ABSTRACT
                This study is an attempt to examine barriers to
employment and educational opportunity for black Americans in
situations where social justice might be thought to prevail, the
authors electing to investigate racial attitudes and behavior in
Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Attention is focused on youth, public schools,
and Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council firms;
ideas that blacks and whites have about themselves and each other are
explored. The major hypothesis is that educators, social scientists,
and businessmen will conceptualize racial problems in a way that: (1)
makes blacks responsible for their inferior and disenfranchised
position in society; and (2) leads to the proposal of "solutions" to
social problems that cannot possibly be implemented and has no
relationship to existing institutions. Chapter II provides a general
description of Milwaukee and a detailed account of employment and
educational problems of blacks. Chapter III discusses the problems of
the study and hypotheses developed. Chapter IV describes the design
and methodology of the study. Chapter V and VI report on the barriers
to equal employment opportunities. Chapter VII describes the effort
to develop a plausible educational alternative that confronts
barriers to employment. Chapter VIII is a summary of findings, which
are considered to have confirmed the major hypothesis. [Appendix B
may not be clearly legible in hard copy reproduction.] (Author/RJ)

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BARRIERS
to
EMPLOYABILITY
of
NON-WHITE WORKERS

BY:

Millard Clements

Margaret Ramsay

Robert Conry

Lawrence Howard

FINAL REPORT:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Lawrence Howard

OCTOBER, 1969

PREFACE

This study has encountered many barriers: The Milwaukee Civil
Disturbances, the peripatetic life of the researchers, and the relentless
demands of university employment. This report is atypically late. Every
imaginable vicissitude has contributed to its delay: illness, conflicting
responsibilities, and the fatigue that derives from unfulfilled responsi-
bilities.

In spite of these troubles and the long delay, the Barriers
Study confronted serious problems, developed provocative data, and is
still relevant to contemporary issues -- perhaps even more now than when
the study was underway.

The authors would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance
of several persons who have made the production of this document possible.
Larry Nelson performed the computations and managed the computer with
mastery. Dr. Philip Lambert provided the resources of the Instructional
Research Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, where production of
the report was coordinated. Mrs. Dorothy Hougum has done the coordination,
a frustrating and often desperate responsibility which involved working
with four authors who had all moved to other campuses and new responsi-
bilities. Also in the Instructional Research Laboratory, Judy Volkmann
converted incomprehensible manuscript into camera-ready copy. Mrs. Donna
Hartman is the artist who designed the cover. And the Extension Dupli-
cating Service of the University of Wisconsin put all the pieces together
as though it were routine.

M.C.   New York City
M.R.   New York City
R.C.   Vancouver, Canada
L.H.   Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

May 31, 1970

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

That Black Americans experience social, political, and eco-
nomic duress is a fact of every day life which is documented by schol-
arship, casual observation of urban communities, black militancy,
rebellions in ghetto schools and violence in city streets.

Most Blacks in our nation today experience both great and
small indignities: they tend to live in dependent enclaves; the
schools to which they are compelled to send their children are failing;
their opportunities for employment are restricted and they must endure
all of the petty oppressions of a white society.

In spite of this common experience, it is unwise to speak of
the Negros or the Black community: there are many communities. Some
Blacks are solidly middle class but many more are poor; some are en-
gaged in self-advancement but many have lost hope for the future; some
are trying to improve social conditions but many have rejected their
color and their possibilities as Negros; some are satisfied with the
gradual progress that blacks are apparently making, but many more are
impatient, mistrustful and perhaps ready for violence. One informant
put it this way:

> The kids all carry matches
> and they don't even smoke.

Blacks today--whether comfortable or poor, well-trained or
without skills, hustlers, or middle class--tend to be forced to live
in restricted communities, excluded from many vocations and professions,
harassed by the police, and often denied significant participation in
community affairs.

In a way there is no mystery about this situation. Negroe;
were brought to the United States by force and compelled to live in
disgraceful circumstances; today both blacks and whites live in the
shadow of those events.

The denial of social justice to black Americans has produced
Black Power and self-rejection, passivity and militancy, resentment and
the possibility for chronic warfare in our cities for many years to
come.

There appear to be four alternatives open to whites in our
urban communities:

1. Face the divisions of race and class with the determina-
   tion to end injustice and conflict;

2. Wait for "the fire next time," the succession of boy-
   cotts, protests, and rebellions.

3. Transform our cities into garrison communities by estab-
   lishing resident armies to deal with guerrilla forces.

4. Engage in genocide.

Only one of these alternatives is acceptable as a conscious
choice, but all of them are possible. There are advocates of the gar-
rison approach; most Americans are ignoring the dangers we face, and
however unhappy it may appear to us today it is at least possible to
imagine conditions that might lead to the use of napalm to preserve
order in our troubled cities.

How can we think about the situation? What can be done that
has not already been done or proposed? What can be studied that is
not already too well understood?

Our effort has been to investigate the failure of what appear
to be good intentions. There are articulate and powerful bigots in our

cities, but there are also strong advocates of social justice. There is a tradition of excluding Negroes from business and the professions, but today there are many active equal opportunity organizations and strong Fair Employment Practices laws. In many cities the public schools are either mostly black or mostly white, but usually the educational leaders affirm their concern with social justice and real educational opportunities for all children. In the statements of schoolmen and in the political rhetoric, there is an admonition to face the challenge of providing satisfactory schooling and vocational opportunity for black youth.

In spite of the promise of equal opportunity and apparently sincere work on its behalf, the number of blacks who are excluded from our economic, social, and political life is constantly increasing. In spite of the good intentions and efforts of educators, black students in most schools are not doing well and there is no apparent hope for improvement.

This study, then, is an effort to examine barriers to employment and educational opportunity for black Americans in situations where social justice might be thought to prevail. We believe that if we can gain insight into why equal opportunity firms fail in their efforts to recruit and retain black workers, and if we can understand why schools tend to fail black youths, we will have confronted a central problem of black communities. We are not concerned with overt discrimination so much as with the pervasive subtle attitudes that affect both blacks and whites, both schoolmen and hustlers.

The usual way of investigating the black problem today is to

look at the "victims," that is, the black community. What is usually

found is a "tangle of pathology" that for one reason or another appears

to make black Americans unfit for both school and employment. The re-

sult of these studies lead most often to inaction and justification of

present practice in education and employment. If students are unfit

for schools, then it is not reasonable to expect them to achieve more

than they are now achieving. If black workers are unqualified, then

employers can affirm their support of equal opportunity while continu-

ing to employ few if any Negroes.

In this study we have sought to consider black youth, soci-

ologists, educators, students, equal opportunity spokesmen, and black

militants as social actors whose behavior we must understand if we are

to gain insight into the barriers to education and employment for black

youth. The basic question that we have posed is this:

> What is the social meaning of the work of social scientists
> who study urban children, of educators who implement failing
> programs, of black youth who do poorly or quit school, and
> of equal opportunity employers who are unsuccessful in re-
> cruiting and maintaining black employees?

We have sought to regard with equal objectivity the conversa-

tion with black youth and the scientific reports of social investiga-

tors: Both are social actors whose behavior is in many ways determined

or influenced by the social milieu in which they live and work. To

understand the racial problems of our nations we must come to some

understanding of both the scholarship that is directed toward urban

problems and the attitudes of urban children.

We elected to investigate racial attitudes and behavior in

the city of Milwaukee. Milwaukee represents the typical paradigm of

racial troubles of our nation: Negroes constitute a minority of the
citizenry but a substantial portion of its social problems. The black
community, however small, has within its power the capacity to disrupt
the city whenever its grievances can no longer be tolerated in silence.
In Milwaukee, as across the nation, there is an endless rhetoric of
social justice proclaimed by mayors, schoolmen, and politicians--but
neither in the nation nor in this city is there a successful effort
to provide adequate schooling or extended employment opportunities.
Both in the nation and in Milwaukee the counsel of gradualism and
patience are voices that blackmen are coming to respect less and less.

 We have directed our attention towards youth because--how-
ever poignant the difficulties of adults may be--unless Milwaukee and
the nation can adequately serve black youth there will be not only an
increasing supply of marginally functional adults, but there will be
an endless supply of men who may come to prefer violence to chronic
despair. If that occurs, White America will suffer the greatest mate-
rial and spiritual losses.

 We have focused our attention on the public schools and
M/EEOC* firms because both are deliberate and public efforts to offer
genuine opportunity. The success and failures in these situations are
especially poignant because they appear to be the results of good will,
and sincere efforts of publicized model programs designed to lead to
social equity.

 We have explored the ideas that blacks and whites have about
themselves and each other. To understand the "barriers" to opportunity
that black Americans face we must discover the social meaning and the
*Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council

social function of the ideas that blacks and whites hold, believe and

defend. Until we can understand the social meaning of the arrangements

in which blacks and whites relate to each other, we will be unable to

alter them in any significant way. Appeals to charity, compassion, and

"understanding" often reinforces the status quo. This study is an

effort to provide an intellectual basis for altering black and white

relationships.

The ideas that blacks have about themselves, their difficul-

ties, their present and their future have social location; that is,

they are ideas of blacks who experience the constant tension of living

in a white world. What blacks think about themselves, their possibil-

ities as blacks, and their future in white society has meaning in re-

lationship to and as a function of the roles they learn to play in

white society.

The ideas that white educators and social investigators have

about themselves, about scholarship and about Negroes also have social

location. They are thought by individuals who grew up white in a

white area that tends to deprecate black people. Whites have benefited

from the disadvantaged position that black people occupy: they have

comfortably available a convenient scapegoat for their own economic,

sexual and personal problems; they are blessed with many opportunities

to be generous, compassionate, noble, and indulgent in their relation-

ship with blacks: they have the benefit of superior status achieved

without effort and maintained without merit. Whatever whites think

about themselves and about blacks has social meaning that is related

to and a function of their white advantage in a white world.

The major hypothesis that was confirmed by the findings of this study is that educators, social scientists, and businessmen will conceptualize racial problems in a way that:

1. Makes blacks responsible for their inferior and disenfranchised position in society. (Blacks don't do well in school because they are culturally deprived and blacks can't get jobs because they don't have the skills.)

2. Lead to the proposal of "solutions" to social problems that cannot possibly be implemented and has no relationship to existing institutions. (Change the single parent Negro family arrangement, resolve the tangle of pathology that makes up the Negro family.) White exploration of the black problem is a scholarship of despair: It ignores the character and quality of white institutions, it seeks either an apocalyptic remedy of our social problems that is well beyond social possibility or miniscule change that leaves institutional practice unexamined.

This report will discuss the hypotheses of this investigation, and the ways we have sought to test them. In addition, we shall present an account of the development and testing of an educational alternative suggested by our findings.

Chapter two will provide a general description of Milwaukee and a detailed account of the employment and educational problems that black Americans face there.

Chapter three will discuss the problem of this study and the various hypotheses that have been developed.

Chapter four will describe the design of this investigation and the methods which have been employed for collecting data.

Chapter five will report the findings relating to barriers to employment in Equal Opportunity work situations.

Chapter six will report the findings relating to barriers to

employment which are a function of practices in the Milwaukee Public
Schools.

Chapter seven will describe our effort to develop a plausible
educational alternative that confronts both schooling and on-the-job
barriers to employment.

Chapter eight is a summary of the findings of this study and
a discussion of their implications for education, employment, and race
relations.

In the appendix there will be found an example of the ques-
tionnaire that was used, and some of the more statistical aspects of
the results are presented there.

CHAPTER II

MILWAUKEE

"For those who think about Milwaukee at all," remarked
Milwaukee's most prominent public relations executive, Ben Barkin,
"the image is one of beer, bowling or a departed baseball team."[1]
An enlargement of the city's television image presents Milwaukee as
a small town with tree lined streets--a sharp contrast to the hot
cement of a large city like Chicago. Milwaukee is not a maze of con-
crete and steel; instead there are only a few tall buildings and large
residential areas of single family bungalows and low-storied apartment
buildings. Although many large cities were losing population between
1950 and 1960, Milwaukee actually increased by a hundred thousand--a
tribute to its stability. Service men at the Great Lakes Naval Train-
ing station summed up Milwaukee as a "good liberty town." On this note
the rhetoric about the place begins--Milwaukee is a pleasant small town.

Milwaukeeans are proud of their city's attractiveness, its
lake front and well-kept parks. In recognition of its public works
department, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson traveled to the city in 1966 to open
up the National Parks and Beautification Campaign. This was recogni-
tion of Milwaukee's aesthetic achievements in public parks. Residents
like to refer to the city as a clean place which they contrast with in-
dustrial towns elsewhere in America.

Civic leaders like to think of Milwaukee as a cultural center.
It has a good art collection and a unique anthropological museum. The
county zoo, recently refurbished, is outstanding.

Milwaukee has both a morning and an afternoon paper which
enjoy national reputations for their coverage of local news.

In the city are located Northwestern Mutual Insurance Compa-
ny, the largest of its kind in the country, and Allis-Chalmers, inter-
nationally known for farm implements. The bodies for American Motor's
Ramblers are made in the city. Milwaukee is the world's largest pro-
ducer of electrical control equipment with three companies, Allen-
Bradley, Cutler-Hammer, and Square D producing 40 per cent of all con-
trol equipment manufactured in the country. Milwaukee foundries pro-
duce iron, steel, aluminum, brass and copper castings and about 10 per
cent of the country's output of forging. But Milwaukee remains best
known for its largest non-durable manufacturing industry--beer produc-
tion. Three of the largest breweries in the nation--Schlitz, Miller,
and Pabst--are headquartered in Milwaukee. Before the city attracted
national attention for its stubborn resistance to integration, it was
beer that made Milwaukee famous.

As to the people of the city, Ben Barkin offered this popular
appraisal:

> Whenever you thought of Milwaukee you probably pictured
> burghers loaded with gemultelichkeit and bratwurst.

The Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce maintained
this perspective presented the city:

> In 1964 the population was...composed of (by national descent)
> German, Polish, Austrian, Russian, and Italian, plus a sprin-
> kling of Irish, Jewish, Scandinavian, Slovak, and Negro.[2]

The "sprinkling" of a Negro population is expanding, but the
rhetoric insists that racial difficulties are minor--as one of the City

Judges reminded a Civil Rights worker, "this is not Birmingham."[3]

Milwaukee leaders are generally proud of what has been done for the

nonwhite population and the message is clear that these problems can

be solved without outside help. When the mayor of Milwaukee asked

the City Council to approve his application for Model Cities planning

funds, the Council refused. Earlier, when federal officials offered

to supply funds for training programs for disadvantaged youth, they

were told, in effect, that Milwaukee had all the training facilities

necessary.

This was the rhetoric about Milwaukee before the riots: a

small town, attractive, well-governed, with abundant cultural and

business opportunities. The people are mostly German and Polish in

descent--while there is a growing Negro population, race relations

present no difficulty that can't be met without outside help. In sum,

Milwaukeeans subscribe to the current state motto, "We like it here."

In contrast to what is said about a place, there are often

contradictions in the realities through which people experience it.

