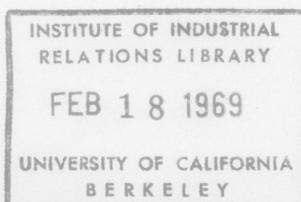


Negroes
(1968 folder)

Why Should Negroes Work?*

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~~Participating~~ in Louis A. Ferman (ed.), ^{Negroes and Jobs} ~~Race and Unemployment~~, 1968
(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press)



[Berkeley, 1968?]

With the publication of Myrdal's monumental work, An American Dilemma, a new interpretation of race relations gained currency. Prior to this, social scientists, primarily under the influence of Robert E. Park, had seen the problem of race relations as an expression of an as yet incomplete process leading to assimilation. When two different races meet, Park argued, conflict ensues.¹ Once hegemony of one over the other is established, conflict is gradually superceded by accommodation. The United States, according to this view, had been in the accommodation phase--the Negro community, although truncated at the top, produces values and institutions that parallel those of the dominant white society.² In order to move from accommodation to assimilation--and, hence, the elimination of caste inferiority and discrimination--Park saw urbanization as central. Education and self-help could flourish in the urban setting and, ultimately, the Negro community would come to a complete parallel with the whole range of statuses in white society. Assimilation would then take place between strata in the white and Negro communities, strata which shared the same life styles, values and occupational talents.

Myrdal's work, if not in spirit then surely in substance, refuted much of this mechanistic view of race relations. While there were some obvious parallels between white and black communities--Negroes were, according to Myrdal, "exaggerated Americans"--the net effect of generations of slavery and Jim Crow was to severely distort the viability of the Negro community.³ In Myrdal's words, the Negro's was a "pathological community." Told for years that black was bad and white was right, Negroes had come to believe it and were thus, for all practical purposes, rendered immobile. Self-help had no basis: as soon as a Negro managed to accumulate some capital, instead of turning it to good turn for his fellow Negroes, he tried frantically to dissociate himself from his fellows. Negroes turned upon Negroes--stealing from one another, maiming one another--and, ultimately, they turned on themselves, using skin lighteners and hair straighteners in an attempt to rid themselves of the onus, black. These observations, and others pointing in the same general direction, made Myrdal less optimistic than Park: not only do whites have to be shaken free of their prejudice and discriminatory behavior, Negroes, too, have to shake themselves free of their own disorganization. Positing the now famous "vicious circle," Myrdal saw both black and white action and reaction as interdependent--as soon as whites ceased discrimination, Negroes would look up.⁴ The accommodation that Park saw merging into assimilation was seen by Myrdal as sustaining a self-fulfilling prophecy that led nowhere.

The nature of this vicious circle is simple: whites, on the basis of prejudice, discriminate against Negroes; as a result of this discrimination, Negroes are forced to adapt to deprivation, e.g., by dropping out of school to seek employment, in ways that serve to reinforce white prejudice--"See, they can't do well in school." Thus, each generation responds in ways that serve to perpetuate the status quo. What is required is for one generation of Negroes to sacrifice its adaptations and plunge ahead as if there were no prejudice and discrimination--e.g., get educated even though the "payoff" for being educated will not be forthcoming for them--or for a generation of whites to refuse to fall into the trap of stereotyping even though Negroes do demonstrably achieve at lower levels in schools. The difficulties in effecting one or the other of these "sacrifices" (the difficulties in accomplishing both simultaneously are even greater) are attested to in the emergence of a third "school" of race relations, one that is even more pessimistic than its predecessors. This third school has no one spokesman as sharply set off as either Park or Myrdal but the position is clear nonetheless: After "feeding on itself" for years, the vicious circle has become a vicious spiral in which one generations pathological adaptations are compounded in the next

generation--things get worse instead of staying the same.⁵ Unemployment leads to welfare and, ultimately, to welfare dependency; family instability and illegitimacy lead to inadequate socialization of children and, thus, a perpetuation of family instability and illegitimacy.

