a Negro. She was referred when an opening occurred. The "suspect" then informed the city's civil service office that the vacancy did not need to be filled "at this time."

The Human Relations Commission decided to move. It first secured the cooperation of the agency head's immediate supervisor. Then it advised the offending agency head that the Commission was convinced that he was discriminating and pointed to the facts as outlined above. The Commission advised that they would seek to have the head removed in the event he did not hire this qualified person. The agency head decided that the vacancy should be filled after all. Checking back several months later, the staff of the Human Relations Commission found that all was well within the department.

Had the agency head been a private business official, it is doubtful that this surveillance would have been feasible. It is even more doubtful that the watching Commission could act so decisively and successfully.

Organization Needed

Each of the deficiencies of the complainant approach can perhaps be remedied. If the technique is to be used successfully it may require the quickened activity of voluntary associations or interest groups. Especially helpful would be organizations from within the groups that are victims of unlawful discrimination.

However diligent these groups may be in their effort to "get the word out," the staffs of these organizations must deal with the same underlying conditions that make individuals insensitive to what government may do for them. Put another way, it is no great undertaking to organize Negro physicians or Mexican-American attorneys into politically relevant groups; highly educated people, with stores of information about the uses of government for group betterment, are disposed to use community agencies to the fullest. Such people are already participants in the political system. Interest groups as the Urban League or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cannot rest on their efforts on behalf of Negro physicists and chemists; these organizations must work with people skeptical about benefits, apathetic about collective effort, and ignorant about existing volunteer groups.

The issue cannot be left simply at the insufficiency of NAACP or Urban League resources. Voluntary associations wax and wane for a variety of reasons; one of the surest means of building support and organization, even among highly disadvantaged people, is serving the felt needs of would-be members. Yet neither the NAACP nor Urban

League have found Negro demands for government welfare services to be of slightest interest to them as organizations.

To exemplify this, the Arizona Legislature in late winter of 1967 failed to appropriate any funds for the Aid to Dependent Children of Unemployed Parents for the fiscal year 1968. The program was a small one and the very fact of its smallness was given by legislators as a reason for not funding it. Aside from the curious logic, no representations were made by any civil rights group about this new phase of ADC, nor about the ADC program generally. Indeed, one member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and the majority party's resident expert on welfare policy, could not recall ever receiving a representation by either the NAACP or Urban League. He found it very difficult to conceive of the Urban League even in the same context as the welfare problems of the State of Arizona. Yet slightly more than 1,000 Negro families depend on ADC in the state, and the program benefits more than 5,000 Negro children. The welfare recipients have an acute problem of representation in making their presence felt while the Legislature is meeting. But the organizations intending to benefit Negroes have neither the inclination nor the staff to be engaged.

No direct measurement has been made of the attitudes of Arizona Negroes toward voluntary associations. If survey findings taken on this question elsewhere are a valid clue, the Urban League (Arizona's best organized civil rights group), is not highly regarded. A survey done for the *New York Times* by the Kraft organization in late 1964 showed that Whitney Young, national head of the Urban League, was seen by only five percent of the Harlem respondents "as doing the best for the Negro." When asked about organizations, 22 percent mentioned the Congress of Racial Equality, but only 14 percent selected the Urban League. Perhaps significantly, nearly twice as many participants gave no answer or answered "none" as had named the Urban League (27 percent).⁵⁶

A representative of the Kraft survey organization, in testifying before the Ribicoff Subcommittee in 1966, urged caution in interpreting their findings on Dr. King who was "a kind of folk-hero." But

when it comes to solution of their problems, the people in the ghetto don't know whom to turn to. They talk about the mayor. They talk about the President. They talk about "they"—no other information, just "they" should do something.⁵⁷

A member of the community trying to find the office where "they" do business must be a determined person.