Most of the praise received by any American city does not refer to the

nonwhite experience. Negroes are understood to be excluded when a

city's economic resources are itemized--no Negro owns any manufacturing

process in Milwaukee. The social register of a city often does not

include a single black man's name--Negroes are barred from the city's

Eagle and University clubs and the city's society editor writes as if

Milwaukee was all white. Thus the reality of nonwhite life in Milwaukee

overlaps very little with the rhetoric which makes up Milwaukee's public

image.

Far from being a small town, Milwaukee is the eleventh most populace city in the nation. While most large cities have grown upward, Milwaukee has grown outward and now covers 96.5 square miles. The city's answer to population growth has been the annexation of land. The pattern of economically advantaged and white residents moving from the central city to new suburban housing areas--the usual reason for urban population loss--is masked in Milwaukee by the fact that the city owns its own all white suburbs. As elsewhere in America, the black population occupies the oldest residential sections of the city, areas from which whites have fled.

Milwaukee is physically divided in the middle by an east and west industrial valley and the Menomenee River. Lower income central European immigrant groups, primarily of Polish descent, occupy most of the south side, although a Puerto Rican community is beginning to flower in the poorest section. The city's northern half is divided by the Milwaukee River. Its course creates an east side facing Lake Michigan--a location whose desirability is reflected in inflated real estate values--which houses the city's highest income families. The near northwest side of Milwaukee has been the city's reception center. The most recent wave has consisted of Negroes said to be from the rural south, but actually their origin is unknown. In 1960, about 83 per cent of all Negroes lived in 25 of the city's 200 census tracts. Using 1960 census data, Taeber and Taeber[4] documented an "index of racial segregation" of 88.1, where 100.0 is total segregation.

The business district on the south encroaches on the near northwest side, the suburb of Shorewood forms a barrier on the north,

and the Milwaukee River another on the east. Until recently the west

side was barricaded by a city route of a major highway. This physi-

cally constricted area has come to be known as "the Inner Core," a

euphemism understood to denote Milwaukee's Negro ghetto.

Reality for blacks is different from that for whites in any

assessment about how well Milwaukee is governed. The city's major

parks--Whitnall Botanical Gardens, the County Zoo, Mitchell Park Con-

servatory, and Lake Park--all are some distance away from Negro

neighborhoods. Black people do not view the expanses of Lake Michigan,

and the Milwaukee River is visibly polluted and not scenic. The area

black people occupy is heaped by urban renewal rubble or, by incomplete

and clearly unattractive public housing projects erected amid decaying

frame houses which average 40 years in age. A major expressway, built

for the convenience of suburban white commuters, bisects the black

community. The President's wife did not come to praise the Inner Core.

Negro housing is inferior, twice as delapidated and three

times as deteriorated as white housing by 1960 census definitions.

George Pazik, of the Northtown Planning and Re-Development Council

recently pointed out that neighborhoods start their deterioration be-

fore Negroes arrive:

> "...property owners in the path of the (Negro) expansion
> tend to let their properties deteriorate in advance of the
> arrival of Negroes in the neighborhood."[5]

While 58 per cent of whites own their homes, only 24 per cent of Negroes

do--and the value of those held by Negroes is far lower. Whites talk

about the need to repair inner city housing but are oblivious to its

ownership. In contrast, blacks continually attack absentee landlords,

excessive charges for minor repairs, evictions without notice, code

violations, and extortionate rents.

Blacks live in more crowded conditions, but do not benefit

from cheaper rents. Public housing offers little. Urban renewal as

of July 1967 has produced only one low cost unit, Plymouth Hill. Forty

other town houses which were begun were halted before completion. The

major stumbling-block has been the city's unwillingness to place low-

cost housing projects in white areas.

The extent of the housing tensions produced demonstrations

for open housing in the fall of 1967--when blacks began nightly marches

led by Father Groppi and the NAACP Youth Council. The marches which

began in August swelled to several thousand participants and attracted

national attention.

Except for a few isolated incidents primarily involving the

schools, the plight of the black community had gone largely unnoticed

by whites. Ben Barkin's speech to B'nai B'rith after the 1967 marches

describes this condition:

> Many of our well-meaning citizens are honestly bewildered.
> Someone asked me last week:
>
> "What has happened to our peaceful, happy city?" "Happy
> for whom?" I asked. And someone else asked, watching one of
> our nightly marches, which sometimes swell to several hundred:
> "Where did all these people come from? I never saw them be-
> fore." Well, that was the answer. He never saw them before.
> They were there all right. Rattling around in their broken-
> down jalopies from the cottonfields of Mississippi, seeking
> the fabulous factory jobs they had heard rumors of. Over-
> flowing from Chicago's miles of misery. He never saw them
> in the comfortable, suburban neighborhood where he lived. He
> never saw them at the country club where he golfed, unless
> one of them was sweeping its floor. He seldom saw them in
> the exclusive men's store he shopped. And although the stores
> welcomed them, not too many could afford to shop there. And
> if he DID see them, they didn't register.[6]

There is some justification for the white Milwaukeean's view
that Negroes, too, like it here. One indication is the limited support
generated in the inner city for a black point of view. Prior to the
marches for open-housing, attention in Civil Rights focused on the
de facto segregated schools. Since mid-1964 the initiative has been
taken by the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC).
What stands out is the limited success these efforts have generated in
projecting the black community's view of the schools. The two boycotts
that have been staged produced only a lukewarm response--with 16,000
students out the first time and half that many staying out the second
time. In both cases, a sizable portion of the student protesters came
from the white community--and in neither case were the opportunities of
Freedom Schools developed. Notions that quality education and integrated
education are linked, the conception that the low income student was
being generally short-changed, projection of cultural deprivation in
all-white settings or concern for metropolis-wide educational districts
failed to materialize. Candidates for School Board positions who have
attacked de facto segregation have been defeated in their campaigns and
not even well supported in the inner core.

Whatever racial unrest has existed in the past has been at-
tributed to "so-called" civil rights leaders who "...claim a great
following with no evidence thereof."[7]

Perhaps the issue that commands the greatest agreement in the
black community is police harassment and brutality.

Civil Rights leaders have felt themselves--and the black
community--to be the focus of police harassment for years. Lloyd Barbe,

State Assemblyman from the inner city, Marilyn Moreheuser, coordinator

of MUSIC, Rev. Lucius Walker, head of Northcott Neighborhood House,

and Father James Groppi of St. Boniface Church and advisor to the NAACP

Youth Council--all are active Civil Rights Leaders and have repeatedly

accused the police of unwarranted harassment.

Several attempts have been made by civil and religious groups

to foster community relations programs that would reduce the tension

between inner city residents and police. None of these suggestions

has been approved by the police chief. A statement released by Civil

Rights leaders at the end of the riots said,

> While the power structure has been saying the police force
> is excellent, the Negro community has been screaming for years
> that the cops treat everyone as a suspect. Police threaten
> and harass children, lie in court, and take out personal hos-
> tilities on innocent residents.[8]

This grievance has wide support. If "The Man" has a face in the inner

city, it is the face of a cop.

Thus, the Milwaukee reputation for "good government" may mean

to the white population efficient services and a minimum of scandal,

but for nonwhites it has meant a kept Community Relations Commission,

a plain-clothes police surveillance squad filming civil rights parti-

cipants, continuing charges of police brutality, a stubborn refusal by

the City Council to pass open housing legislation, and an apparently

racist school board.

The focus of attention of this study is employment and

schooling. In order to understand the problem of this investigation,

a clear awareness of the character and quality of schooling in Milwaukee

and the extent and style of black employment and unemployment is essen-

tial. In the following pages we will describe the practice of educa-

tion in Milwaukee and what the problems of employment are for black

youth. In both employment and schooling one can see how Milwaukee copes

with its most serious social problem.

THE MILWAUKEE SCHOOLS

The Milwaukee School Board has maintained that it does not

segregate either its teachers or its students. It builds schools where

children are, it builds additions when schools become overcrowded, it

provides quality education in all of the schools of the city.

The Problem of Segregation. The position of the Milwaukee

School Board on the issue of de facto segregation is that if in fact

such racial imbalance does exist, any attempt to change the situation

would be illegal. The Board's stance is based on their interpretation

of three Statutes of the State of Wisconsin, and the 1963 decision of

the U.S. District Court, in Gary, Indiana.

Section 38.13 of the Wisconsin Statutes is known as the

"Neighborhood Schools" statute. Under this section, the school board

has the responsibility for maintaining school districts "to serve

pupils residing in said districts, and each pupil in turn has the

right to be taught in the schools of the district in which he resides."

From this, members of the School Board have argued that "compulsory

integration" is illegal since "the school boards do not have the power

to force individual pupils...to attend schools other than their own

district schools."[9]

In the Gary Case, the U.S. District Court ruled that a neigh-

borhood school statute was not in defiance of the 14th Amendment of the

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Constitution, even when racial segregation resulted, unless such segre-
gation was intentional. Thus, discrimination is forbidden, but inte-
gration is not required. The Milwaukee School Board depends a great
deal on the Gary Case as proof that the school board is not _required_ to
concern itself with _de facto_ segregation. The Gary decision, however,
does not limit what a school board would be permitted to do if it chose
to act. As the report by the Governor's Commission on Human Rights,
Racial Imbalance in the Milwaukee Public Schools, points out:

> Educational authorities in other states, operating under
> constitutional provisions similar to those in the Wisconsin
> Constitution, have issued a number of administrative de-
> cisions and formal statements of policy on school segrega-
> tion, which have not been found to be in violation of either
> state or federal law.[10]

The School Board contends that Wisconsin State Law requires that
it be "color blind," and since any action to alleviate racial imbalance
would require the consideration of race, it would be illegal. Two stat-
utes are cited to support this position: Section 40.51, which states:

> Exclusion on account of religion, nationality, or color is a
> misdemeanor. No person shall be excluded from any public
> school on account of his religion, nationality, or color...

and Section 227.033, which says, in part:

> ...No rule, either in its terms or its application, shall
> discriminate either for or against any person by reason of
> his race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry...

The Board's interpretation of these statutes has repeatedly
been criticized by Civil Rights advocates, as well as The Governor's
Commission on Human Rights, which concluded, after extensive legal de-
scription of the issues involved that:

> ...the Board is placing undue emphasis upon legal barriers
> which supposedly stand in the way of affirmative action,
> and we would point out that in general race can be a legit-

imate concern in public affairs if there is no discrimina-
tory intent in such considerations. Thus in California and
New York the courts have ruled that anti-discriminatory
statutes similar to those of Wisconsin do not preclude adop-
tion of plans by school boards to alleviate racial imbalance
by considering race.[11]

Whatever the intentions of the Milwaukee Board of Education

may be, the results are clear: both students and teachers are segre-

gated and the racial imbalance is increasing in severity.

TABLE 1

Percent of White and Non-White Total Enrollment
In All Schools In Milwaukee By Percent of Non-
White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Schools: Percent Non-White	% White of Total White Enroll.		% Non-White of Total Non-White Enroll.	
	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	.39	.57	56.14	64.48
71-90	.32	.86	7.36	10.25
51-70	1.94	2.34	18.75	10.03
31-50	3.22	1.98	10.86	5.03
11-30	3.91	7.83	4.37	6.31
.1-10	15.33	66.77	2.51	3.90
0	74.90	19.65	0	0

Student Segregation. In 1960, 56.14 percent of all Negroes

attended schools which were 90-100 percent Negro. In 1965, the percent

in such schools had risen to 64.48. Further, the percent of all Negroe

in schools 70 percent to 100 percent Negro has increased from 63.50

percent to 74.73 percent.

At first glance, white children seem to have become less seg-

regated in the same five-year period, and in a way this is true. There

is a decline in the percent of white children attending schools 90-100
percent wnite: 86.42 percent in 1960 and 74.90 percent in 1965. How-
ever, the percent attending schools 70 percent or more white is almost
identical for the two years--94.14 percent in 1960 and 94.25 percent in
1965.

An examination of the distribution of the total school popula-
tion in schools of varying racial composition yields much the same data.
Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate this.

TABLE 2

Percent of Total Enrollment in All Schools By
Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	Total Enrollment 1960	Total Enrollment 1965
Over 90	9.61	15.29
71-90	1.49	3.02
51-70	4.72	4.11
31-50	4.48	2.68
11-30	3.98	7.48
.1-10	13.21	52.29
0	62.52	15.13

TABLE 3

Racial Imbalance in Milwaukee Schools, 1965

Percent of All Pupils in Schools 90-100 White or Negro	82.71
Percent of All Pupils in Schools Other than Extreme in Mixture	17.29

The general effect, then, of the board's policy for the last
six years has been to provide token integration, partially through
transferring students in some white schools while preserving and in-
creasing the segregation of over 80 percent of its total school popula-
tion.

In order to fully understand the degree and type of de facto
segregation in Milwaukee, it is necessary to examine the three levels
of schooling--elementary, junior high, and senior high--separately.
Elementary schools draw their pupils from a smaller and more homoge-
neous population. A change in the composition of a neighborhood has an
immediate impact on the elementary school; changes in school policy, too,
will affect the elementary school more quickly than the junior high or
high school. In many ways, then, the current elementary school situa-
tion can be a prediction of the junior high and senior high situation
in five years, unless major changes occur.

Elementary Schools. The elementary schools in Milwaukee are
the most markedly segregated of all levels of schooling, and are consid-
erably more segregated than the all-school totals given above. The
difference was even more acute in 1960, but this is not because ele-
mentary schools are now less segregated but because the junior and senior
high schools have become more segregated.

The importance of Table 4 is not, perhaps, the increase in the
percent of Negroes attending 90-100 percent non-white schools, which has
changed from 67.36 to 72.43 percent. Nor is it the decrease in the num-
ber of white pupils attending 90-100 percent white schools from 92.60
to 86.27 percent. Let us look, instead at what has happened to the

schools between the two extremes during the last five years--those be-
tween 11 and 90 percent in non-white enrollment.

TABLE 4
Percent of White and Non-White Total Enrollment In
Elementary Schools in Milwaukee By Percent of Non-
White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965.

Percent Non-White	% White of Total White Enroll.		% Non-White of Total Non-White Enroll.	
	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	.54	.81	67.36	72.43
71-90	0.00	.90	0.00	9.01
51-70	2.42	1.51	19.13	5.43
31-50	3.61	1.66	11.29	3.96
11-30	.83	8.85	.82	6.30
.1-10	5.57	59.51	1.39	2.87
0	87.03	26.76	0.00	0.00

72.43 Percent of All Negro Elementary Pupils Attend Schools Over 90% Negro.

86.27 Percent of All White Elementary Pupils Attend Schools Over 90% White.

This is somewhat higher than the national average quoted in
Equality of Educational Opportunity. These studies found that "More than
65 percent of all Negro pupils in 1st grade...attend schools that are be-
tween 90 to 100 percent Negro," and "Almost 80 percent of all white pupils
in 1st grade...attend schools that are from 90 to 100 percent white."[12]
The lack of racial balance in Milwaukee becomes even more startling when
it is noted that the national averages above include southern schools
which are almost 100 percent segregated.