Each of these interpretations has been more or less carefully researched and documented. But though each rests on facts, the interpretations and the assumptions underlying these interpretations are not fact--they are only convenient ways of ordering facts and providing, implicitly or explicitly, guidelines for action. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate current thinking on the issue of race and employment and offer a tentative alternative interpretation. Specifically, we wish to take issue with the assumption, common to all three of the above approaches, that Negroes and whites share the same basic evaluations of the "system"--occupational, social, and political. It seems to us that the preponderant view of the Negro community is far too undifferentiated and that academic as well as programmatic approaches to the problem of Negro unemployment ignore one basic feature of ghetto life--a dislike, ranging from mild to intense hatred, of whites and ambivalence toward the institutions of white society. Euphemisms such as "the hard-to-reach" only serve to avoid this basic--and basically discomfiting--fact that has, we think, important implications for understanding employment patterns and strategies for easing Negro unemployment. For the sake of explication, let us examine more thoroughly the vicious circle-spiral thesis and, in the process, elaborate an alternative approach which we think more closely encompasses the realities of the ghetto.

Identity, "Pathology," and Employment

In simplified form, the vicious circle-spiral theses run as follows:⁶ Slavery stripped the Negro of his culture and identity and left little but self-hatred and a rejection of blackness. Further, Negro men were prevented from asserting traditional masculine prerogatives, such as the elemental right to care for and protect wife (or wives) and children, making the identity of Negro males especially problematic. Moreover, women under slavery tended to enjoy a more favorable position vis-a-vis whites and, hence, in the slave context, vis-a-vis Negro men. The fact that Negro women have continued, for a variety of reasons, to hold a more favorable economic position than Negro men has led to the development and perpetuation of a matrifocal family structure in which the male is frequently treated as a useless--or worse, disuseful--appendage. Children reared under these circumstances are either without a father, as a result of marital instability, or, perhaps worse, with a father who is continually subservient to his wife. Boys, especially, are seen to suffer, failing to develop adequately positive self-definitions and, hence, unable to assume roles demanded of adult males. One generation's problems are thus passed on to the next, perpetuating (or increasing) family instability, unemployment and other symptoms of a pathological adjustment to past and present discrimination. The key elements of this analysis are, typically, identity (masculine), family instability, and unemployment. Let us examine these elements of the argument.

There is, it should be clear, no denying many of the facts of the case just presented, if one enters the caveat that the phenomena involve only a minority of Negroes. But relative to whites, the Negro family is unstable; men do have a harder time than women (e.g., men have higher rates of mental illness than do women in the Negro community); Negro women do tend to be more dominant in their families than white women are in theirs, and so forth. But do these facts necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Negro male is rendered functionless and psychologically emasculated--i.e., unable to assume adult male roles? Or could it be the case that only if the Negro male (and the Negro female) accept the dominant society's definitions of masculinity and

Negro inferiority is he thereby left without masculine identity and function? Could not these same phenomena, typically attributed to the society's withholding of manhood and its prerogatives, be seen as an attempt on the part of the male to assert his own sense of dignity and manhood? Let us take this position, not in the spirit of proving it but, rather, simply to advance it.

There are several observations that have been made regarding the status differences accorded men and women in both Negro and white society. In the dominant white society, women are the social inferiors of men. This is reflected in familial roles, educational patterns (women go less far in school), and, of course, in work force roles. By contrast, the Negro woman typically goes further in school than the Negro male, has enjoyed steadier, if lower paying, work that brings her into closer and more intimate contact with socially superior whites (i.e., wealthier families who can afford domestic help, office staffs made up primarily of white, middle class people, and so forth), and, as we have noted, she enjoys more authority--if not outright dominance--in her family. What we are leading to here is that Negro women, more than Negro men, are more likely to identify with and aspire to middle class values and life styles than are Negro men. If nothing else, they are more exposed to these values and life styles than are Negro men. Moreover, it appears as if Negro women have a different perspective on the social order, compared to Negro men. Parker and Kleiner report that: "Significantly more females than males in the community /non-institutionalized Negro population of Philadelphia/ population feel that being a Negro does not constitute a barrier to achievement."⁷ Following from this, it does not seem unreasonable to conjecture that the instability of the Negro family might be the result of a refracted conflict between Negroes and whites, in this case the wife being the symbolic representative of the demands of white society. Insofar as adherence to the dominant society's definitions of self-worth place the Negro male in a problematic position, the issue is clear: marriage will be difficult if the wife is insistent in her demands that her husband conform to definitions of self-worth of the dominant society. If this be true, the desertion of the husband, instead of indicating his emasculation, would represent an assertion of his masculinity as he sees and defines it.