Perhaps the civil rights complainant procedure may bring about significant advances in integration. Only two years have passed since

the Arizona law came into effect, so clearly not a great deal of experience can be cited pro or con. The first year of the Arizona Civil Rights Commission was necessarily abbreviated for the staff had to be hired and offices secured. In the time of operation, seven complaints were opened in the area of public accommodations and 16 opened in the area of discrimination in employment.

The tendency of people living close to the agency to use it more than others was marked among the "clients" of the agency in its first year. Of the 23 complaints, 16 originated in Maricopa County, the location of the Civil Rights Commission. In the second year of its operation, the Commission ran ahead of its first year complaints, though the total number was not dramatically large.

The Civil Rights Commission is sensitive to the fact that it sits in Phoenix, and the rest of the state must come to it. At the end of its first year operation the Commission recommended to the Legislature that funds be appropriated so that a branch office could be opened in Tucson.⁵⁸ The request was not approved.

The Commission is not necessarily out looking for business in making such a suggestion. Locating a government office in a neighborhood where the clients live may seem to be going too far. It is however, a modest step and possibly a necessary one.*

The complainant-initiated effort of state and city agencies is a welcome improvement over the long-indifferent stance of these same governments. But perfecting the machinery of procedure in a democratic government does not assure that the machinery will be used to bring about hard-cutting social and economic reforms.

Financial Aid Is Not a Panacea

Several measures have been worked up to deal substantially with specific phases of the civil rights problem, if that problem is viewed less as a legal one and more as one of social and economic justice. Rent subsidies of a modest amount were considered at length in the 89th Congress, and finally passed.† But such a palliative will not very soon alter the disorder found in the school rooms near the home in which a

* Getting to clients who otherwise will not use services has been a problem in many new federal government agencies. Recent experience in the national effort against poverty amply illustrates this. Concentration of agencies in areas unfamiliar to the ghetto dweller had led, in 1964-1966, to "fragmentary and uneven" services in the judgment of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert C. Weaver.

In the fall of 1966, President Lyndon Johnson directed Secretary Weaver to move to consolidate social services for slum dwellers. In the following spring, Secretary Weaver had his Department move to establish "neighborhood service systems" in the dilapidated areas of 14 cities. This pilot program, it is hoped by the Administration, will get more effective use of services among people long unaccustomed to using government aid. (*New York Times*, March 26, 1967).

† The program was unfunded by the 90th Congress, 1st Session.

grossly disturbed child threatens havoc and through his behavior (or through his teacher's concept of her role), requires the teacher to police his behavior.

Much the same can be said to be true regarding increases in welfare payments. Throughout these pages it has been noted that Negroes are heavy users of welfare. Presumably increasing welfare payments may more adequately secure the purposes of the policy: to make recipients more adequate people who will participate more effectively in community life. To enable these people to meet the increasing costs of living in the slums, or *a fortiori* to get out of the slum, more income will be helpful in easing the monthly strains of grocer, laundromat, and telephone. But only an exceedingly optimistic observer can consider increases in welfare payments positively helpful in reducing the damage created by absent fathers, angry mothers, and children growing up in a segregated society.

In states like Arizona, where low expenditures on social services are the rule rather than the exception, Negroes are very likely to be hardest hit in "economy drives" that reduce the budgets of state welfare agencies.

Government Must Be Positive

The generality of change sought by the forces seeking racial equality ought not be understated. These changes are far more wide sweeping than those reforms in procedural democracy sought by civil rights groups throughout this century. Included among the sought-after changes is the posture of the Federal Government and state governments toward remaining vestiges of segregation. A stance of neutrality will not be adequate to the task of breaking the grip of discrimination. Two examples from recent national experience will suffice to point up the ways in which power may be used by a sympathetic government to move constructively toward an integrated society.

A Jackson, Mississippi, television station took an active editorial stance in the early 1960's on a states-rights-segregationist position. Through its editorials, the station encouraged its viewers to resist integration at the University of Mississippi. One such broadcast proclaimed: "The word of the hour, the word of the day, the word of the year is 'Never.'" Weather forecasts occasionally ended with the prediction: "Tomorrow, cloudy with demonstrators."