TABLE 5

Number of Elementary Schools in Milwaukee By
Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	Number of Schools 1960	Number of Schools 1965
Over 90	10	16
71-90	0	3
51-70	4	4
31-50	4	2
11-30	2	11
.1-10	6	53
0	85	31

In 1960, four schools were between 51 and 70 percent Negro.
In 1965, all of these schools had become 90 to 100 percent Negro.

In 1960, four schools were between 31 and 50 percent Negro.
Two of these schools had become 90-100 percent Negro by 1965, and the
other had become 70-90 percent Negro.

Two schools were 11 to 30 percent Negro in 1960. In 1965
one was 70-90 percent Negro and the other was very close to that cate-
gory, with a Negro enrollment of 69 percent.

There seems little hope for integration when transition from
white to Negro occurs this rapidly and totally. For example, a Negro
child starting 1st grade at Center Street School in 1960 would have been
in a school with a racial mixture of 33 percent Negro and 67 percent
white pupils. By fourth grade, in 1963, his school had become 94.9 per-
cent Negro. In his last year of elementary school, 1965, 97.2 percent
of his classmates were black.

Phillip School is another example of the same phenomenon. In 1960, Phillip had a very small Negro enrollment (5 percent). By 1963, the percent of Negroes had jumped to 23.1 percent, and it continued to rise at 20 percent annual intervals over the next two years: 43.1 percent in 1964 and 61.6 percent in 1965. At this rate of increase, the school will be almost 100 percent Negro by 1969.

This 20 percent annual increase is not unusual. Some Milwaukee sociologists have estimated that when an elementary school reaches over 20 percent Negro enrollment, it will become close to 100 percent Negro in four to five years.[13]

The assumption that white pupils are becoming markedly less segregated because of their drop in percent attending 100 percent white schools is not valid. In this respect, the method of distribution is somewhat misleading. By grouping all the schools with .1 to 10 percent non-white enrollment, the distribution of these schools within this category is lost.

Over half of these schools fall below 1.0 percent non-white enrollment, and almost 90 percent fall below 4.0 percent non-white enrollment. None of the schools in the .1 to .99 percent category have more than 7 non-white students and the average is 3.2.

Seven of the eleven schools in the 11-30 category will predictably experience the rapid transition from white to Negro in the next five years. These schools (Clemens, Story, Clarke, Garden Homes, Pierce, 27th and Wisconsin) are on the edges of the present core area.

Junior High Schools. It is more difficult to describe junior high schools than elementary schools, primarily because there are fewer

Negroes in the junior highs. Both populations have increased about 7 percent in Negro enrollment since 1960, but while this increase involved a growth of almost 7,000 Negro elementary school children and brought the percent of Negroes in the elementary schools to 26.39 percent of the total enrollment, it involved less than 2,000 Negroes in junior high, and brought the percent to only 17.44. It will be at least three or four years before the junior high schools feel the impact of the expanding Negro population to the degree currently experienced by the elementary schools. An additional complication of the data is that two of the sixteen 90-100 percent Negro elementary schools feed into Lincoln, one of three six-year high schools in the city, while six of the 21 K-8 elementary schools have a Negro enrollment of over 50 percent. This eliminates almost one-fourth of the Negro population from the junior high schools.

TABLE 6
Racial Imbalance in Milwaukee Elementary Schools, 1965 - 66

Percent Non-White	Total Enrollment, 1965	
Over 90	19.71	
71-90	3.04	Percent of all Pupils in Schools 90-100% White or Negro: 83.97
51-70	2.55	
31-50	2.27	
11.30	8.17	PERCENT IN SCHOOLS OTHER THAN EXTREME IN MIXTURE 16.03
.1-10	44.56	
0	19.70	

TABLE 7

Percent of White and Non-White Total Enrollment in
Junior High Schools in Milwaukee by Percent of Non-
White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	% White of Total White Enroll.		% Non-White of Total Non-White Enroll.	
	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	.37	.55	63.98	65.69
71-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
51-70	0.00	3.07	0.00	20.29
31-50	6.61	0.00	29.24	0.00
11-30	0.00	6.28	0.00	5.06
.1-10	54.02	80.83	6.78	8.95
0	38.99	9.28	0.00	0.00

The figures on this chart are not particularly striking, ex-
cept that they follow the trend of the others on a lesser scale: the
percent of Negro children in schools 90-100 percent Negro has increased
slightly from 63.98 to 65.69 percent, while the percent of white chil-
dren in schools 90-100 percent white has decreased slightly from 93.01
to 90.11 percent. Clearly, white junior high school students are almost
totally segregated.

Four new junior highs have opened in Milwaukee since 1960.
Three opened with a Negro enrollment of less than 1 percent, and will
no doubt maintain this level; one opened with a Negro enrollment of over
90 percent. This accounts for the change in the number of schools in the
90-100 percent Negro and 90-100 percent White Schools. While the open-
ing of four segregated schools no doubt caused an even greater gap to

41

form between white and non-white schools, it is difficult to prove that

this was the intent of the school board in regard to the three white

schools. All three are on the outer edges of the city and could not

have served their current areas and the core simultaneously without

extensive bussing. However, the intent regarding the Negro school,

Fulton, is not as easy to dismiss.

TABLE 8

Number of Junior High Schools in Milwaukee by
Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	Number of Schools 1960	Number of Schools 1965
Over 90	1	2
71-90	0	0
51-70	0	1
31-50	1	0
11-30	0	1
.1-10	5	10
0	4	1

Only two junior high schools have had a major increase in

non-white enrollment; Peckham has increased from 2 percent to 15 per-

cent, and Wells has increased from 33.2 percent to 58 percent. The

present racial composition of the feeder schools for both junior highs

indicate that both schools will continue to increase in non-white en-

rollment, but that Wells will show a much more rapid rate of increase--

in another five years, it should reach the 90-100 percent Negro enroll-

ment category.

It is doubtful that the eleven schools in the 90-100 percent white category will change significantly in the next five years. Roosevelt, Fulton, Wells, and Peckham have as feeder schools _every_ elementary school with over 10 percent Negro enrollment in the city. Such a situation can only bring increased segregation.

High Schools. Milwaukee's high schools show the smallest increase in percent of non-white enrollment of the three levels: 13.68 percent of the high school population was Negro in 1960 compared with 17.65 percent in 1965. Yet, a clear trend is apparent in the racial composition of the high schools.

TABLE 9

Percent of White and Non-White Total Enrollment in High Schools
In Milwaukee By Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	% White of Total White Enroll.		% Non-White of Total Non-White Enroll.	
	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	0	.02	0	32.31
71-90	1.42	1.30	45.28	27.53
51-70	1.75	3.85	26.04	21.81
31-50	0	3.98	0	12.38
11-30	15.02	6.39	23.03	7.15
.1-10	18.90	75.04	5.66	4.82
0	62.89	9.42	0	0

The high schools are the only level in which white students as well as Negro students have become more segregated in the last five years. The percent of white students in schools which are 90-100 percent white has risen from 81.79 percent to 84.46 percent. Only 32.31

percent of the Negro high school students is in a school which is 90-100

percent Negro; but in 1960, no Negro students were this highly segre-

gated. Further, the number of Negro students in schools 50-100 percent

Negro has risen from 71.32 percent to 81.65 percent.

TABLE 10

Number of High Schools in Milwaukee By
Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	Number of Schools 1960	Number of Schools 1965
Over 90	0	1
71-90	1	1
52-70	1	1
31-50	0	1
11-30	2	1
.1-10	2	7
0	6	1

The high schools have shown the same kind of transition that

characterized the elementary schools but the transition has of course

been less rapid. Every high school with more than 5 percent Negro en-

rollment in 1960 has increased at least 10 percent. North has become

completely Negro, with an increase from 81.7 percent to 99.7 percent;

Lincoln has increased less rapidly, changing from 68.3 percent in 1960

to 78 percent in 1965; Rufus King has shown the greatest increase, from

17.7 percent to 55 percent; West has increased from 18.1 percent to 40

percent; and Riverside, 8.2 percent in 1960, has increased 11 percent

to 19 percent in 1965. The seven high schools which were below 5 per-

cent in 1960 have experienced no increase in Negro enrollment higher than

one or two percent; none has risen above five percent. These seven, plus

a new high school, Marshall, now comprise the 90-100 percent white cate-

gory.

A continuation of the trends of the last five years will even-

tually result in four or five segregated Negro high schools and eight to

ten segregated white high schools (the two new high schools which opened

this fall will be white). No elementary, junior high, or senior high

school has declined in percent of Negro enrollment since 1960. Those

which have remained static have done so because the number of Negroes

enrolled has been negligible. Clearly, the Milwaukee schools are highly

segregated. The board is not compelled to reduce racial isolation in

the schools and the policies it follows has led to progressively greatei

racial isolation of the children in the black community.

TEACHER SEGREGATION

One of the charges in the suit against the Milwaukee School

Board is that Negro teachers have been placed in schools with high Negro

enrollment as a matter of administrative policy, rather than as a result

of teacher choice.

The official administration position is very clear and has

been repeated a number of times: "Teachers are assigned to all schools

on the basis of the individual school's particular staff needs and of

the qualified teaching personnel available." When the Superintendent's

staff prepared a booklet dealing with suggestions that had been made to

the Special Committee concerning de facto segregation, this "color blind"

policy was stated explicitly:

> This...boils down to a matter of basic policy: "Should the
> Milwaukee Public Schools identify teachers who are non-white
> and purposely place them in all-white schools (which would
> also have to be identified) specifically for the purpose of
> promoting better racial understanding?" This would, of course,
> represent a change in the present policy of assigning teachers
> to schools on the basis of need, regardless of their race or
> that of the school's population.[14]

The hypothesis that the race of the teacher in the Milwaukee schools for
1965-66 was independent of the racial composition of the school (more
than 90 percent non-white vs. less than 90 percent non-white) was tested.
The fourfold contingency table below indicates the frequencies of each
type of teacher in each type of school.

TABLE 11
Relationship Between Race of Teacher
And Racial Composition of Schools

| | | Race of Teacher | |
		White	Non-White
Racial Composition	More than 90 Non-White	226	326
of Schools	Less than 90 Non-White	3018	154

A Chi-square test was made to test the independence of the
two factors. A nonsignificant Chi Square value would indicate that
there was no association between the race of the teachers and the racial
composition of the schools they taught in. Such a nonsignificant value
would validate the claim that placement was not related to race. The
Chi Square value obtained from the table above was significant far be-
yond the .001 level, indicating that the observed frequencies in the
table could have happened by chance less than once in one thousand times.

Any attempt to lessen the segregation of Negro teachers has
been markedly unsuccessful, for the percent of Negro teachers in 90-100

percent Negro enrolled schools has risen since 1960, from 63.73 percent

to 67.91 percent.

TABLE 12
Percent of White and Non-White Total Teachers in All Schools
In Milwaukee By Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965 [15]

Percent Non-White	% White Teachers of Total White Teachers		% Non-White Teachers of Total Non-White Teachers	
	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	4.97	6.96	63.73	67.91
71-90	1.19	2.28	6.22	8.12
51-70	4.33	4.19	12.95	6.87
31-50	4.56	2.89	8.29	3.12
11-30	5.60	7.55	4.66	5.00
.1-10	15.98	61.15	0.52	7.70
0	63.37	14.95	3.63	1.25

There has been an increase in the percent of Negro teachers

in schools 90-100 percent white, from 4.15 percent in 1960 to 8.95 per-

cent in 1965. However, if we consider the percent of Negro teachers in

schools below 50 percent non-white, the two figures for 1960 and 1965

are almost identical--17.10 percent in 1960 and 17.07 percent in 1965.

Any change, then, has simply been a reshuffling of the 17 percent of the

Negro teachers who are in schools below 50 percent non-white. Eighty-

three percent have remained in predominately black schools.

The percent of Negro teachers of the total number of teachers

in Milwaukee is quite small, and 70 percent of the Negro teachers are

in elementary schools. This means that when the statistics concerning

placement of Negro teachers are broken up into elementary, junior, and senior high levels, percentages give a somewhat false impression, particularly in the senior high schools.

TABLE 13
Number and Percent of Negro Teachers in All Milwaukee Schools - 1965

Type of School	Total Number of Teachers	Total Number White Teachers	Total Number Negro Teachers	Percent Negro Teachers
Elementary	1810	1470	340	18.8
Junior High	746	665	81	10.8
High School	1168	1109	59	5.1
Total	3724	3244	480	12.9

Eight of the 59 Negro senior high school teachers are in schools which are 90-100 percent white enrollment. This is 13.56 percent the total number of Negro senior high teachers, and seems like a high percentage, until other figures are examined concerning these schools. As seen above, eight of the 13 senior high schools in Milwaukee are 90-100 percent white in enrollment; they have a combined teaching staff of 821. That 8 teachers out of 821 teachers are Negro is insignificant--the majority of students who attend these schools will never have a Negro teacher.

Since most Negro teachers are in the elementary schools, it is possible to examine these statistics with less distortion than for junior high or senior high. Even here, however, it is important to recognize the size of the total teaching staff for each category.

TABLE 14

Percent of Total White, Total Non-White and Total Teachers In
Elementary Schools, By Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1960 and 1965

Percent Non-White	Total Teachers		% White Teachers of Total White		% Non-White Teachers of Total Non-White	
	1960	1965	1960	1965	1960	1965
Over 90	13.58	21.60	7.62	9.72	70.00	72.96
71-90	0.00	2.98	0.00	2.04	0.00	7.04
51-70	5.69	2.48	5.20	2.44	16.67	2.65
31-50	5.69	2.43	5.54	2.31	6.67	2.96
11-30	0.76	8.23	0.69	8.84	1.33	5.50
.1-10	4.61	42.92	4.99	51.02	0.67	7.99
0	69.68	19.33	75.95	23.60	4.67	0.81

One indication of the segregation of Negro teachers is the simi-
larity between the figures for percentages of total teachers and those for
percentage of white teachers in all categories except those 90-100 percent
non-white and 90-100 percent white. There has been an increase in the
number of Negro teachers placed in 90-100 percent white schools, from
5.43 percent to 8.82 percent. This is an increase of 22 teachers, which
does seem a sizable gain, until it is compared to the total number of
teachers in these schools.

Now that we see that 30 Negro teachers in the 90-100 percent
white schools are part of a total teaching staff of 1,127 teachers in 84
schools, the increase of 22 from 1960 becomes much less impressive. The
school administration cannot claim a lack of qualified Negro teachers as
the reason for this situation when 248 Negro teachers are currently

TABLE 15
Number of Schools and Number of White and Non-White
Teachers by Percent of Non-White Enrollment, 1965

Percent Non-White	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of White Teachers	Number of Non-White Teachers
Over 90	16	391	143	248
71-90	3	54	30	24
51-70	4	45	36	9
31-50	2	44	34	10
11-30	11	149	130	19
.1-10	53	777	750	27
0	31	350	347	3

employed in the 16 90-100 percent non-white schools and another 24 are

in the 71-90 percent non-white schools. It is interesting to trace the

transition of the teaching staff from white to Negro as the school be-

comes increasingly Negro in enrollment. In an earlier section, ten

elementary schools were described as having made a transition from white

to Negro during the last five years. Of these, 8th Street School is

used only as a bussing school and has no permanent staff. Often, the

schools have increased considerably in enrollment during this period as

a result of additions, so both percentages and numbers of Negro teachers

are necessary.