This conclusion rests on the assumption that, for the Negro male, adherence to the standards of performance of white society is untenable. Again, data from the Parker and Kleiner study are illuminating. They conclude that mental illness rates were highest for those Negro men holding most firmly to the standards of success and mobility of the general society--i.e., those who perceived an open mobility structure and whose goals were to be mobile were most likely also to be (or become) ill.⁸ In addition, their data suggest that self-esteem is highest among those men who rejected mobility as a goal and perceived the social system as closed to Negroes.⁹ Given these facts, coupled with the already noted tendency for women to perceive a more open mobility structure, it is not surprising that Parker and Kleiner also found that Negro males had higher self-esteem than did Negro females.¹⁰ This, it should be obvious, is the exact opposite of what we are led to expect in the vicious circle-spiral theses.

There are two additional observations relating to the issue of masculinity and family structure that are worthy of note. First of all, the marriage rate for Negro women is considerably lower than that for white women, even when age, education and occupation are standardized.¹¹ There is, however, an interesting exception to this general pattern: Negro women with low levels of education (eighth grade or less) have a higher marriage rate than similarly educated white women, and, more importantly, they have a higher marriage rate than better educated Negro women.¹² This latter pattern is just the reverse for white women--the higher the education of the woman, the

higher the marriage rate. Taken together, these observations indicate that the Negro women may indeed be threatening to Negro men (hence they less likely to marry) and that this threat increases as the Negro woman's education increases--as she becomes more exposed to the models of man in the larger society. As the Negro woman moves more in the direction of white society she is either less able to find a mate who shares her outlook on life or men are less willing to place themselves in a situation in which "measuring up" is structurally made difficult. Either way, the implication is clear: Negro men are less likely to share the values of white society than are Negro women and in both sexes there are no small number of individuals who chose to define themselves in terms other than those extant in the dominant society.

Secondly, a few words regarding the matriarchy of the Negro family is in order. The general assumption in the prevailing vicious circle-spiral theses is that matriarchy is most prevalent in lower class Negro families and that as Negro couples more closely approximate the occupational and income attributes of the white middle class, family structure also more closely approximates that of whites. Thus, the less secure masculinity of lower class Negro males. In a study of Detroit families, however, Blood and Wolfe found the opposite to be true. Higher income Negro husbands endured a more subordinate position vis-a-vis their wives than did Negro husbands with lower income, and this was the reverse of the pattern for whites.¹³ Once again, we see data suggesting that the Negroes who are at least moderately successful occupationally, presumably those who have accepted the values of white society, are those who evince difficulties with masculine roles.

The question these considerations raise is whether the unemployment of the Negro male and the related propensity of the male to sever marital bonds by leaving his wife indicates an absence of positive masculine self-identity or, contrariwise, the assertion of a positive self-identity. While this question may appear, at first blush, to be scholastic exercise it seems probable that, on the answer to this question depend quite different evaluations of the future course of race relations. It is also clear that quite different programs aimed at alleviating poverty and unemployment are required, depending upon the answer to this question. If the Negro male judges himself, and is judged by his peers, in terms of criteria that, in one degree or another, deny the efficacy of the criteria of the dominant society, then programs based on the assumption that the values of the dominant society are accepted--or acceptable--are clearly going to meet resistance. Witness, for example, the "revolts" in various Job Corps training camps across the country, the most spectacular of which occurred in a supposedly model--i.e., successful--camp in New Jersey one day after an inspection visit by Sargent Shriver, O.E.O. chief.¹⁴

Not all resistance takes so open a form, however. Even after completion of training program and placement in a job, nominally the mark of a "successful" program, indications are that trainees do not stay on these jobs for long. Absenteeism leading to firing has been cited as one of the principal problems involved in post-training job histories. While there are many possible explanations for this phenomenon, it seems at least plausible that among these reasons one is likely to find resistance to subordination in a context that has traditionally meant that one must accept "his place." One way out of this demeaning circumstance is to play the "system" for what it is worth--to "hustle." Reports from various people involve in training programs on the West Coast indicate that many trainees refer to their internship as "the poverty hustle," indicating that their interest is hardly one of getting into the occupational structure and beginning the long trek to the American Dream. They are not making it in the system--they are, in their eyes, beating the system.¹⁵ This is one way of

psychologically withholding commitment and thus avoiding what, to Negroes after centuries of experience, must seem certain to end in disappointment. But it is also a way of asserting one's own autonomy and sense of dignity by denying the efficacy of the dominant society.