The television station license came up for its periodic renewal before the Federal Communications Commission. The F.C.C. preferred not to hear the protests of the civil rights groups against the station. The Commission was willing to place the station on a one-year probationary license, but demurred from allowing anyone from the general

public the privilege of being heard. The civil rights groups went to court. Eventually the federal courts required the Commission to revise its theory. While this maneuvering went on, the station continued to broadcast but changes began to appear. Most conspicuously, Negroes were addressed for the first time as Mr. and Mrs. when they happened to be on camera.⁵⁹

Even under a Democratic Administration pledged to break down the existing barriers to discrimination, the F.C.C. was hesitant to use its powers, lest it appear to be other than neutral in dealing with the mass media. Periodic re-evaluation of licenses is viewed by the Commission as an arena to be entered with great sensitivity, lest charges of censorship be thrown at it.⁶⁰ The courts eventually forced a change.

Far more complex is the question, at once economic, moral, and political, of the merging of long-separate trade unions. This is particularly awkward in the South and acutely felt by Democratic national politicians who depend everywhere on trade union support. Civil rights groups of a more aggressive bent—CORE and SNCC—have pressed the Federal Government to proclaim public policy in a forthright way on the nature of Negro rights vis-a-vis the rights of whites when jobs formerly closed become opened to Negroes. It is easy for the Federal Government to influence corporations to become racially “blind.” Management can simply decide to resist dealing with racially-identifiable unions.

But that does not solve the conflicting seniority claims of workers and their unions. Seniority means job security in manufacturing establishments (as it does in many other formal organizations such as Congress and universities). Seniority also means that one is free of the prospect of losing one’s work through automation.

Since many Southern plants are automating, the pressure for job rights is enormous. In the tobacco processing industry, for example, manufacturing has required fewer and fewer production employees. Jobs in stemming the tobacco leaf and preparing it for input into the cigarette machinery, once held exclusively by Negroes, are increasingly done by machines. At the Liggett and Meyers plant in Durham, North Carolina, a mass of litigation was spawned as the company, the Federal Government, the AFL-CIO National Office, local white union, and the local Negro union jostled for an equitable result. Negro workers wanted access to more than the lower paid, lesser skilled jobs. White workers wanted no more competition for the shrinking number of better paid jobs around the cigarette making machines.⁶¹ A compromise settlement was finally hammered out.

Something or someone’s interests have to be adjusted, and someone must be disappointed. Mere passivity and neutrality on the part of

the government will not suffice to bring integration. Yet the application of public power to any one of the parties is most painful.

The intense determination of the white South to maintain segregation has, of course, been one of the salient features of American national politics since the end of World War II. With the passage of four civil rights laws through the national legislature, it is fair to say that segregationist politicians have been effectively neutralized. Beyond that, it remains to be seen whether this is sufficient to block the effects of the social processes that continue racial discrimination.

If segregationists are neutralized in the national legislature, who will then take up the responsibility for pressing further steps necessary to bring about a racially integrated society? And which steps should be taken?

IV. UNFASHIONABLE STEPS AND THEIR POSSIBILITIES

Policy techniques to break the segregation cycle require first of all the acceptance of the proposition that reforms in procedural democracy (for example, voting rights for all), is but a first step in achieving equality for the American Negro.

Specific steps have already been authorized at the national level, and for a period these were eagerly taken up in the country-wide effort against poverty. Immediately on the horizon is an extended public discussion on the utility of a guaranteed annual income for all Americans and, as a second tactic, a national family policy. Neither of these approaches are within the fiscal competence of state governments and await federal decision.