Thus, not only would a pupil who enters first grade at Center

in 1960 experience having his school change from 33 percent non-white to

TABLE 16

Change in Racial Composition of Teaching Staff in
Elementary Schools Which Experienced Major Transitions
In Racial Composition of Enrollment Between 1960 and 1965

Schools	Percent Non-White Enroll. 1960	1965	Percent and Number of Non-White Teachers 1960	1965
Palmer	62.5	91.4	8 (29.6)	18 (56.2)
Brown	61.5	93.2	4 (15.4)	16 (51.6)
Keefe	68.8	97.0	0	20 (68.0)
20th Street	70.5	97.0	4 (21.1)	18 (58.0)
Berger	46.6	78.0	2 (12.5)	7 (36.8)
McKinley	43.3	60.0	3 (8.6)	15 (60.0)
21st Street	47.2	91.3	3 (15.0)	10 (40.0)
Center	33.0	97.2	2 (10.5)	13 (72.2)
Walnut	19.0	71.5	2 (22.2)	2 (20.0)

97.2 percent non-white, he would experience an equivalent change in his
teachers, from 10.5 percent non-white to 72.2 percent non-white.

Of course, almost all the 90-100 percent non-white schools
have gained a large number of Negro teachers since 1960. But that the
above gains are a direct result of transition becomes clear when the
total gain of 143 Negro teachers in the 90-100 percent is broken down:
only 58 were added to the ten schools which were already 90-100 per-
cent in 1960, while 85 were added to the six transition schools which
entered this categroy.

One can only conclude that it is the policy of the board of ed-
ucation to place black teachers in black schools. The statement of policy

quoted above can only be understood as serving one function, and that

is not to guide administrative procedures.

It is the policy of the board of education, as clarified by

its accomplishments, to establish and maintain segregated schools and

to confine black teachers to the black communities.

HOW IS SEGREGATION ACCOMPLISHED?

One can examine the policy of the Milwaukee Board of Educa-

tion and discover how the racial imbalance that has developed came to

be. Three aspects of Board policy effectively accomplishes school

segregation for the city of Milwaukee.

    1. Open Transfers,

    2. Additions to existing buildings, and

    3. Intact Bussing.

Together these administrative decisions successfully maintain and ex-

tend racial isolation in the Milwaukee schools.

Open Transfer. Although a wide range of proposals to integrate

the Milwaukee schools have been suggested to the School Board and to the

Board's Special Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, the

only proposal considered legal by the Board has been that of "open en-

rollment." Under this policy, a child may transfer from the school in

his district to another school, providing that the out-of-district school

is not already filled to capacity. Most large school systems have such

a policy, but it is generally used to enable students to pursue some par-

ticular field of study that is not offered in their home school, or to

allow students to attend a school more accessible to them, rather than

as a means of facilitating desegregation.

The procedures involved in making use of the open enrollment
policy in Milwaukee requires a trip to the School Administration Build-
ing (which is located across the city from the core area) and another
trip to the home school to obtain the principal's signature on the forms,
and further requires that parents provide transportation for their children
to and from the out-of-district school. It is thus not surprising that
few Negro parents have transferred their children. The exception to this
was in the case of the parents of children slated to attend the Meinike
Street School. In this case, mass transfers were facilitated by PACE
(Parent's Action Committee for Equality,) an offshoot of MUSIC, which
provided transportation to and from the School Administration Building,
aid in filling out the necessary forms, and permanent transportation for
pupils from their homes to the out-of-district school. This effort re-
ceived considerable newspaper attention when it began--mainly to demon-
strate how well the Negro students were received. The personal sacri-
fice of the parents or the enrichment that black youth brought to white
classes--in keeping with the superior-inferior assumptions--were not
brought out.

One Civil Rights worker, Miss Marilyn Moreheuser, has suggested
that the most successful use of the open enrollment policy has been by
white parents who transfer their children out of their home school dis-
trict as soon as Negro children begin to attend the school. Since
school transfer requests are not kept by race, it is not possible to
show whether transferring pupils are white or Negro.

Regardless of the success or failure of the open transfer pol-
icy to alleviate segregation, the Board continues to affirm "...nearly

all steps toward integration requested by Civil Rights groups would be

illegal." Further, the Board considers that its current policies are

leading to "a natural process of integration." Miss Lorraine Radke,

former President of the Board described the current policy this way

in a letter to James M. Barrett, the first chairman of the Governor's

Committee on Human Relations:

> Milwaukee public schools are functioning as a neighborhood
> school system under Chapter 38 Wisconsin Statutes. This
> along with the "free transfer" policy, which has now been
> extended to the "open enrollment" policy, has resulted in
> a program of what might be defined as "progressive integra-
> tion." This can be verified through the visual head count
> results.[16]

In an earlier section of this report, we have analyzed these head count

results extensively, and have shown that, in fact, the Milwaukee schools

are becoming increasingly segregated. The Governor's Committee, after

examining the head count results, stated:

> It is therefore the conclusion of the Commission that serious
> racial imbalance does exist in the Milwaukee public schools
> and that the situation is becoming worse every year.[17]

However, Harold W. Story, chairman of the Board's Special Committee,

maintained that the head count data--which show, for example, that in

1965, 73 percent of all Negro elementary age pupils attended schools

that were 90-100 percent Negro in composition--indicated that there is

"normal integration" in the schools.[18]

However, the policy of open transfer of students appears not to

have led to integration and to have facilitated the maintenance of seg-

regated schools.

Containment through Additions. The main method used in main-

taining and increasing segregation in the Milwaukee schools has been

the addition of rooms to transitional or core elementary schools. The

benefits for those wishing to maintain segregation are twofold:

1. The policy of additions can be justified by reference to
    the "neighborhood school" theory.

2. The policy does not require gerrymandering of either
    elementary school or junior and senior high school bound-
    aries. Elementary school districts remain the same size,
    or become smaller, and continue to serve a fairly regularly
    shaped district. High school and junior highs can maintain
    the same feeder patterns, because the schools are so situ-
    ated that all transitional schools and core elementary
    schools feed into transitional or core junior and senior
    highs.

Fifty percent of all the rooms added to schools since 1950 have been

added to the 31 schools which comprise the 20-100 percent non-white

category.[19]

TABLE 17

Number and Percent of Rooms Added to Elementary
Schools with 20-100 Percent Non-White Enrollment

Total Number of Rooms Added, 1950-65	Total Number of Rooms Added, 1950-65, to Schools Now Having a Non-White Enrollment of 20-100 percent.	Percent of rooms Added to Schools Now 20-100 Non-White
361	181	50.1

The ten schools which comprised the 11-90 percent non-white

category in 1960, and which have been used as examples of transitional

schools, illustrate the policy of additions very well. Six of the ten

schools had additions built on them which ranged from six rooms to an

entire replacement school (in the case of Palmer) between 1959 and 1961.

A seventh school, Berger, will have classrooms added to it during the

current year. Another school, Walnut, was reconditioned and reopened

in 1951. At this time Walnut had a non-white enrollment of less than
10 percent. However, since only nine elementary schools had a non-white
enrollment of more than 10 percent, <u>any</u> non-white enrollment probably
marked a school for transition. The school administration, in any event,
considers the opening of Walnut as the beginning of its building program
in the core: "The Milwaukee Public Schools' building program in the
central area began in 1951 with the reconditioning and reopening of the
Walnut Street School..."[20] In 1961, a new school was planned to replace
it: this school, Oliver Wendell Holmes, opened in the fall of 1966.
Eighth Street, as mentioned before, has lost its student body because
of urban renewal projects, and is now only used as bussing school.

Every school in the 90-100 percent non-white category in 1965-
66, except 4th Street, has had either additions or has been totally re-
placed since 1956. We can estimate the effect on these schools of the
additions, but because of our lack of race data between 1950 and 1960
and between 1960 and 1963, we cannot know precisely what the effect was
unless the addition was made during 1963-66, for which case there are
race data for both the year before and the year after the addition.
Three additions have opened since 1963; two of them were on schools
which already were over 90 percent non-white. The third is an excellent
example of increased segregation through additions.

Elm doubled its size and increased its enrollment by 296
pupils, or 40 percent. But only 54 of these pupils were white; the
rest, 242, or 81.7 percent of the total increase, were non-white.
During the following year, Elm <u>lost</u> 29 white pupils, while it gained

TABLE 18
Elm Street School, 1963-64 to 1965-66

Enrollment	1963-64		1964-65	1965-66
Total Enrollment	438	Addition of	734	791
White Enrollment	398	Twelve Rooms	452	423
Non-White Enrollment	40		282	368
% Non-White Enrollment	9.1		38.4	46.5

another 86 non-white students, to bring its enrollment to 791. It is
well on the way toward becoming another 90-100 percent non-white school.

The reason for Elm Street's increase of 242 non-whites in 1964-
65 is clear: Elm annexed 2 blocks from Walnut (50.7 percent non-white
in 1963-64) and 6 blocks from Brown (83.5 percent non-white in 1963-64).

In dealing with the growing black school population, the Milwau-
kee board has always made decisions that lead to further racial isolation
and has never considered any of the tentative proposals that might lead
to a reduction of racial isolation.

Intact Bussing. The School Board policy of bussing children
from overcrowded schools or schools being remodeled to other schools as
intact classes has been called "...the most dramatic of the issues in the
de facto segregation controversy." Lloyd Barbee, chairman of MUSIC and
State Assemblyman, has called intact bussing "...the most blatently
obvious policy of segregation implemented by the public school adminis-
tration," and it has been the focus of some of the strongest protests of
civil rights organizations.[21,22]

When children are bussed intact, they are kept completely
separated from the children in the receiving school: they meet at their
home school each morning and ride to the receiving school; their teachers
from their home (sending) school; their classes are separate from those
of the receiving school, including physical education and recess; after
school they re-board their buses and are returned to their home school.

Until the school year of 1957-58, all bussing for overcrowding
was "normal" bussing, i.e., the children were integrated into existing
classrooms at other schools. In 1957-58, thirty-six schools were bussing
children, and all but three were using normal bussing. The three which
were not were bussed to an empty school building as intact classes, and
were returned to their home schools for lunch. These three were the only
schools of the thirty-six which census evidence indicates had large Negro
enrollments at that time.[23]

In the following year, the School Board formally announced its
policy of bussing classes intact from one school to another when such
bussing was necessary due to overcrowding or modernization. This policy
contained the provision that bussed classes returned to their sending
school for lunch. It is interesting to note that it was at this time
that the Administration began a long-term program of modernization in
the inner core city schools.

Despite the Board's statement that children were to be bussed
intact because of either overcrowding or modernization, this method was
used only for modernization until 1960-61 when the first of the predom-
inately Negro schools became overcrowded and in need of bussing. In the

next two years, intact bussing was used primarily in cases of school
modernization and normal bussing was used in cases of overcrowding when
white pupils were involved. For example, in 1961-62, three white
schools used intact bussing because of modernization, one white school
used intact bussing because of overcrowding, and 14 other white schools
used normal bussing. During this period, intact bussing was used in
predominantly Negro schools for either bussing or overcrowding, and no
schools containing Negro pupils used normal bussing.

In 1963-64, the School Administration came under heavy crit-
icism because of its bussing policies. As a result, the policy was
revised so that bussed children could remain at the receiving school
for lunch. Also, from this point on, all schools used intact bussing
when needed because of overcrowding, although between ten and twenty
schools each year use normal bussing for such reasons as distance or
safety.

The need for bussing in white schools has been practically
eliminated; most pupils who are bussed are from predominantly Negro
schools, where overcrowding is most severe. Thus, civil rights advo-
cates have viewed the Board's refusal to integrate bussed classes as a
prime example of the Board's covert policy of segregation.

Former School Superintendent, Harold Vincent, saw the Board's
policy as both educationally sound and administratively necessary. In
an interview with a reporter from Milwaukee _Sentinel_ in 1965, he raised
the following questions about integrating bussed children:

> ...if a teacher at the Hawley School were working with children
> from the Brown Street School, could she expect parents to come
> to school for a conference? Could she ask pupils to use
> reference books, magazines and newspapers in a home where
> there are few? Could she group children to give them projects
> to work on which would involve their getting together outside
> of school for study? Could she refer them to the neighborhood
> library or other resources, which are nowhere near the sending
> school district? Another critical question is: When a school
> bus is delayed--and they are from time to time--does she work
> with only half a class until the other pupils arrive and then
> backtrack? Such inconveniences bear upon the morale of both
> pupils and teachers, I believe.[24]

He also named administrative difficulties such as arranging bus trans-

portation, facilitating record keeping, and providing psychological and

testing services to pupils.

Classes are bussed to the school closest to the sending school

which has available space. This means that in many instances the dis-

tance between the homes of bussed children and the school to which they

are bussed are not as great as Mr. Vincent implied. In its report on

de facto segregation in the Milwaukee schools, the United States Commis-

sion on Civil Rights reported:

> In one instance a number of Negro children lived closer to their
> white receiving school than to the Negro sending school where
> they were enrolled officially. They were nonetheless re-
> quired to walk to the sending school to board the bus. If
> the boundary had been changed, these children could have been
> enrolled officially in the school to which they were bussed
> as a group and then could have walked to their neighborhood
> group.[25]

Most Civil Rights leaders feel that even when children do live a long

distance from their receiving school, the educational hardships which

might result from normal bussing would not be as damaging to Negro

children as the current practice of separation. Lloyd Barbee, in a

Sentinel interview, called intact bussing "...the most psychologically,

educationally and socially damaging practice of pupil segregation" and

described the experiences of parents whose children were being bussed:

> Negro parents have told us of children who were being bussed
> who asked to stay home instead of going to school. The
> parents have said the children become very nervous and re-
> bellious and constantly ask why they have to go to classes
> with Negroes only and why white children stare at them,
> point at them, and laugh at them.[26]

No doubt both educational and administrative difficulties

would arise as a result of integrating bussed pupils, but, as the

Governor's Commission points out:

> New York City, the largest school system in the country,
> has found it administratively feasible to disperse the in-
> coming pupils among the classes in the receiving school.[27]

It would seem that if the School Board chose to integrate bussed pupils

it could indicate a desire to deal positively with racial imbalance

without retreating from its position that most steps to alleviate de

facto segregation are illegal. Not only has the Board refused to con-

sider this alternative, but it has also refused to consider a small

pilot project of integrating bussed pupils.

The Milwaukee Board of Education has implemented policies

that lead to isolation, it has not allowed any project or pilot experi-

ment of any kind that might possibly reduce racial isolation. We con-

clude that racial segregation is the deliberate plan for the Milwaukee

schools and that it is not wise to regard what Milwaukee school people

publicly say is a guide to what is fact is the policy of the Board.

THE ASPIRATION TO QUALITY EDUCATION

School personnel, as well as the central administration, voice

the opinion that (1) the schools and their programs are good and (2)

where pupils peform poorly, the fault does not lie with the schools.