Of course Negroes do, like whites, desire a decent job, education, home and all of the other things that they have so long been deprived of. It is something else again, however, to assume that all Negroes are committed to obtaining these desiderata by the same means as whites. What is being suggested here as an alternative to the assumptions of the vicious circle-spiral theses is that much of what is commonly taken as social pathology is, perhaps, attributable to the dynamic of antagonistic models of man. Having been kept out of the mainstream for so long, it may be that Negroes have rejected this mainstream and created "streams" of their own. This of course is not a new suggestion. Discussions of the "culture of poverty," and "deviant subcultures" have long been in the literature and are well known to all who are concerned with "reaching the 'hard-to-reach'." But recognition and understanding are two quite different things. Altogether too frequently, this recognition becomes translated into attempts to inspire motivation--i.e., to convince the "hard-to-reach" of the basic fairness and worth of the American Way. The problem is that this argument flies in the face of too much experience to the contrary--and many Negroes are, apparently, not buying this argument. But what are a few of the alternative "streams" that seem open to Negroes in this society and how might each affect work?

Subcultures, Commitment, and Work

In the first instance, obviously, the Negro can opt for identifying with the broader society and pattern his aspirations and behavior after the models provided therein. Many do just this but we should not be overly eager to include in this stratum all Negroes who do have steady jobs and are, ostensibly, successful. Events such as those in Watts clearly indicate that a job, while perhaps necessary, is certainly not sufficient cause for subscribing to the dominant society's norms and values. If unemployed, individuals in this stratum are very likely to be the successful job finders, for having a job is central. Having a job places the individual in the "system" and, given a belief in the "system," this means that there will be some chances, real or imagined, of getting ahead. This holds true even if getting ahead means only minor promotions. To the extent that one's raison d'etre is based on the values and assumptions of the dominant society, even a "foot in the door" is important.

There is a second alternative open to Negroes, an alternative that many take in spite of its obvious destructiveness--viz., rejection of the values of white society and retreat into a highly privatized world. A recent study of ethnic groups in Chicago revealed that fully twenty per cent of the Negro respondents indicated having no friends with whom they associated--they were social isolates. Comparable figures for whites indicated that only 6 per cent had no friends whatever.¹⁶ Unfortunately, employment patterns for this stratum were not investigated. It would, however, be surprising if the employment patterns of this stratum were anything approaching satisfactory. Unemployment can reasonably be expected to be high and length of unemployment long. Without even a modicum of social contacts and people to rely on, it is difficult to see how the socially isolated individual can avoid this fate.¹⁷

A third possibility is a rejection of the dominant society accompanied by the substitution of collective alternatives--i.e., the creating of a more or less viable subculture in which dignity and self-worth are sustained on the basis of criteria variant from the criteria of the general society. The various black nationalist movements are examples of this stratum. The im-

portant feature of this option is that the institutions, including the occupational structure, of the dominant society are devalued and participation in the broader society is restricted. This may not mean unemployment is the rule--money is still essential--but labor considered demeaning is probably rules out (as it should be). The key issue here is, what is considered demeaning labor? This is an answer yet unknown. Some indications are available, however, and are worthy of consideration. There are increasing reports of men unwilling to work for less than roughly \$2.00 per hour. This has caused a good deal of consternation in white communities essentially hostile to welfare in the first place. I think the answer may lie in a consideration of the role of work for one who does not accept the notions of mobility within the occupational structure. Working for less than a perceived living wage makes little sense unless the individual seek the work as leading to something more desirable, unless he believes in or aspires to mobility. To the extent that this stratum of Negroes do not believe in or aspire to mobility (mobility in the sense defined by the dominant society), a job is only valuable for the money it pays now. If it does not pay enough, the social psychological costs involved in submitting to what is seen as an essentially corrupt and evil society are simply too great.

This perspective also sheds light on the aforementioned problem of absenteeism. Even when a job pays well enough, if the Negro worker is forced to submit to what he perceives as discriminatory behavior--a very likely occurrence, we might add--the job and its pay may simply not be worth it. Working then becomes a very immediate and real challenge to his sense of dignity and self-worth and it gets harder and harder to face work each morning. The lower the initial commitment to the occupational values of the society, the less time it takes for this process to culminate either in quitting or firing.