Knowledge Is Power

At the state level, especially within Arizona, a glaring omission can be remedied at low cost by establishing the tools for finding out, under Arizona conditions, just how serious the problem of discrimination really is. "Knowledge is power" is an old cliché. "Knowledge is power as it is used to direct social action" is perhaps the cliché of the future. It is of the utmost importance that the communities and the state determine the extent and varieties of discrimination within their boundaries.

"State's rights" is another political shibboleth of currency in Arizona as well as in many other parts of the Federal Union. But state's rights and state's powers cannot be used in a blind, non-directed manner.

Social science tools, focused on discrimination within the state of Arizona, could quickly and efficiently extend our vision of the scope of this problem. Armed with facts, the citizenry then could determine what it is willing to do and unwilling to do to remedy this situation. At the present time the most important sources of "hard" data on the status of the Negro in the United States are two agencies of the Federal Government: the Decennial Census Reports and the Reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. While the mountains of data dis-

covered and collected by these two agencies are crucial to understanding the national revolution in the status of the Negro, there is no *a priori* reason why the Federal Government and it alone should command the retrieval of this information.

At the national level funding of research makes it feasible to have intelligent, well-informed choices. The democratic process is aided by pertinent and valid data. By contrast, Arizona works with a "knowledge gap." Not one of the three principal Arizona government agencies has a full time research worker. Each agency, the Arizona Civil Rights Commission, the Phoenix Commission on Human Relations, and the Tucson Human Relations Commission, must depend on spontaneous and uncoordinated private research efforts. When the research project is of very small scale and immediately pertinent to the functions of the agency, time can and should be taken in the office by these public servants.

The question may fairly be raised as to what sorts of things now unknown are worth knowing at taxpayer expense. Serious investigation is badly needed on many existing problems within the state. The following possibilities are suggestive and by no means definitive.

Why is it that only three Negroes are now participating in the apprenticeship program within the State of Arizona? Federal law is quite clear in requiring integration. Yet three years after the passage of the present law only symbolic progress has been made.

Job counselling appears to be a bottleneck both within Arizona and elsewhere. In what ways can these counsellors be made more effective? Should the present scheme be dropped altogether in favor of industry-controlled and supported information services to the schools?

What are the effects of discrimination in private housing of Arizona Negroes? Does the existence of *de facto* segregation mean that quality schooling efforts are doomed to failure so long as this education is given within racial ghettos? Does the presence of discriminatory conditions mean that aspiration and achievement is curbed? Are penal laws necessary to end discrimination by real estate firms?

Are there any successful programs aimed at integration of the Negro Arizonan that can be borrowed and applied to the somewhat different circumstances in which other impoverished minorities live? Or, to turn the matter around, are there any programs aimed at integrating the American Indian or Mexican-American that can be used with some confidence when legislating on behalf of Negro citizens? One fruitful area for investigation is the success of the Human Relations Commissions of both Tucson and Phoenix. Smaller municipalities may very well benefit from the gains (and the failures) experienced in the two large cities of the state.

Finally, in the crucial area of employment and under-employment, should state and local governments act as "the employer of last resort" for those unable to find work at levels appropriate to the skills of the unemployed? What would such a program entail in short-term costs? Could such costs be written-off against long-term benefits?

It is among the easiest of human tasks to urge action, particularly when others must undertake the responsibility. Intelligent community action is difficult not only because many are indifferent to the causes of civil rights, but also as there are enormous gaps in our knowledge about how to get relevant programs going that will make for greater integration. Further research is imperative if intelligent choices are to be made.

Progress Must be Communicated

Beyond this call for further research in barely illumined areas, the contours of problems already known to exist must be more precisely identified. One such problem is that of communication between established institutions of economic and political power and members of groups long subject to discrimination. Professionals working in the field of race relations have known of changed opportunities in employment for several years. An important part of this changing job scene has been the passage of numerous federal, state, and municipal laws that require "color-blindness" in employment. When the atypical business firm or trade union local insists on discriminatory practices, the intent of the law can be clearly spelled out. When faced with reluctance or hostility, the sanctions of law can be invoked in an educative spirit.