This is, of course, in keeping with the view of the Board that
the school system is currently offering the best possible education to
its pupils. As John Foley, current President of the Board, put it:

> Our board is committed to a policy of quality education for
> every child in the city of Milwaukee on a sound neighborhood
> school basis.[28]

Although former Superintendent Harold Vincent argues that there is "equal
educational opportunity throughout the city." The achievement test
scores, the limited advance course enrollment in black high schools,
the excessive size of the elementary schools, and the ordinary routines
of school life suggest that black children in Milwaukee are getting far
less than adequate school experience.

Quality Education: Pupil Achievement. One way to talk about
the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a program of schooling is in
terms of the achievement scores of the pupils in the program. The
stated purpose of these tests is to measure the progress of pupils.
Such progress, or lack of progress, can be attributed to the pupil or
to the school program, but the business of the schools is to teach the
children who actually attend. Black children may or may not be especial-
ly difficult, especially challenging, especially in need of the service
of a quality educational program. The measure of the quality of a pro-
gram is its success with the children who attend school.

Considered in this way the evidence suggests that schools are
ineffective in Milwaukee's black communities.

Students in the Milwaukee schools are tested in fourth, sixth,
eighth, and tenth grade. In each grade, the schools with a predominately

Negro enrollment have considerably lower mean scores than schools with
predominately white enrollments. For 1964-65, in the fourth grade, 17
of the 18 schools in the 70-100 percent Negro category were among the
lowest 20 schools in the city. In sixth grade for that year, every
school in the 70-100 percent Negro category was in the lowest 20 schools.
The eighth grade tests placed the four junior high schools which have a
predominately Negro student body 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th in rank out
of 18 schools, while the five high schools with Negro enrollments fill
the bottom five places in rank on the 10th grade tests.[29]

Lack of academic success of Negro pupils is obvious. If one
is to assume that achievement tests relate to learning, then Negro pupils
are learning less or slower than their white peers.

A longitudinal examination of the test scores of Negro pupils,
supports the contention that the segregated schools in Milwaukee are not
only unhelpful in providing an adequate education of Negro pupils, but actu-
ally damage or destroy whatever potential is present at first.

Ranking can sometimes give a false, or misleading impression
of a situation because it does not indicate the range of difference
between scores. In 1958, the fourth grades in Milwaukee showed a range
of scores from 3.3 (third year, third month) to 5.2--1.9 grade levels.
The same classes, in sixth grade had a range from 4.9 to 8.0--3.1 grade
levels. In both cases, the Negro schools were among the lowest scorers,
but while they were only seven months away from an average level of
achievement in fourth grade, by sixth grade--only two years later--they
were over a year behind, while many white schools were three years
above average. By the time this group reached high school, two schools

which were almost all Negro formed a separate distribution of scores

from the white schools; in other words, the Negro schools' mean scores

were lower than the white schools' lowest scores.[30]

Since Milwaukee does no testing below the fourth grade, we

cannot judge how much is lost in the first three years of school. But

we can perhaps estimate the damage from what has been found to be the

case in other cities. In a three year longitudinal study in New York

City, Prof. Robert Dentler has found that of three hundred Negro pupils

who began first grade with an above average I.Q., 30 remained who still

tested this high in third grade.[31]

The evidence is clear! The Milwaukee Board of Education is

incapable of offering to the students in the black community a form of

education that develops essential academic skills.

Quality Education: Teacher Turnover and Teacher Qualifications.

The Governor's Commission suggested in its report that many teachers who

are assigned to the core schools rapidly become "disillusioned and dis-

couraged." It continued:

> Many are impatient for the day when they can be transferred
> elsewhere. Their inadequacies and their unhappiness are
> evident to their students and time spent in such a situation
> often worsens, rather than improves, the matter. Many of
> these teachers resign their positions after a year or two.[32]
>
> In a study of selected Milwaukee schools, it was found that
> teachers in core schools of all levels requested transfers
> to other schools significantly more often than teachers in
> white schools.[33]

Table 20 shows a definite relationship between the percent of

requests for transfer and the Negro enrollment of the school. The data

for elementary schools, Table 21, shows a similar trend, but is less

striking because the schools have been grouped by percent of Negro en-

rollment.

TABLE 19

Number and Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfers
in Selected Milwaukee High Schools, 1965

School	Percent Non-white Student	Number of Teachers Requesting Transfer	Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfer
South	0.0	0	0.0
Juneau	0.8	0	0.0
Pulaski	0.2	2	1.6
Washington	1.3	2	1.3
Riverside	19.0	0	0.0
Rufus King	55.0	6	7.0
Lincoln	78.0	10	15.2
North	99.7	9	12.5

TABLE 20

Number and Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfers
From Selected Junior High Schools in Milwaukee, 1965

School	Percent Non-White Enroll.	Number of Teachers Requesting Transfer	Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfer
Bell	0.3	1	1.9
Walker	0.5	7	10.8
Steuben	1.6	2	3.6
Wright	4.0	0	0.0
Peckham	15.0	0	0.0
Wells	58.0	13	24.5
Fulton	94.0	13	20.0
Roosevelt	99.0	7	15.9

TABLE 21
Number and Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfers
In Selected Milwaukee Elementary Schools, 1965

Percent Non-White Enrollment	Number of Teachers Requesting Transfers	Percent of Teachers Requesting Transfers
0-1	13	5.37
1.1 - 10	4	5.5
40 - 79	10	8.92
80 - 100	39	13.49

In some of the 80 percent to 100 percent elementary schools, the number
of teachers requesting transfers reached almost one-quarter of the total
staff. While this study did not indicate how many transfers were
granted, it would seem that simply by sheer weight of numbers the core
schools would show a higher rate of turnover than staff in the white
schools. Further, the high request rate illustrates the attitude of
many teachers that teaching in core schools is less than desirable.

The teacher shortage in Milwaukee forces the school adminis-
tration to hire about 150 legally unqualified teachers each year. These
teachers are usually graduates of two-year normal school elementary
educational programs, and are hired under two titles, "reserve teachers"
and "permanent substitute teachers." Since, according to the statutes
governing teacher qualifications, they can only be hired under emergency
conditions, a school must re-hire them each semester. This is a for-
mality, however, and many such teachers have been in the same school
for years. Table 22 illustrates the distribution of "non-permanent"
teachers.

TABLE 22

Number and Percent of Substitute and Reserve
Teachers in Elementary Schools in Milwaukee, 1965[34]

Type	Number In All Schools	Number In 20-100% Non-White Schools	Percent in 20-100% Non-White Schools
Reserve	26	16	61.54
Permanent Substitute	90	45	50.0

It should be remembered that the 31 elementary schools in the
20-100 percent category are only 25 percent of the total number of ele-
mentary schools. The core schools also receive more than their share
of new teachers, as Table 23 shows.

TABLE 23
Number and Percent of New Teachers in Milwaukee Schools, 1965[35]

Type of School	Number of All Schools	Number in 20-100% Non-White Schools	Percent in 20-100% Non-White Schools
High School	140	65	46.42
Junior High	94	32	34.04
Elementary	90	45	50.0

New teachers may bring new ideas to schools, and this aspect
of core school life may well show some positive results. Nonetheless,
it illustrates two negative elements in core schools: the staff is un-
stable, and work in the core is so undesirable that only marginally
qualified teachers will accept it. This is further evidence of the
Milwaukee Board of Education's inability to provide a form of schooling
and a way of life for teachers that is attractive and effective.

Quality Education: Advance Work in High School. Each semester
the high schools in Milwaukee submit to the Superintendent's office a
report listing every course offered in the school, the number of students
enrolled in each course, and the number of students who passed, failed,
or dropped each course.[36] An examination of these reports over a period
of five years indicates the following:

    1. There are no systematic differences in titles of courses
        offered in predominately white and predominately Negro
        schools, except in the area of foreign language.

    2. As the schools increase in Negro enrollment, students
        tend to take less advanced courses, particularly in the
        areas of math and science.

Since all high schools and junior high schools offer courses
with the same titles, it is not possible to show that Negroes are pro-
vided with an inferior program, at least on paper. The exception is
foreign language, which is both more varied and more advanced in white
schools. Relevant data appears in Table 24.

The major difference between the white and non-white schools
is the tendency of students in core schools to take less advanced courses.
In both math and science there is a clear indication that as schools in-
crease in Negro enrollment students tend to take more basic courses and
fewer advanced courses.[37] In the two schools with the highest Negro en-
rollment, the percent of students taking advanced math and physics drop
almost to zero.

Several explanations, either alone or in combination, could
account for this. Possibly, Negro students are steered away from ad-
vanced courses by well-meaning counselors and teachers. Possibly Negro
students have been so damaged by the preceding eight years of their

TABLE 24

Number of Foreign Language Courses Offered,
And Percent of Students Enrolled in Foreign
Language Courses in Milwaukee High Schools, 1965

School	Percent Non-White Enrollment	Number Foreign Language Courses	Percent of Students Enrolled In Foreign Language
South	0.00	8	16.4
Juneau	0.08	10.5	19.5
Pulaski	0.10	16	28.6
Bay View	0.10	15	27.9
Washington	1.30	14	38.1
Marshall	1.09	16	52.4
Custer	1.40	16	30.8
Riverside	17.00	15	34.6
West	25.00	8.5	18.7
King	43.00	12	22.1
Lincoln	73.00	4	6.0
North	99.60	6	14.2

schooling that they could no longer succeed in advanced courses. Two
facts are apparent, however. First, Negro students are not being taught
the essential basic material necessary for advanced work in their ele-
mentary schools, and Negro students are not being prepared for college
entrance. Such entrance is dependent upon certain prerequisites which
Negro students are not taking in high school.

Quality Education: Elementary School Size and Substandard
Rooms. The result of building half of all additions in a quarter of
the elementary schools, besides maintaining segregation, has been the
creation of extremely large elementary schools, particularly in the
schools with the highest percentage of non-whites. Table 25 reflects
the size of Milwaukee's elementary schools.

TABLE 25

Mean Enrollment in Elementary Schools
With Varying Racial Composition: 1965[38]

Racial Composition of Elementary Schools	Mean Enrollment
0% to 39% Non-White	577.28
40% to 69% Non-White	868.41
70% to 89% Non-White	584.1
90% to 100% Non-White	934.3

The trend in elementary schooling today is away from both the
extremely large and extremely small elementary school. Teachers and
administrators with the best intentions would have difficulties in
providing the best possible schooling in a school with almost 1,000
pupils.

In 1962, the Housing Bureau of the School Administration made
a study of substandard classrooms in use in the Milwaukee schools. They
counted 336 rooms which did not meet their requirements.[39] It is esti-
mated that 133 of these rooms were still in use in 1965-66.[40] Of these,
65 rooms--almost 50 percent--are located in schools which are 20 to 100
percent non-white.

TABLE 26

Number and Percent of Substandard Classrooms in Elementary
Schools with 20-100 Percent Non-White Enrollment

Number of Substandard classroom still in use	133
Number of Substandard rooms in schools 20-100% non-white	65
Percent of Substandard classrooms in schools 20-100% non-white	48.87
Percent of Schools in 20-100% non-white category, 1965-66	25.61

The significance of the substandard rooms in core schools is not so much
that of inferior school buildings as another sign of the difficulty the
administration has had containing the Negro pupils in certain schools
by enlarging already large core schools. Racial imbalance must be made
at any cost even the cost of inferior school sellings.

Quality Education: The Routine of Life in a Milwaukee School.
We asked eight students in all Black high s-hools in Milwaukee to keep
a record of their classroom activities and homework assignments for a
period of fourteen school days. During this period we met and talked
with the students three times, to clarify reports and gather any addi-
tional information about their lives in school. The sample size and
the length of time covered may not provide a comprehensive picture of
the classroom activities of this school or in the other Negro schools
in Milwaukee, but we obtained a glimpse of the reality of segregated
urban schooling.

The informants were given five forms each week, one per day,
which provided ample space for the informant to report the activities
in each class attended each day. Each class hour on the students'

records was then analyzed and placed into one of 20 descriptive cate-

gories. Academic and non-academic courses were entered separately.

Results of this are shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27

Number and Percent of Hours Spent in Academic
And Non-Academic Classes, Milwaukee, 1967

Type of Class	Number of Courses	Number of Hours	Percent of Total Hours
Academic	9	248	62.63
Non-Academic	5	148	37.37
Total	14	396	100.00

This study pointed up some interesting and revealing informa-

tion about the school lives of our informants.

(1) Although the non-academic class hours are only 1/3 of
the total class time reported, they account for over
1/2 of the full period tests, 1/2 of the "specific
chapter" discussions*, 60 percent of the study halls*,
and 72 percent of the test-review hours.

The class time in non-academic subjects is a cyclical pattern

of going through the text line-by-line, studying silently, test-taking,

and going over the answers. These four categories make up about 78 per-

cent of the lives of students in their non-academic subjects.

* To understand the impact of this situation, it is necessary to under-
stand our definitions of these categories. "Study halls" do not refer
to the regular, scheduled study halls (which were not included in our
analysis), but in-class periods in which the students were told to use
their time to study or read to themselves. "Specific chapter" discus-
sions are not discussions at all. Rather, they are a form of lecture-
quiz in which the teacher reads the text, or paraphrases it line-by-line,
and calls on students to respond to questions related to the material.
A typical line in the first week's reports read, "We discussed Chapter
9." When asked how they discussed it, they described the above situation.

The philosophy behind the development of a non-academic curriculum is often based on the premise of a preparation for adulthood for those students who are not continuing to college. A course such as Sales, in which two of the informants were enrolled, would presumably prepare students to be effective salesmen. When asked the purpose of this course, one of the enrolled students stated that it was "to teach us selling techniques." On paper, this appears a sensible and useful part of the curriculum for a high school such as the one in question. In fact, the students in this course spent one period in "specific chapter" discussion, one period reviewing for a test, one period going over the answers on the test, four periods taking tests, and seven periods having a study hall. One of the students described the teacher as "Dull--he won't accept ideas outside of what the book says. Doesn't care what others think about anything."

A prime quality in salesmanship is easy and articulate verbalization; another is the ability to go along with what the customer wants. Sales, as it is taught in this school, exemplifies the antithesis of both. The students are given no opportunity to verbalize-- they don't even have the unhappy "specific chapter" form of discussion; and the teacher is dogmatic, refuses to listen to other points of view, and is dull. Students can learn neither by doing nor by imitation.

> (2) Although the academic subjects included a much wider
> variety of activities than did the non-academic, only
> 31 percent of the total academic time required active
> participation and thought from the students. The other
> 69 percent of the time was spent in one or both of two
> passive modes: (a) the study-test-specific chapter cycle
> described above, or (b) a combination of presentation of
> information and performance of exercises.

The time of the students in academic classes is divided into
three activity patterns, each of which consumes about one-third of the
total class hours. The largest of the three, accounting for 38 percent
of the total, is the "study-test-specific chapter discussion" pattern
found to predominate in the non-academic subjects. Test taking and
study halls were the two largest uses of class time in the academic
subjects, comprising one-fourth of the total academic time. In the
academic subjects, however, this pattern is not found in isolation as
the only form of activity.