This matter points up an essential feature of the strata we have been discussing. They are not fixed and an individual can move in or out of any of them and into any other. The career of the late Malcolm X is a vivid example of a clearly exceptional individual who, in his short life, managed to move through all three strata--from an honor student, to hustler, to leading spokesman for black nationalist sentiment.¹⁸ Although, obviously, his labor force participation is not to be taken as archtypal, his career does limn the essential fluidity--or volatility--of Negro life and labor. While there are no doubt individuals who cling stubbornly to, say, the occupational values of the society, it is reasonable to expect that many become disillusioned and radically alter their commitments. A more humble example of this is provided in a recent paper by Lee Rainwater in which he describes a sequence of events leading up to the marital breakup of a young Negro couple ostensibly doing reasonably well. They had no children and both worked, aspiring to the usual bigger apartment, better car, newer furniture, et cetera. Then he was fired. Rainwater quotes the man's description of the event:

I went to work one day and the man told me that I would have to work until 1:00. I asked him if there would be any extra pay for working overtime and he said no. I asked him why and he said, 'If you don't like it you can kiss my ass.' He said that to me. I said 'Why do I have to do all that?'...I wanted to fight him but I said to myself I don't want to be that ignorant. I don't want to be as ignorant as he is, so I just cut out and left.¹⁹

The boss called later (it was the boss' son in the exchange above) and fired the Negro. Rainwater than goes on to relate the change that took place in the man's attitudes toward race. Before the firing, he maintained that

some Negroes were just not ready for integration yet and he couldn't figure out what all the civil rights activity was about. After the firing (his wife left him shortly after he lost his job), his attitude changed markedly-- he condemned whites, saying in part:

We do believe that man was put here to live together as human beings; not one that's superior and one that's a dog, but as human beings. And if you don't want to live this way then you become the dog and we'll become the human beings.²⁰

This man may have little trouble getting another job, but it is clear that his commitment to the world of work is not what it was and that his behavior on the next job will be markedly different. The process can work the other way. A favorable response from a teacher or respect from an employer can provide the basis for a positive change in an individual's attitudes toward work and toward the larger society. In Claude Brown's autobiography, *Manchild in the Promised Land*, a psychiatrist provided the impetus for just such a shift.²¹

It would be unnecessary to point out the essential anecdotal character of much of the "evidence" we have used in discussing the range of alternative models of man open to the Negro were it not for the fact that anecdotal information is just about all that is available. What is needed if we are to understand fully the relationships between race and employment is to have empirical studies of the range of alternatives open to Negroes, the numbers making these choices, and the extent to which some options place the individual in opposition to the dominant society. Moreover, it is necessary that data be collected on the kinds of shifts in an individual's relationships to the occupational structure and the broader society and the nature of the causes of these shifts.

Our discussion of Negro unemployment has not focused on the question of why Negroes have higher rates of unemployment than do whites. Rather, we have taken for granted the fact of high Negro unemployment and raised another question: Why do some Negroes find themselves without work while others do not? We would like to redress this imbalance somewhat and briefly consider one of the most frequently cited factors contributing to high Negro unemployment--low skills among Negroes.

Discussions of the role skills play in employment tend to assume an unreasonable degree of rationality in hiring. For many, if not most blue collar jobs, skill requirements are quite flexible and are determined more by general criteria than by the specific tasks required by the job.²² Chief among these general criteria are education and prior job experience. Steadiness in the latter and persistence in the former--both indications of dependability and commitment--probably suffice for many employers' purposes. In times of labor shortage, even these general criteria are waived. This is not to deny that more specific skills are preferable; nevertheless the "fit" between the skills one has and the skills one might need for a specific job is usually loose enough that workmen, foremen and employers alike rely heavily on general skills at hiring time. With regard both to steadiness of work history and education, subcultural values play an extremely important role. Thinking of the work history for a moment, it seems more than reasonable to hypothesize that the weaker the commitment to occupational values and the less one invests in work, the greater the likelihood of a chaotic work history, marked by firings, resignations and lay-offs. In short, it seems likely to have job records that make subsequent potential employers hesitant to hire.