The materials for education of and communication with minority youth on the changing nature of the economic times must be drawn from a different sector altogether. Getting information into the schools is an obvious approach. All through the country Negro speakers of some personal achievement in industry or government are used. This approach can reach a few—perhaps more than a few—of the young people otherwise prepared to receive the message these speakers bring.

Experience outside Arizona sharply suggests this is an area where great sensitivity is required. If the message conveyed to the young is so extreme that it cannot be believed, only a negative attitude may result. This was found in the Watts neighborhood by the Kraft survey organization. Well-intentioned people had caused a poster to be placed through the neighborhood with the message, "Willy Mays made it in baseball, you can make it in business." The poster, rather than uplifting hopes and dreams, was insulting to many young Negroes and to their parents. The Watts teenager doubts his chances for success in the world

of business are such that he will achieve in the same ways as Mays has in baseball. To the young Watts resident, ". . . Mays and the ordinary person in the ghetto belong to two different worlds."⁶² Parents were adversely affected in a second way: they perceived Mays as an individual who had done nothing to better the lot of the average Negro.

Leadership will have to come from persons far closer to the adolescent Negro than Willy Mays—from persons whose achievements are at a height much more reachable for the young person. The tangle of social pathology in Arizona is such that there are few high achievers in the economic life of the state. It is difficult to find many Negroes available to talk about the possibility of high achievement to the young, however real the change in the times in terms of *objective* opportunity.

It is the experience of life in a segregated society that makes communication about changing opportunities very difficult, if not impossible. Young people are asked, in essence, to believe that what was true about the neighborhoods in which they lived; that what was true about the schools they attended; that much of what their parents told them about job opportunity and trade union attitudes; is no longer true for them. Such a message may be true, but it is also difficult to accept.

Theoretically it is not difficult to sketch a relevant attack on existing patterns of discrimination. Politically such a program will raise difficulties of the most serious dimensions.

Segregation in Housing Must End

An end to *de facto* segregation in housing is an essential first step. There is no constitutional problem for the state legislature in passing an ordinary law to the effect that all those engaged in the sale or rental of private housing end all discriminatory practices as a condition of their licensing by the state or its organ. To increase the sting behind such a law, severe penalties, either civil or criminal, could be necessary to see that the law was obeyed. Passage of such a law would also have an educative effect on all the citizens of the state, since the people would then be clearly on record as determined to break the cycle of discrimination.

An end to *de facto* segregation in public housing is a vital second step. Public housing officials may believe that they are already under sufficient pressure to end segregation in low rent housing. Whether there is sufficient pressure is pointed up by the quite real segregation that continues, well into 1967, in these public facilities.

It may be true that individuals prefer to live with their own kind, Anglos with Anglos, Mexican-Americans with Mexican-Americans, and Negroes with Negroes. But if such choices are made, they need not be

the final position on the question, foreclosing further consideration by decision-makers. To the degree public officials—federal, state, and municipal—condone the establishment of racially-segregated public housing facilities, they accept and legitimize a policy of racial isolation. Disregarding the alleged preference of the housing recipients may sound heartless to the sentimental, but in many ways these individuals already have their preferences ignored and privacy invaded for such compelling reasons of public policy as scrupulous and close review of income from all sources so that “chisellers” may be apprehended. Nor is it necessary to justify one evil by reference to another evil. Both Tucson and Phoenix are ignoring this opportunity for bi-racial and bi-ethnic mutual education. Such opportunities are too rare for the community to waste, especially in a state committed to racial equality and integration.

Schools Must Be Integrated

An end to *de facto* segregation in schooling is a needed third step. The thirteen years that have passed since Arizona judges concluded separate schools for the races were unconstitutional have not been well used in achieving integration. If the legislature of the state is willing to act, the solution is clear: reduce reliance on the concept of the neighborhood school. The specific step that would be necessary is the enactment of a law requiring local school boards to take positive action to see that all schools under their control are racially integrated, in fact as well as in form. In some instances redrawing of school boundaries may be all that is necessary. In more districts it will be necessary to see that transportation is available at no cost to the children, so that schools across the district may have a racial balance. Once the people of Arizona accept the responsibility for solving a state-wide problem with their own state government, the tools are no obstacle.