The second pattern found in academic classes has been termed
"presentation of information and performance of exercises." The group
includes two types of time use:

    A. One in which students are presented with information,
        either from the teacher or from another source such as
        a film, and are expected to take notes.

    B. One in which students are called upon one at a time to
        answer exercises which are taken from their texts.

One or both of these activities is present in almost every academic
class to a far greater extent than in the non-academic classrooms. This
is illustrated in Table 28.

Lecture is a somewhat higher form of the type of activity we
termed "specific chapter" discussion. It seldom, if ever, goes beyond
the facts of the textbook; often, the teachers seem to be simply putting
the textbook in outline form. One student in a United States history
class reported that the teacher had lectured on "interpretation of the
Constitution." This sounded interesting to us, so in a subsequent in-
terview the student was asked whether he was describing how it has been

TABLE 28

Percent of Time Spent on Exercises, Films or Other Media,
Lectures, and Homework Reviews in Academic and Non-Academic Classes.

Category	Academic Percent of Time	Non-Academic Percent of Time
Exercises	8.06	4.73
Films, etc.	6.45	0.68
Lecture	7.26	2.70
Homework Review	9.69	0.00
Total	31.45	7.11

or could be interpreted. "Neither," was the answer, "He's just follow-
i..g the book. You can sit in class and listen to him and follow the
book line for line." Many students, recognizing this, reported simply:
"Lectured on Chapter 3," or whatever chapter was appropriate. The thing
that makes this a higher form of activity than the "specific chapter"
type is the teacher's assumption that the students are capable of fol-
lowing the text without being asked questions on every other line.

As all university students know, the lecture as a form of in-
struction can vary from the ultimate in boredom to an interesting and
occasionally excellent method of dealing with oversized classes. When
a teacher uses the lecture technique to review the textbook, he elim-
inates any desire or necessity the student has to read the text himself,
and generally produces a state of massive boredom in class.

Almost all of the class hours in academic classes were spent
in oral, rather than written exercises; this was just the reverse from
the non-academic classes. The oral exercises were often so similar to

the homework reviews that it was difficult to distinguish between them.
In both cases, the teacher asked each student in turn to answer an
exercise; the order is predictable, and students can often figure out
which question will be theirs in advance.

While this technique is found in many academic classes, it is
found extensively in English and Chemistry and to the exclusion of all
other class activities in Advanced Math. The two students enrolled in
Advanced Math spent ten periods reviewing homework, two periods taking
tests, one period having a study hall and one period reviewing the test.
This is perhaps not an unusual approach to teaching math. Many adults
no doubt spent most of their high school math periods in much the same
way. Still, it is unlikely to produce any feeling of excitment or in-
terest in the field of mathematics. As one particularly honest student
reported, "Went over homework. I worked on my history folder." The
student knew when her turn was coming and what problem she would be
asked to do; it was unnecessary to remain attentive, so she tuned out
and worked on material for another class.

SUMMARY

The data we have collected leads to these conclusions:

(1) The Milwaukee schools are systematically segregated.

(2) Black schools provide an inferior setting for education.

(3) The Milwaukee Board of Education offers an ineffective
school program for its black students.

There is a failing school program in the Milwaukee black com-
munity; this failure is a challenge which must be met by the educational

profession, the Black community, and the white community if life is to
continue without rebellion and chaos.

EMPLOYMENT IN MILWAUKEE

During the last five years, a number of state agencies and
business groups have been organized to insure full and equal employment
opportunities for non-whites. The State has created an Equal Opportunity
Division with a full-time paid staff within the State Industrial Com-
mission. A Greater Milwaukee Employment Development Committee has been
formed to link organizations of business, government, labor, Civil Rights,
and community groups for the purpose of expanding opportunities for non-
whites. The City of Milwaukee's Commission on Community Relations gives
specific attention to problems of job discrimination. Business itself
has formed what is perhaps the most important of the various organiza-
tions--Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council (MVEEOC).
School people as well, particularly those connected with the Milwaukee
Vocational School, have been involved in implementation of training
programs.

It is the view of most of the people connected with these
organizations that discrimination is no longer a problem in employment
in Milwaukee, and because a tight labor market exists in the city, jobs
are available to anyone who wants them. The Milwaukee Journal summa-
rized this position in July, 1967:

> Virtually every full employable Negro in town has a job if he
> wants one, though it may not necessarily be as good a job as
> he deserves.[41]

Among the principles--business leaders, government officials, public
school people--there is widespread agreement that the unemployment

problem for blacks in Milwaukee is small, manageable, and rece'ving

effective attention. Further, it is felt by most of those involved that

great efforts are being made to provide adequate training for blacks.

UNEMPLOYMENT

One indication of the difficulty Negroes might face in finding

and holding jobs is the level of unemployment. The axiom that Negroes

are the last hired and the first fired is still a fairly accurate

description of the situation. Nationally, the rate of Negro unemploy-

ment has remained approximately twice that of white unemployment during

the last five years.[42]

Thr American economy has surged upward--the last hundred

months have witnessed the largest employment gains in "peace-time"

history--but amid the buoyant growth the unemployment rate of adult

Negro men has defied the gains and nearly one Negro worker in ten want-

ing work was jobless during this period. Of this paradox Daniel P.

Moynihan said bluntly in mid-1965:

> "Surely it is possible for responsible persons in private
> life to recognize that in the midst of unexampled prosperity
> we are in fact presiding over a catastrophe."[43]

The November, 1967 employment figures indicate black jobless

levels are still twice those of whites, and the proportion of blacks in

the labor force grows. Herbert E. Striner, looking toward 1984, has

unveiled the ominous rigidity of class beneath shallow appearances of

mass prosperity:

> With a national rate of unemployment of 3.9 percent, it means
> that 96.1 of those who want jobs have them. And 96 percent
> of anything is a lot. The problem is the rate of unemployment
> to be found among Negro teenagers in our urban areas. Gross
> indicators which are constructed to reflex _mass phenomena_, do
> not serve well to point out _class phenomena_.[44]

While these figures point up a very definite problem in Negro unemploy-
ment for the country, it cannot be assumed that they accurately repre-
sent the situation in any particular place. It is possible that
Milwaukee blacks would not experience the massive unemployment present
in most urban ghettos since Milwaukee has, for the last several years,
maintained a very tight labor market.

The Labor Market in Milwaukee. From 1964 through 1967 the
absolute number of jobs in Milwaukee rose from 525,000 to 580,000, a
rise more rapid than the total number of non-whites entering the labor
market. In confirmation of these opportunities the Wisconsin State
Employment Service (WSES) provides monthly summaries of the number of
unfilled jobs. During the period under review jobs fluctuated monthly
between 2,500 and 5,000.[45] Manpower, Incorporated, issued projections
during 1966 and 1967 of the number of jobs predicted to be open in the
ensuing quarter in the Milwaukee area.

In October, 1965, the Bureau of Labor Statistics included
Milwaukee in a national sample selected for a job market analysis. For
the first time WSES was able to say that 8,910 unfilled jobs had been
identified, 1,117 of which were classified as unsolicited.[46] This un-
skilled job figure itself exceeded the suggested number of non-whites
unemployed at the time.

At the time these unskilled jobs' figures were made public
the Milwaukee area was experiencing an overall unemployment rate of
1.9 percent, the lowest level since 1956 for the Great Lakes region
and a national low at the time.[47] This was a period of labor shortage;
WSES anticipated problems of finding sufficient personnel to work during
the Christmas shopping season.

Milwaukee began to attract attention as one of the nation's tightest labor markets. On January 17, 1966, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz dispatched a four-man team out to Milwaukee to study at first-hand the implications of this development. In the air were possible Labor Department recommendations regarding transfer of workers from surplus areas, possible greater utilization of teenagers, perhaps a new set of national policies on controlled employment (including draft deferment recommendations).[48] The four-day stay produced comments on the substantial employment opportunities for non-whites in Milwaukee. Both the state director of WSES, Francis J. Walsh, and District Manager in Milwaukee Main said "employers were willing to accept non-whites if they were trained."[49] Francis D. Kelly, secretary and personnel relations manager of The Journal Company, added that "Milwaukee area industry appeared to have opened the door fully to minority group members."[50]

Nonetheless, the Federal team detected hints of employment barriers for non-whites. They were told that of the estimated 12,000 individuals unemployed in the area, 3,000 or 25 percent of the unemployed were non-whites. Employment officials in Milwaukee then said they interpreted this to mean "...the Negro jobless rate is two or three times as high as the white, although married Negro men have about the same unemployment rate as married white men, roughly 2 percent."[51]

There are no available statistics for unemployment rates in Milwaukee. Although estimates have been made of unemployment in Milwaukee, by WSES and other organizations, these can at best be considered rough guides to the situation. WSES gave these estimates in February, 1967: 2,200 non-whites unemployed, or 6.9 percent of the civilian work force,

as compared to a white unemployment rate of 3.4 percent.[52] The diffi-

culty with WSES figures is that they are based on the files of agencies

with which WSES cooperates. In other words, if an individual did not

seek work through an employment agency or collect unemployment compen-

sation, he would not be listed.

Other estimates tend to be much higher than those of WSES.

Napoleon B. Johnson of the Urban League placed Negro unemployment at

between 15 and 25 percent in February of 1966.[53] In March of 1966,

Joseph Fagan, chairman of the Industrial Commission wrote to employers

in Milwaukee, Madison, Beloit, Racine, and Kenosha:

> ...there are 4,000 Negroes and 6,000 Spanish-speaking per-
> sons in these areas who are having trouble finding jobs, and
> about 12,000 white youngsters who have never held a job.[54]

Since it is difficult to judge the accuracy of these reports,

or to know what data was used to reach the estimates, it is necessary

to attempt to estimate the situation ourselves from known data. The

Milwaukee SMSA consistently shows an unemployment rate considerably

lower than the national rates and also lower than that for the state

of Wisconsin, as shown in Table 29.

The May, 1967 statistics available for Milwaukee, and given

in Table 30, show a slight increase in the unemployment rate.

Thus, there are at present about 15,000 persons over 16 years

old who are unemployed in Milwaukee. Our task now is to estimate the

following

1) the extent to which the unemployed population is Negro,
   and

2) the distribution of unemployed by age, sex, and schooling.

TABLE 29
Percent of Unemployment Annual Averages for the United States,
Wisconsin, and Milwaukee SMSA, 1960-1966[55]

Year	Nationwide	Wisconsin	Milwaukee
1960	5.5	3.9	3.7
1961	6.7	5.0	5.4
1962	5.5	4.1	3.8
1963	5.7	4.1	3.7
1954	5.2	3.9	3.3
1965	4.5	3.4	2.7
1966	3.8	3.2	2.3

TABLE 30
Milwaukee Unemployment in May, 1967[56]
(Milwaukee Area Estimated Work Force)

Civilian Work Force	590,800
Unemployment	15,200
Percent of Civ. Work Force	2.6 Percent

The Extent of Negro Unemployment in Milwaukee. As mentioned
earlier, Negroes comprise about 11 percent of the population. They
would, therefore, account for an even smaller portion of the SMSA popu-
lation. The low ratio of Negroes to whites in the low unemployment rate
for the Milwaukee SMSA would seem to indicate that the employment diffi-
culties for Milwaukee Negroes might not be as great as those for Negroes
in other large urban centers. We can estimate the unemployment of
Negroes in two ways:

1) By assuming that the national unemployment rates of Negro
   unemployment hold true in Milwaukee; i.e., about twice the
   percentage of Negroes are unemployed as whites.

2) By comparing the unemployment rates for whites and Negroes
   in 1960--the last year for which hard data are available--
   and assuming that the same rates still exist.

In 1960, 23,741 Negroes were included in the civilian labor

force. This was about one-third of the total Negro population. If we

assume that about the same proportion of Negroes are currently in the

work force, our estimated Negro work force for 1966 is 32,765.

The percent of unemployment in May, 1967, was 2.6; if we double

that percentage (to 5.2 percent), we can estimate the current rate of

Negro unemployment at about 1,704 persons.

The second method of estimation involves a more complicated

approach, and Table 31 examines the 1960 figures in more detail.

TABLE 31
Number and Percent of Unemployed
Persons, by Race, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960

	Civilian Work Force	Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed
White	466,217	15,449	3.1
Negro	23,741	2,693	11.3
Total	489,958	18,142	3.7

In 1960, there was certainly a much higher proportion of

Negroes unemployed than whites, but the number was nonetheless quite

small. We could assume that the rate of unemployment for Negroes has

remained constant since 1960, which would give an estimate of 3,704

unemployed Negroes in 1967. However, the general unemployment rate in

Milwaukee has dropped considerably since 1960, from 3.7 percent to 2.6

percent, and it is probably safe to assume that the Negro unemployment

rate has dropped proportionately, in spite of the increase in Negro

population. If we decrease the Negro unemployment rate in proportion

to the decrease in the total rate, we could assume that about 7 percent

of the work force is unemployed, or about 2,294 persons. Table 32

summarizes this arguement.

Table 32
Estimates of Unemployment, May, 1967,
projected from Available Data

Estimate from national rates	1,704
Estimate from 1960 Milwaukee Negro rates, considering general decrease in unemployment	2,294
Estimate from 1960 Milwaukee Negro rate	3,704

Thus, it is likely that the number of Negroes currently unem-

ployed in Milwaukee falls somewhere between 1,700 and 3,700 persons or

between 11 percent and 24 percent of the total number of unemployed.

Distribution of Unemployed by Age, Sex, and Schooling. Nation-

al unemployment rates for May, 1967, summarized in Table 33, show that

unemployment is not distributed evenly by either sex or age.

Table 33 illustrates the following trends in national employ-

ment:

1) Negroes have consistently higher rates of unemployment
than whites.

2) Persons below 20 years old have a rate of unemployment
5 or 6 times that of the national rate. Over one-fourth
of the Negro male in this group are unemployed, and over
one-third of the Negro females are unemployed.

TABLE 33

Unemployment Rates, U.S., by
Age, Sex, and Race, May, 1966[57]

Age	Total Male	Total Female	Negro Male	Negro Female
16-17	11.5	12.1	27.8	38.6
18-19	8.8	10.1	19.8	30.5
20-24	4.4	5.2	8.3	11.3
25-34	1.9	4.6	3.2	6.7
35-44	1.4	3.6	2.3	4.1
45-54	1.9	2.9	4.3	2.9
55-64	2.2	2.3	4.5	2.1
65 and over	2.6	2.4	4.1	2.6

3) Females show a higher rate of unemployment than males
during the early working years. However, female rates
continue to drop slowly with age, while males increase
in unemployment after age 44.

Clearly, unemployment is most serious for those under 24, and partic-

ularly for females under 24.

The extremely high rate of unemployment among age 16-19 per-

sons would seem to be a result of the difficulty that high school drop-

outs are said to have in getting a job. This seems to be true of the

white population, where the unemployment rate of drop-outs is twice

that of persons who graduated from high school of the same age during

the same period. However, the same is not true for Negroes. Unpre-

dictably, the unemployment rate for high school graduates is higher

than that for those who dropped out during the same period. Table 34

demonstrates this phenomenon.