Education in many ways is more important than prior job experience in determining employability, especially for the better blue collar jobs and for white collar jobs. As we have mentioned earlier, it is through education that occupational values are transmitted and sustained; and justifiably, education is seen by most whites as the primary path to upward mobility. How do Negroes feel about education? James Coleman's recent investigation of educational achievement indicates that the educational achievement of Negroes is heavily dependent upon their perception of the extent to which the individual feels the society is just. A few examples of Coleman's results are worth citing in this regard. Among twelfth graders in the northeastern region of the U.S., 88 per cent of the whites and 70 per cent of the Negroes felt that hard work was more important than luck in determining success; in the west, the figures are 84 and 58 per cent respectively.²³ While the majority of Negroes believe in the essential rationality of the society, the differences between whites and Negroes are impressive and confirm our earlier comments--there is a large number of Negroes who have little or no faith in the "system" and, thus, little reason to believe that working hard will make any difference. In discussing this and other related findings, Coleman concludes:

For children from advantaged /white/ groups, achievement or lack of it appears closely related to their self-concept: what they believe about themselves. For children from disadvantaged /non-white/ groups, achievement or lack of it appears closely related to what they believe about their environment: whether they believe the environment will respond to reasonable efforts, or whether they believe it is instead merely random or immovable.²⁴

Not only do Coleman's findings call into question prevailing assumptions about the self-esteem of Negroes as related to achievement, they clearly indicate that the issue of skills, insofar as education is concerned, cannot be treated adequately without serious consideration being given to the processes by which skills are obtained and the ways in which commitment to the values of work and success affects obtaining skills.

Thus far, we have made little mention of discrimination as a determinant of unemployment differentials between whites and Negroes. Indeed, were we not to mention discrimination, much of what we have argued could be (mistakenly) interpreted as placing responsibility for Negro unemployment at the door of the Negro himself. Nothing is further from our intent. Were it not for the cupidity of whites, the estrangement we have been discussing would not be. The attempts, on the part of many Negroes, to seek alternatives for realizing themselves and affirming their dignity can only be understood in the context of their being shut out from the institutions that provide whites and means of self-realization and validation of self-worth. It is true, of course, that this search for alternatives is not easy and it frequently can result in frustration, despair, and apathy. It is also true that many alternatives are, ultimately, self-destructive--e.g., the subculture of the addict. But this is simply to state the obvious; it is hard to be a Negro in this society. However hard being a Negro is, though, it should not obscure the fact that alternatives are continuously sought. From the slave revolts to the Garvey movement, to the contemporary expressions of black pride, Negroes have asserted themselves.²⁵ That hitherto, these assertions have failed is important; but failure and resultant apathy is not to be confused with acquiescence in or acceptance of white domination.

By way of summary, a few final comments seem in order regarding the meaning of apathy. Given discrimination and deprivation, there are analytically two types of apathy: 1) the apathy of one who is rejected by or a failure in the society he aspires to become a part of, hence sharing in the society's judgements of success and failure; 2) the apathy of one who rejects the society's standards of judgement and is waiting and looking for a way to change those standards by either creating his own or changing the society's. Unemployment and underemployment may characterize both but, it should be clear, they do so for quite different reasons and these differences, it would seem, require different responses from the broader society. For the first, another start--retraining programs and the like--may suffice to restore self-esteem and an ability to function in the society. For the second, individual treatment would seem to be doomed from the outset. For him, problems are not of his own making--he has not failed; they are of the society's making--the society has failed, failed in justly distributing its rewards. This issue, the distribution of rewards, is not resolved by training or retraining for the "simple" reason that real interests are at stake and likely to conflict. What is clearly called for is a very hard look at our contemporary "crisis in black and white." It may yet not be too late to resolve this conflict within the context of political democracy.

NOTES

*The author wishes to record his appreciation to R. A. Gordon, Margaret S. Gordon and Charles Y. Glock for discussing many of the ideas in this paper and offering suggestions for improvement. Lloyd C. Street and Bruce Johnson have read earlier drafts of this paper and their comments and suggestions have also been invaluable.

This paper represents the initial formulation guiding in part, a two-year research project on Negro unemployment supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation and co-sponsored by the Institute of Industrial Relations and the Survey Research Center, both of the University of California, Berkeley.