School districts across the United States use the school bus to convenience the school district or to make education available at lower cost, thus conveniencing the taxpayer. To this bussing there has been little or no objection; it is usually accepted as a simple fact of life. The controversy begins when the purpose of the bussing is to achieve racial integration* Quality education for rural youth was made possible by the school bus irrespective of the distance of the farm home to the

* Regrettably, bussing can be used to perpetuate discrimination in public schools and has been in Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. *RIPS* pp.56-59. Under such circumstances it seems fatuous to point to technical tools that will bring integration such as the school bus, since what is lacking is not technical knowledge but the determination of the school board to achieve racial integration. Under more normal circumstances, the bus and a loosening of the attachment to the neighborhood school can significantly reduce racial isolation in the public schools.

consolidated school.* Quality education for individuals, irrespective of race, is surely within the boundaries of our technology and purpose as a community.

Each of these admittedly controversial proposals will elicit criticism. Legislative support is both a necessary and desirable condition before any such step is given effect. Only legislative action will enable the State of Arizona to adopt a posture of determination to break up the vestiges of discrimination. This posture has not yet been assumed, despite the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Law by the Arizona lawmakers.

The support of the national government to the endeavor of breaking up the social pathology left by segregation was pledged by President Johnson in his famous Howard University speech of 1965. Nearly two years later he returned to the Howard campus, as he put it, "to renew my commitment to that task . . ." Reflecting on events of the intervening months, the President asserted that the adversaries "ignorance, discrimination and the despairing conviction of failure" had proven to be "well-entrenched and tough."⁶³

These same adversaries can be found in each Arizona county: on Buckeye Street in Phoenix and in the public schools of Tucson. Whether the chains of discrimination will be broken in this generation can only be settled where these adversaries are found. The commitment of Arizonans to a society of racial comity and harmony is real enough; it now remains to realize that ideal.

* The bus also has played a major part in the reduction of school district governments in the country from around 100,000 districts at the turn of the century to somewhat less than 27,000 today.

V. NOTES

1. Statement of W. A. Robinson, *Hearings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, February 3, 1962, p. 16. Mr. Robinson was the principal of the former Negro high school and placed in charge of integration of the schools in 1954. Gradual changes in Arizona are briefly described by Frederick B. Lindstrom, "Civil Rights," *Arizona Statesman* (Winter, 1964-65) pp. 5-6.
2. Statement of the Mayor of Phoenix, the Honorable Samuel Mardian, Jr., before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, February 3, 1962, p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Statement of Robert L. Aden, before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, February 3, 1962, pp. 28-34. Mr. Aden operated a restaurant in Phoenix, served on the Board of Directors of the Arizona Restaurant Association, and initiated his own "open door" policy in 1956.
5. Interview, professional race-relations workers with the author, April, 1967. The worker had been involved in the negotiations with the restaurant owner.
6. Statement of Mayor Samuel Mardian, Jr., before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 13.
7. See statements of Roy B. Yanez, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix, Charles F. Harlins, Executive Director of the Phoenix Urban League, and Lincoln J. Ragsdale, mortuary owner and real estate in Phoenix, all given to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, February 3, 1962 pp. 34-48.
8. Statement of Mayor Samuel Mardian, Jr., before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 13.
9. See the general argument by Harland Padfield, "Social Foundations of Rural Poverty in the Southwest," *Arizona Review*, Vol. 16 (June-July), 1967, pp. 1-5 and literature cited there.
10. Daniel P. Moynihan, "White Blindness Lamented, The Past Is Prologue," *Washington Post*, August 6, 1967, reprinted in *Congressional Record*, Vol. 113, No. 123, p. S11079 (Daily Edition).
11. Frank J. Sorauf, *Political Parties in the American System* (Boston, Little, Brown: 1964), p. 131, ff.
12. Nelson W. Polsby, *Congress and the Presidency* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964), Chapter 7, and Harry A. Bailey, Jr., *Negro Politics in America* (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1967), Part VI.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
14. David Danzig, "The Racial Explosion in American Society," *New University Thought* (Special Issue 1966/1967), pp. 30-39.
15. James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy, Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22 (1960), pp. 276-294.
16. Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 58 (June, 1964), pp. 361-382.
17. The official title of the report is *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, March, 1965, hereinafter cited as *Moynihan report*.
18. Interview, President of the Washington State AFL-CIO Labor Council with the author, November, 1965.