TABLE 34

Unemployment Rates for High School Graduates Not Enrolled
In College and for High School Drop-Outs as of October of
the Year of Graduation or Leaving School, by Race.[58]

| | June Graduates | | | Drop-Outs | | |
	Total	Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed	Total	Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed
Negro	108	29	26.9	30	6	20.0
White	963	104	10.8	153	31	20.3

A similar finding was reported for Negroes in all age groups
in the 1964 U.S. Census report on Negroes. "A comparison of the unemploy-
ment rates of Negroes and whites shows that the white population has a
generally declining percentage unemployed with increased education, whereas
this pattern is not found in the Negro population."[59] This finding is
reported in Table 35.

TABLE 35

Unemployment Rates of the White and Negro Population
18 Years Old and Above, by level of School Completed
and by Sex, (United States, March, 1964)[60]

Sex	Level of Education	White Percent Unemployed	Negro Percent Unemployed
Male	Less than 8 years	8.1	9.6
Male	High School, 1 to 4 years	4.6	10.9
Male	College, 1 year or more	2.4	6.1
Female	Less than 8 years	8.8	10.0
Female	High School, 1 to 4 years	5.7	13.8
Female	College, 1 year or more	3.2	8.2

It has been often suggested that a solution for non-white
unemployment might be found in the achievement of more and better educa-
tion. In the Milwaukee area this takes the form of persistently urging
black youth to complete high school and to work hard in their courses.

Kirk Petshek, in a survey at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,
isolated 70 high school graduates who had attended either an all-Negro,
an all-white, or a mixed high school--52 whites and 18 Negroes in all.
Each respondent was asked to list his average grades in English, Mathe-
matics, and Science, and his course of study: general, commercial, or
college preparatory. The findings were that Negro females bunched in
the college preparation course, had the best academic records and more
typing, yet it took them the longest time of any group to get a job,
they reported receiving the lowest pay and were occupying the poorest
employment position.[61]

In a small study conducted during January and June of 1966,
graduates were randomly selected from predominantly Negro, mixed, and
white high schools. Seventeen female graduates (7 white and 10 Negro)
were identified who had not gone on to college or vocational training,
but who had entered the work force. In terms of increments of educa-
tion, both Negro and whites had the same amount: a high school educa-
tion. Yet, Negro females had greater unemployment and were slower in
obtaining their first job; they entered occupations which were less
skilled, and they earned less than did the counterpart group of whites.[62]

These findings might indicate that (1) the kind of schooling
that Negroes receive is so inferior that it is irrelevant or even dam-
aging for Negroes to remain in school until graduation; or (2) the

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Negroes who graduate from high school are more particular about the
kinds of jobs they get. In any event, it is an indication that the
statement "...the way to jobs is through education" is somewhat mis-
leading in the case of Negro youth.

OCCUPATIONS

        Job solutions for blacks cannot be divided into a simple
employed-unemployed dichotomy, for the kinds of employment available
to blacks poses, in many ways, an even greater problem. Blacks tend
to be under-employed, and employed in job areas which are rapidly de-
creasing and for which there is a diminishing demand. This is demon-
strated by Table 36.

<div align="center">

TABLE 36

Employed Persons by Major Occupational
Group and Race, (United States, 1967) [63]

</div>

Occupations	White		Non-White
White Collar	48.6		23.3
Professional and Technical		14.0	7.6
Managers, Official, Proprietors		10.9	2.9
Clerical		17.1	11.4
Sales		.6	1.4
Blue Collar	36.1		41.9
Crafts and Foremen		14.0	7.6
Operatives		18.0	23.1
Non-Farm Labor		4.1	11.2
Service	10.5		29.5
Household		1.4	10.9
Other		9.1	18.6
Farm	4.8		5.4
Farmers and Farm Managers		2.8	1.6
Laborers and Foremen		2.0	3.7

There are proportionately twice as many whites as Negroes in
white collar jobs, and three times as many Negroes as whites in service
jobs. Clearly, Negroes are limited to the lower-paid jobs. Within the
blue-collar jobs, Negroes hold primarily operative and labor jobs,
rather than skilled blue-collar jobs.

The situation is only to a small extent a function of the level
of education of Negroes. The 1964 Census Report on Negroes states:
"Among persons with comparable education, Negroes are more likely than
whites to be employed in the lower paid jobs; that is, blue collar or
farm occupations." The data in the census study indicates that, for
example, "...at all educational levels, the Negro is less likely to be
a white-collar worker." Further, even Negroes with a college degree
do not find an easy entry into white collar work. "The survey showed
that for men who had received some college training, the proportion of
Negroes employed in the lower paid jobs (41 percent) was twice the
proportion for whites (20 percent). For male college graduates, the
proportion of Negroes in the lower paid jobs (21 percent) was triple
that for whites (7 percent)."[64]

The 1964 Census Report also indicates that within an occupa-
tional category, Negroes earn a lower average income than whites. The
median income for Negro male professional, technical, and managerial
workers was $4,708, while the median for white workers in these jobs
was $7,544. While this is to some extent due to the higher rate of
part-time employment for Negroes, the discrepancy is still present even
when only full-time workers are considered.[65]

Joel T. Campbell and Leon H. Belcher have studied the national

trends in occupational distributions for whites and Negroes between 1960

and 1966, and found that there have been some slight improvements in the

types of jobs held by Negroes during this period. The percent of Negroes

in white collar jobs and skilled crafts jobs has increased slightly,

while the percent in semi-skilled, unskilled, and household service jobs

has decreased slightly.[66] These findings are given in Tables 37 and 38.

TABLE 37
Percent Occupational Distributions for Non-White
Males in Selected Years and for White Males in 1966

| Type of Occupation | Non-White | | | White |
	1960	1963	1966	1966
White-Collar Workers	13.7	15.4	17.1	40.8
Professional and Technical	4.0	5.0	5.4	13.0
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	2.7	3.7	3.4	14.1
Clerical Workers	5.1	4.8	6.3	7.1
Sales Workers	1.9	1.8	2.1	6.5
Blue-Collar Workers	56.7	57.0	59.3	46.1
Craftsmen, Foremen	9.0	9.5	10.8	20.3
Operatives	24.4	25.4	27.8	19.9
Nonfarm Laborers	23.3	22.1	20.8	6.0
Service Workers	14.8	17.1	15.8	6.3
Farm Workers	14.6	10.6	7.7	6.8

In 1960, 18,437 Negroes were reported employed in non-farm

occupations in Milwaukee. Few of these held white-collar jobs. Table

39 illustrates this.

The percent of whites holding white-collar jobs was over three

times the percent of Negroes holding such jobs. Sixty percent of the

Negroes were employed in blue collar jobs, but only 9 percent held

skilled labor positions. While less of the white work force was employed

TABLE 38

Percent Occupational Distributions for Non-White
Females in Selected Years and for White Females in 1966

Type of Occupation	Non-White 1960	Non-White 1963	Non-White 1966	White 1966
White-Collar Workers	18.0	21.0	25.7	62.2
Professional and Technical	5.8	7.4	8.3	14.4
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	1.8	1.8	1.5	4.9
Clerical Workers	8.9	9.6	13.7	34.9
Sales Workers	1.5	2.2	2.2	8.0
Blue-Collar Workers				
Craftsmen, Foremen	.7	.6	.8	1.0
Operatives	15.1	13.6	14.9	15.3
Nonfarm Laborers	.3	.7	.6	.4
Service Workers	57.7	59.8	54.7	18.8
Private Household Workers	36.9	35.7	28.5	5.1
Other Service Workers	22.8	24.1	26.3	13.8
Farm Workers	6.1	4.3	3.2	2.3

TABLE 39

Employed Persons by Major Occupational
Group, and Race, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960 [67]

Occupations	Total		Negro	
White Collar	46.2		13.4	
Professional and Tech.		12.1		5.2
Manager, Official, Proprietors		7.8		1.0
Clerical		17.8		5.0
Sales		8.5		1.2
Blue Collar	43.8		60.7	
Craft. and Foremen		16.6		9.1
Operatives		22.8		37.9
Laborers		4.4		13.7
Service	10.1		25.9	
Household		1.4		6.6
Other Service		8.7		19.3

in blue-collar work, a larger proportion held skilled jobs. One-fourth

of the Negroes worked in service jobs, while only one-tenth of the

whites did. It might be hoped that the employment situation for Negroes

has improved since 1960. Certainly since that time, many national pro-

grams have stressed the importance of such a change. Milwaukee also has

a city organization of firms whose goal is nondiscrimination in hiring.

This organization, MVEEOC, has increased in membership to over 200 firms,

employing over 200,000 people, since its inception in 1963. The indica-

tions are that MVEEOC has been less than successful in reducing Negro

unemployment.

Our data for occupational distribution of whites and Negroes

for 1967 are those which are currently being collected by the State

Industrial Commission under the new regulations allowing for the collec-

tion of racial data for statistical purposes.[68] As of August, 1967,

data had been collected on approximately one-third of the total employed

work force for the Milwaukee SMSA, which is 200,335 persons. The data

covers 14,731 Negroes, which is almost half of our estimated Negro work

force. Thus, while the data must be considered as preliminary and there-

fore somewhat inaccurate, it is probably more inaccurate with regard to

the white work force than to the Negro work force. This assumption is

further supported by the method in which the data were collected: forms

were sent to all employers in Milwaukee asking for racial information.

It would seem reasonable that those employers who had Negro employees

would be more responsive in complying with this request. In general,

few changes can be seen in Table 40 between the 1960 data and the 1967

data.

TABLE 40

Percent of Negroes Employed by Major Occupational Group
of Total Negro Work Force and Percent of Whites Employed
by Major Occupational Group of Total White Work Force in
Milwaukee, 1967.

Occupations	White	Negro
White Collar	40.4	13.4
Professional and Technical	9.6	4.9
Managers and Officials	7.8	1.1
Clerical	16.4	5.9
Sales	6.6	1.5
Blue Collar	54.0	70.6
Crafts	16.3	6.5
Operatives	28.8	43.0
Laborers	8.9	21.1
Service		
Service Workers	5.6	16.0

Exactly the same percentage of Negroes is employed in white-
collar jobs as in such jobs in 1960: 13.4 percent. Blue-collar jobs
claim a higher percent of Negroes (70.6 percent as compared to 60.7
percent in 1960), but increases have been in the areas of semi-skilled
and unskilled workers. In fact, the crafts have lost Negro members.
The service occupations have also lost Negroes. This is likely to be
the result of the better pay in blue-collar jobs.

Thus far, the occupational data for Milwaukee has been exam-
ined by comparing the percent of the total number of Negroes in each
occupational category to the percent of whites in these categories.
This gives us the distributions of the two populations in occupations
but does not show what proportion of the total work force is composed
of Negroes. The Negro population is about 11 percent of the total pop-

ulation. Thus, if occupations were evenly distribu.ed, Negroes would

constitute about 11 percent of each occupational category. In fact,

Negroes account for less than 2 percent of the managers and sales people,

and only 2.8 percent of the clerical force, as shown in Table 41.

TABLE 41

Percent of Negroes Employed by Major Occupational
Groups of Total Employed in Milwaukee, 1967

Occupations	Total Number Employed	Total Number Negroes Employed	Percent Negroes Employed
White Collar	76,221	1,982	
Professional and Technical	18,392	728	4.0
Managers, Officials	14,447	168	1.2
Clerical	31,019	870	2.8
Sales	12,363	216	1.7
Blue Collar	111,394	10,396	
Craftsmen	31,000	962	3.1
Operatives	60,138	6,331	10.5
Laborers	20,256	3,103	15.3
Service			
Service Workers	12,720	2,353	18.5

When the distribution of Negroes to the total employed work

force is broken down by sex, as in Tables 42 and 43, several interest-

ing differences are seen.

Clearly, Negro women hold a larger percentage of high paying

jobs than Negro men. Negro women hold five times the percent of skilled

blue-collar jobs that Negro men hold. Further, in each group of white

collar occupations, Negro women have a proportionately higher rate of

employment.

TABLE 42

Percent of Negro Males Employed by Major Occupational
Groups of Total Males Employed in Milwaukee, 1957

Occupations	Number of Males Employed	Number of Negro Males Employed	Percent of Negro Males Employed
White Collar	42,263	914	
Professional and Technical	13,883	508	3.7
Managers, Officials	13,510	155	1.1
Clerical	7,603	117	1.5
Sales	7,267	134	1.8
Blue Collar	90,074	8,276	
Craftsmen	29,690	810	2.7
Operatives	46,389	5,166	11.1
Laborers	13,995	2,300	16.4
Service			
Service Workers	5,863	963	16.4

TABLE 43

Percent of Negro Female Employed by Major Occupational
Group of Total Female Employment

Occupations	Number of Females Employed	Number of Negro Females Employed	Percent of Negro Females Employed
White Collar	33,958	1,068	
Professional and Technical	4,509	220	4.9
Managers, Officials	937	13	1.4
Clerical	23,416	753	3.2
Sales	5,096	82	1.6
Blue Collar	21,320	2,120	
Craftsmen	1,310	152	11.6
Operatives	13,749	1,165	8.5
Laborers	6,261	803	10.1
Service			
Service Workers	6,857	1,390	20.3

Manufacturing. Since manufacturing is the primary source of

jobs in Milwaukee, it is interesting to see which roles Negroes fill in

this industry. In 1965, the State Industrial Commission sent question-

naires to the larger manufacturing companies in the Milwaukee SMSA

asking for the number of Negroes holding jobs in each occupational group

during the pay period for September, 1965. Three hundred and eighty-two

firms responded to the questionnaire; the firms employed a total of

112,636 workers. The results are summarized in Table 44.

TABLE 44
Percent of Negroes by Occupational Groups in
Manufacturing, September, 1965, Milwaukee SMSA[69]

Occupations	Total	Negroes	Percent of Negroes
White Collar	28,003	174	.6
Professional and Technical	8,514	44	.5
Managers and Officials	5,816	14	.2
Clerical	11,078	108	1.0
Sales	2,595	8	.3
Blue Collar			
Crafts and Foremen	22,168	666	3.0
Operatives	42,519	4,955	11.7
Laborers	14,654	1,347	9.2
Service			
Service Workers	2,393	281	11.7
Combined Groups*	2,899	36	1.2
TOTAL	112,636	7,459	6.7 Negroes Employed

* Includes Data reported for various combinations of occupational
groups.

Clearly, Negroes are not represented in accordance with their

representation in the population in any areas of the manufacturing in-

dustry except semi-skilled labor and service work. In fact, Negroes

represent a much smaller percentage of the total white collar workers

in these firms than in the total SMSA. It is possible that the actual

figures for all the manufacturing concerns are even smaller, since, it

might be expected that those firms that did hire Negroes would respond

more quickly to such a questionnaire than those that do not.

The occupations of the 7,459 Negroes employed in these manu-

facturing concerns are almost entirely in blue-collar work as evidenced

by Table 45.