1. See, for example, Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, (1950), pp. 189-195.

2. To be sure, Park recognized differences between the white and Negro communities, both in terms of values and institutions. However, these differences were generally ascribed to Negro "folk culture," which was, like all folk cultures in the presence of a growing urban society, essentially anachronistic and soon to disappear. On this and the idea of parallel communities, see Ibid., esp. Part Two. For greater elaboration of these points in Park's view of race relations, see the essays by Ernest W. Burgess and Everett C. Hughes in Jitsuichi Masuoka and Preston Valien (eds.), Race Relations, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, (1961).

3. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper and Row, (Twentieth Anniversary Ed., 1962), pp. 927-994.

4. Ibid., pp. 75-78. In theory, the vicious circle works both ways so that Negroes could initiate the breaking of the circle. However, Myrdal places greatest emphasis on the role of whites in initiating change.

5. The idea of progressive deterioration is most clearly stated by Daniel P. Moynihan in "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus, (Fall, 1965), pp. 745-770, esp. p. 758, 766-69. The idea, however, is implicit in many recent studies, especially those focusing on family and personality. This follows from the over-determinist bias in these studies. See, e.g., Thomas Pettigrew, A Profile of the American Negro, New York: Van Nostrand, (1964).

6. This synopsis is based primarily on Moynihan, op. cit., and Pettigrew, op. cit. Also see Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, Cambridge: MIT Press, (1964).

7. Seymour Parker and Robert J. Kleiner, Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community, New York: The Free Press, (1966), p. 162. The institutionalized population refers to those in mental hospitals at the time of the study.

8. Ibid., pp. 50-61; also Chap. 4.

9. Parker and Kleiner do not present data bearing directly on this issue. However, at several points they discuss this relationship for specific strata in their sample. See pp. 174-75; 307-08.

10. Ibid., p. 181.
11. Paul Glick, American Families, New York: John Wiley & Sons, (1957), p. 131.
12. Ibid., p. 133.
13. Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, (1950), p. 99.
14. Discussions of the strengths and weaknesses of the various programs aimed at alleviating unemployment are now proliferating. For two critical views, see Edward Moscovitch, "Finding Jobs for the Poor," The New Republic, (November 5, 1966); and Patrick Anderson, "Job Corps--What Boys Will It Take?", in Hanna H. Meissner, (ed.), Poverty in the Affluent Society, New York: Harper & Row, (1966), pp. 219-220. For a more optimistic, though cautious view, see Gerald G. Somers, "Retraining the Unemployed: A Preliminary Survey," in Stanley Lebergott, (ed.), Men Without Work, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, (1964), pp. 152-160.
15. These comments are based primarily on informal conversations with persons involved in the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in Los Angeles and Oakland. On the Oakland program, a paper by David Wellman ("Putting on the Youth Opportunities Center," (1967), mimeo, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley) goes into depth on this phenomenon. On this, and several other issues, Mr. Wellman's discussions with the author have been most helpful.
16. Jan E. Dizard, "Ethnic Groups in the Metropolis," unpublished paper, Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1965. The statistics reported here are based on a sample survey of 1800 families in Chicago.
17. This is not to say that isolation necessitates poverty and unemployment. Several studies have shown, however, that the isolated are disproportionately represented among the lowest socio-economic strata of the society, see, e.g., Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Cities and Society, (rev. ed.), Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, (1957), pp. 722-29.
18. Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, (as told to Alex Haley), New York: Grove Press (1965).
19. Lee Rainwater, "The Crucible of Identity," Daedalus, Winter 1966, p. 193.
20. Ibid., pp. 193-94.
21. Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land, New York: Macmillan & Co., (1966).
22. For a brief discussion of this and the ways in which skill requirements fluctuate with the demand for labor, see James Tobin, "Improving the Economic Status of the Negro," Daedalus, Fall, 1965, pp. 883-84.
23. James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, (1966), p. 289.

24. Ibid., p. 320-21.

25. Negro resistance has usually been treated as epiphenominal, an eddy in the major current of acceptance of and adjustment to white superiority. That we think this is a mistaken reading of both the historical and contemporary record does not need re-emphasis. For materials on Negro slave revolts, see Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, New York: Columbia University Press, (1943); On Garvey, Edmund David Cronon, *Black Moses*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, (1955).