19. Letter, Department of Public Welfare to the author, April 4, 1967.
20. See Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the American Negro* (Princeton: Van Nostrand Co., 1964), pp. 13-15; Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1963), p. 51. Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 116-117.
21. Letter to the author, Department of Public Welfare, State of Arizona, April 10, 1967.
22. See the groundbreaking study of August B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: Wiley, 1958), *passim*. The same pattern continues to be found in replication studies. Leo Srole and Others, *Mental Health in the Metropolis* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), and Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen, and Arthur Pearl, *Mental Health of the Poor* (New York: The Free Press, 1966).
23. Thomas R. Brooks, "New York's Finest," *Commentary*, August, 1965, p. 29. A rebuttal to Brooks is made by David Durk and Donald Reis, "The Police," *Commentary*, February, 1966, p. 16, along with a surrebuttal by Brooks, *ibid.*, p. 22.
24. See Erik H. Erikson and Kai T. Erikson, "The Confirmation of the Delinquent," in Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, *Psychoanalysis and Social Science* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1962), pp. 153-187.
25. Karl E. Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," *Scientific American*, Vol. 213, No. 2 (August, 1965), pp. 12-19. See also, Lawrence K. Northwood & E. A. T. Barth, *Urban Desegregation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965). This freezing into the slum is an interesting exception to Samuel Lubell's theory of the suburban frontier and its ancestral base, the old tenement. See *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Anchor Edition, 1956), pp. 65-71.
26. Data furnished from files of Phoenix Human Relations Commission. Reverend Don Rusk served as chairman of the Inner City Study Committee.
27. The figure and immediately following discussion is based on a Special Census taken in Phoenix and Tucson, mid-October, 1965, by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Current Population Reports*, Series P-28, No. 1407, dated April 15, 1966.
28. *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, The Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix*, 1966, dated December 5, 1966.
29. All figures on Phoenix public housing are from the Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix, reflecting occupancy as of March 31, 1966. These materials were printed in the *Report of the Phoenix Human Relations Commission*, June 6, 1966 (ditto).
30. *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Housing Authority of the City of Phoenix*, p. 16.
31. Comment on staff worker, Central Area Motivation Program, Seattle Washington, November, 1965.
32. *A Sharper Look*. . . Section 3, subsection 3.
33. *RIPS*, p. 26.
34. *Report on Florida, Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, August, 1963, p. 19 (footnotes omitted).
35. For example, see the *Moynihan Report*, pp. 34-37.
36. "Educational Consequences of Segregation in a California Community," contract study for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C3 to *RIPS*, pp. 165-206. See also materials cited by Wilson at p. 177.
37. Personal communication to the author, February, 1967.
38. Estimate supplied by Harper C. Stewart, State Supervisor, in letter to author, dated April 3, 1967.
39. Personal communication to the author, March, 1967.
40. Harper C. Stewart, State Supervisor, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, to the author, dated April 13, 1967.
41. See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963; also see Silberman's *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 224-248.
42. *Report on Florida*, pp. 34-35.
43. *Report on U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, 1963, p. 85.
44. *Report of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, 1963, p. 83.

45. *Moynihan Report*, pp. 19-21.
46. Quoted in comments of Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of NAACP to Third National Conference of the Plans for Progress, Washington, D.C., January 26, 1965 (mimeo).
47. Valentine, *DEEDS*, *op. cit.*
48. See "Survey of City Employees, . . ." cited above.
49. Based on confidential interviews with full-time officials charged with ending discrimination.
50. Information furnished the author by Junius A. Bowman, Executive Director of the Phoenix Urban League, April 17, 1967.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Special Labor Force Report No. 33, "Economic Status of Non-white Workers, 1955-1962," *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1963, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 4.
53. *A Sharper Look*. . .
54. Robert Heilbroner, "Men and Machines in Perspective," *The Public Interest*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (Fall, 1965), p. 27; and Robert M. Solow, "Technology and Unemployment, *The Public Interest*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall, 1965), p. 17.
55. The Arizona Civil Rights Commission, The Phoenix Human Relations Commission, and the Tucson Human Relations Commission.
56. Quoted in Part 6, "Federal Role in Urban Affairs," Hearing before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, 89th Congress, pp. 1397-98.
57. Testimony of Robert E. McAtee, *ibid.*, p. 1366. The surveyor was interpreting his experience in both Harlem and the Watts area of Los Angeles.
58. *First Annual Report, 1965-66, Arizona Civil Rights Commission*, p. 15.
59. A detailed account of these events may be found in the *New York Times*, March 26, 1966.
60. See discussion of the general control of F.C.C. by Bernard Rubin, *Political Television* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1967), pp. 8-10.
61. An account of the Durham situation is contained in the *New York Times*, December 13, 1964, pp. 1-2.
62. "A Report of Attitudes of Negroes in Various Cities," prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, by John F. Kraft organization, *Hearings Exhibit 124*, p. 1391.
63. The speech was given March 2, 1967, on the occasion of Howard University's 100th anniversary.

VI. APPENDIX

In Arizona Negroes have settled principally in the cities: 67.1 percent of all Arizona Negroes live in the urban areas of Phoenix and Tucson; 72.2 percent of all Arizona Negroes live in Maricopa and Pima Counties. A specific breakdown of population by county and urban area follows:

TABLE IV

NEGRO POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AREA IN ARIZONA*

Area	Total Population	Negro Population	
State	1,302,161	Number	Percent
County			
Apache	30,348	774	2.5
Cochise	55,039	1,348	2.4
Coconino	41,857	1,192	2.8
Gila	25,745	100	3.8
Graham	14,045	360	2.6
Greenlee	11,509	49	.4
Maricopa	663,510	25,119	3.8
Mohave	7,736	16	.2
Navajo	37,994	744	1.9
Pima	265,660	8,067	3.0
Pinal	62,673	3,681	5.8
Santa Cruz	10,808	105	1.0
Yavapai	28,912	137	.5
Yuma	46,235	1,711	3.7
Urbanized areas†			
Phoenix	552,043	21,777	3.9
Tucson	227,433	7,369	3.1

* Source: Tables 13, 21 and 28, United States Census of Population, 1960, Arizona, "General Population Characteristics."

† The concept of "urbanized areas" was used in the United States Census in both 1950 and 1960. To be considered an urbanized area certain specific criteria must be met; the area generally must have at least one city of 50,000 or more and an urban fringe which may be composed of incorporated and unincorporated areas. Arizona has two urbanized areas, Phoenix and Tucson. The broader concept of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) incorporates economic and social communication patterns and further makes use of county boundaries. As the boundaries of Arizona's SMSA's are coterminous with the boundaries of Maricopa (9,253 square miles) and Pima (9,241 square miles) Counties, each containing large uninhabited and low population density land areas, the concept is unsuited to bring out the contrasts in the above figures, the specific contrast of interest being the concentration of Negroes in the urban areas of the state.

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