TABLE 45

Percent of Negro of Total Negro Employed by Occupational
Groups and Percent of Total of Total Employed by Occupa-
tion Groups in Manufacturing, 1965.[70]

Occupations	Total	Negroes
White-Collar	24.9	2.3
Professional and Technical	7.6	.6
Managers and Officials	5.2	.2
Clerical	9.8	1.4
Sales	2.3	.1
Blue-Collar	70.4	93.3
Crafts and Foremen	19.7	8.9
Operatives	37.7	66.4
Laborers	13.0	18.0
Service		
Service Workers	2.1	3.8
Combined Groups*	2.6	.5

* Includes data reported for various combinations of occupational
groups.

Only 2.3 percent of the Negro work force in these firms are

white-collar workers. This is far below the percent of Negroes in white-

collar work for the SMSA, 13.4 percent. However, it should be noted

that the percent of whites in white-collar work is also below the SMSA

percent, dropping from 40.4 percent to 24.9 percent. No doubt, the

very nature of the manufacturing industry demands that more people work
in blue-collar jobs. However, the difference does not seem completely
attributable to this, since the drop is much greater for Negroes than
for whites. The proportion of blacks in other business areas seems even
poorer. The Industrial Commission's hearings on hotels, restaurants,
and hospitals in the Milwaukee areas have documented that only a limited
number of blacks were employed and that assignments held by the few
Negroes they found strongly suggested job discrimination.[71] Of 1,118
apprentices to unions identified in September, 1967, only 14 were black.[72]

Thus, the reality of employment for blacks in Milwaukee re-
mains bleak. Although the tight labor market has alleviated the massive
black unemployment found in other cities, black unemployment is probably
about twice that of whites. The level of education blacks have seems to
have little impact on either their chances for employment or their occu-
pational level. Job opportunities seem to be limited to low-paying, low-
status, dead-end jobs.

SUMMARY

The residents of Milwaukee--black and white--are victims of a
rhetoric which proclaims, "We are doing good--our problems are small,
and we are solving them."

White rhetoric about the city says, "We are doing our best for
our black community; we like it here, and so do they."

The reality appears to be that blacks are residentially segre-
gated and hostile toward white authority:

1. Over 85 percent of the city's Negro population lives in a
   ghetto known as the "inner city" or "core." Housing in
   the core is run-down, crowded, expensive, and owned by
   whites.

2. The City Council has refused to pass any sort of open-housing ordinance which might permit blacks to escape from the ghetto. Months of open-housing marches have produced no changes.

3. Relations between the police and the black community are characterized by mutual distrust and dislike, yet the chief of police has refused to consider any suggestions for improving relations.

4. Riots.

The rhetoric of Civil Rights' leaders implies massive black community support for improvements in schooling, housing, and jobs.

The reality seems to be that most of the black community has remained apathetic and uninvolved in Civil Rights:

1. In four years of Civil Rights activity, only three isolated demonstrations have involved more than a handful of the black community--the two school boycotts and the Groppi open-housing marches.

2. Civil Rights activists could not get the black vote out on the vital issue of School Board elections.

The rhetoric of the Milwaukee School Board and school officials states, "We offer quality education to every child in the city on a sound neighborhood school basis."

The reality of schooling in Milwaukee is that it is segregated and failing:

1. Both black pupils and black teachers are highly segregated, and this segregation is increasing.

2. The character of the schooling that Negro children receive is often inferior and unstimulating. Teachers are more likely to be unqualified; fewer courses are offered in some areas, and students are apparently unable to cope with advanced courses in other areas; classes tend to be academically unattractive and uninteresting.

3. According to standardized tests, the predominantly Negro schools are in a chronic state of academic failure.

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The rhetoric of MVEEOC employers says, "We do not discrim.-

nate; our programs are succeeding."

We believe that the gap between the rhetoric of both whites

and blacks and the reality in which they live is a major factor in

creating barriers between those two communities. The social meaning

of the way in which blacks and whites view each other and talk about

each other will be discussed in the next section.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES OF THIS INVESTIGATION

THE PROBLEM

There is little news in the record of school failure, unemploy-
ment, and violence in urban communities. The intention of this study is
to

> ...look at familiar phenomena in a new way, not new phenomena
> in a familiar way.[73]

The familiar aspect of the study of urban problems is the fascinated pre-
occupation with the "tangle of pathology" that shapes the lives of the
urban poor:

> Because the disorganized family has failed in its function as
> a socializing agency, it has handicapped the children in
> their relations to the institutions in the community.[74]

How can black failure in school, chronic unemployment, white scholarship
and white plans for black people be understood? Our effort has been to
look at the familiar scholarship and the familiar black performance in a
new or different way. What is the social meaning of the record of effort
and failure?

We have adopted certain perspectives of sociology as a basis
for the inquiry into the social location of ideas. Our problem is this:

> What is the meaning of the behavior of blacks in urban ghettos
> and the whites who study and serve them?

Three words of Peter Berger may be conveniently used to refer
to three important perspectives of sociology: _prison_, _puppet_, and _drama_.
To think of men as caught up in a _prison_, as dangling from _puppet_ strings,
or as on stage involved in a _drama_ is to affirm the basic sociological
attitude: things often are not what they appear. It is wise not to take

the behavior of white social scientists or black dropouts at face value.
Both may be acting out a script that neither is aware of or understands.

The Prison Metaphor. In this study we have tried to look be-
yond the interpretations of school officials, black militants and social
scientists. None of these three may be assumed the correct way of look-
ing at the problem. Instead, our approach has been to look for the social
meaning of what people say and do. What is the social meaning of the
rhetoric of education, black power, and failing school performance?

Many ways of thinking about human situations immediately con-
front the black-white dilemma in Milwaukee and in the nation: either a
black or a white is the victim of the accident of his birth.

Every individual is at the center of a system of social forces
which imposes demands upon him; it regulates his selection of clothes,
his sexual attitudes, and determines which people he will come to love
and hate. This is the prison into which all men are born.

Through the accident of birth, both blacks and whites have be-
come illiterate or progressive, bigoted or compassionate, self-directed
or alienated, hopeful or hopeless. Both blacks and whites are simply
victims of a world they did not make.

Milwaukee is a city beset with racial problems. The rebellions
in the streets, the demonstrations and the counter-demonstrations docu-
ment the tensions that exist there. The prison metaphor is useful in
thinking about the situation. The prison perspective presupposes that
blacks and whites are thrust by chance into organized social systems.
Each person at birth is located within a social force field. The most
distant system of commands upon an individual is the set of established

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laws of society. These laws in Milwaukee sustain a segregated school

system, a delapidated black community, and a police force that, in the

routine performance of its duties, brutalizes black persons. Near to

each individual--black or white--are the demands of custom regarding

dress, language, taste, and beliefs that every community imposes upon

its membership.

The system of commands closest to an individual is the sur-

rounding group of human beings with their immediate personal demands.

The demands that black children and white children in Milwaukee encounter

are substantially different. A black child learns that he is black in a

white world; a white child learns that he is white and the world is his.

Each child in Milwaukee is burdened with a legacy of the past: he is

likely to live out his life according to regulations, loves and hates

that he will never consider or evaluate.

We are better able to understand the prison metaphor if the

imperatives of constitutional tendencies are compared to the imperatives

of society.

> Cats, for example, do not have to be taught to chase birds.
> When a cat sees a bird there appears to be something in the
> cat that says, 'Eat, eat, eat.'[75]

But men must be taught to hate, to reject their color, to straighten

their hair. Men are not born with these imperatives, they learn them

at home, in church, in school, and on the street.

The prison metaphor calls our attention to this omnipresent

social reality that makes robots of our children, functionaries of adults,

and bigots of Christians. Societies provide predefined courses of action

that appear to be inevitable to the blacks and whites who follow them.

But this is inevitably a deception: cats may be blind instruments of

ate but men are free, even though they may never exercise their freedom.

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The Puppet Analogy. The power of the social milieu is enormous and there is a vast literature that documents the range of life chances that are associated with any birth. At the moment of conception we can predict whether a particular child will live at all, will learn to read, will become diseased, or will contribute to the welfare statistics. But the power of milieu is even greater than has been suggested. There are no automatons compelled to follow blindly the wise or aberrant commands of long dead men. Not only are we born into a world we did not make, not only do we dress and hate, believe and die in ways prescribed by our social location, but we finally come to love and justify whatever it is that we have been compelled to do.

The prison analogy, although useful, does not help us understand the calm acceptance by the black community of inferior housing, failing schools, limited vocational opportunity, marginal participation in political life and chronic social indignity. Why until recently has there been so little protest? Why have Milwaukee and other urban certers not had guerilla warfare long ago? It is not surprising to find whites in Milwaukee more or less content with the social inequities from which they benefit, but it seems incredible that the black community is not in an open state of rebellion. There are no prison walls; there are not enough guards (as the recent rebellion demonstrated) to maintain order, and yet blacks and whites go about their separate lives as if there were nothing astonishing in their behavior.

Black Militants and their white supporters are compelled to seek to arouse the black community, to unite the black community in the cause of its own welfare, to apprize the black community of its political

possibilities. This is a very difficult struggle. The whites claim, with some justice, that the Milwaukee Negroes are "good Negroes"; they don't cause trouble, they are happy with their situation, and only outside agitators cause whatever tensions the city feels.

We can see in the black community of Milwaukee that the force of the omnipresent external society is far greater than that of a prison:

> Society not only determines what we do but what we are. In other words, social location involves our being as well as our conduct.[76]

How is it that men come to accept their circumstances, to live with outrage, and to endure social injustice without resorting to violence and rebellion? One possible answer, of course, is that they are terrified. But the application of force is not savage enough--however inhumane it may be--and it is not applied often enough to account for the behavior that we can easily observe in Milwaukee.

The puppet metaphor is of some use in understanding this remarkable Black quiescence. This metaphor suggests that people are what they do, that they feel the emotions that go with the roles they are compelled to play and that they tend to think the thoughts that explain and justify their behavior.

Blacks are presented with certain possibilities of action; a black child develops roles or patterns of behavior in light of the expectations he confronts: he develops certain roles at home in light of the expectations of the adults in his life; he develops other patterns of behavior in light of the expectations that he encounters in the larger white society. Each child is presented during his life with a series of "stage" possibilities; there is some freedom of choice among

the roles he may play, but in general the choices are limited. What a
black child becomes as a person is the various roles that he can play in
the various situations that he encounters. The identity that a child
develops is a consistent amalgam of his roles. The expectations that a
Negro child encounters at home or in the larger society are, to some de-
gree, influenced by the historical expectations of the white community:

> The only tradition that the Negro has had in America are
> those of slavery, repression, and turmoil...[77]

A new teacher in a public school, a new office worker in a
plant, a student in a new school has certain role possibilities available
to him. He becomes 'teacher,' 'worker,' or 'student' in light of the
expectations that the life of work presents. A teacher will either leave
a school or come to feel, to think, and to be in accord with role possi-
bilities which are available. Children when they are growing up--even
more than teachers, students, or workers--have no memory of an outside
world; they are more vulnerable than adults to the expectations they en-
counter when they enter new institutions. Both children and adults can
become victims of an omnip. set. social real that shape their thought
and being.

Because the roles people play regulate their actions and be-
cause the actions themselves create consistent and supporting emotions,
people usually become emotionally attached to what they are forced to do.
There is both a hopeful and a dreary aspect of this social invention.
The hope lies in the suggestion that men of any age are vulnerable to
change. No generation need be hopeless, no social attitude is immutable,
no bigotry need be eternal. A change of roles can lead to the formation

of a new identity; changes in what people do lead to changes in feeling
and thought. But the dreary aspect of social creation cannot be forgot-
ten. Just as ardor is increased by kissing, humility by kneeling, and
power by commanding, Negroes have come to feel inferior through ingra-
tiation, passive through supplication, and exploited through their en-
durance. As Negroes in Milwaukee act in the prescribed Negro fashion,
as they relate to whites in the approved manner, as they pursue the voca-
tions allowed by the white community, the feelings of blacks and whites
in Milwaukee have come to be complementary and mutually supportive.

The puppet analogy suggests that an individual is not a sub-
stantial entity who moves from place to place in society; rather he is
a process of interaction in a set of situations. To some degree an in-
dividual can choose his own roles and the situations that he will enter,
for the more an individual pursues the roles he has been assigned the
more he will come to feel the emotions, tensions, hopes, and fears that
are part of that role.

Not only do men come to act according to the expectations they
encounter, not only do they develop attitudes and feelings that arise
out of their actions, but they must cooperate ever more. The full power
of society has not been described. Not only do men come to love their
chains, but the chains themselves are eventually thought to be wise.

Sociologists use the word ideology to refer to a set of ideas
that support or make rational a particular social arrangement. In
Milwaukee, a white ideology explains to both blacks and whites the exist-
ing inequities of the present social arrangements. In addition, there
is a black ideology that t 'some extent reflects the white ideology.

Because of the pressures of the racial militants, the rebel-
lions in the streets, and the appeals to moderation, both Negroes and
whites in Milwaukee are compelled to live in a continuous state of ten-
sion and self-explanation.

The white community must explain to itself and to the black
community why blacks must live in inferior housing, have poor medical
care, failing schools, unkept streets, little participation in city pol-
itics, and the indignity of social disadvantage. Members of the white
community in Milwaukee have a self-image of kindliness, compassion, and
Christian concern. In order to maintain this humane self-image, the
conditions endured by Negroes must be justified in a way that leaves
the white community with an intact self-image of Christian concern.

The task of distortion in which the white community must en-
gage is enormous, but it is not a lesser task than that of the black
community. Although blacks in Milwaukee and elsewhere may permit them-
selves to be used, exploited, and humiliated, they know at some level
what has happened. The reservoir of unexpressed bitterness in the black
community can be measured by the violence of Watts, Milwaukee, and
Newark. If blacks are not to revolt, they must deny the reality of
their everyday experiences. Many Negroes can to some extent accept the
white ideology, and they can explain or justify their own life and not
be overwhelmed by the monstrous circumstances in which they live. But
Watts, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, and others have occurred. The
white message of deprivation and gradualism is losing its adherents.

The sign carried by a white Milwaukee demonstrator announces
the message of white Milwaukee with crude clarity:

YOU KNOW WE'RE ALRIGHT,
UPTIGHT, OUT OF SIGHT,
WE KNOW WE'RE RIGHT
CAUSE WE'RE WHITE.

The white teachers in Milwaukee know that black kids are in-
ferior; the white school administrators know that it will take generations
until primitive black people rise to the level of our white civilization;
white employers know that Negroes are not well prepared, socially differ-
ent, unreliable, and unsuitable for other than unskilled and semiskilled
work. Knowing these things, the white community is under little obliga-
tion to press for better schools, better housing, or social alternatives
for Negroes. The few Negroes who can make it will make it, and the rest
will have to mature through the generations. There is nothing especially
to be done or urged. The natural processes of cultural evolution will
gradually take care of the problems that we face today. It's too bad
the process is so slow, but that's the way it is.

The blacks who do not accept the white interpretation of the
racial situation see the MAN on their backs. How comforting that man is.
He is responsible for all of their suffering and therefore blacks don't
have to endure any guilt for their lack of initiative; they don't have
to bear any responsibility because the MAN has guns, whips, dogs, not
to mention tanks and napalm; blacks don't have any future because the
MAN has said that they have none; they don't have any past because the
MAN has said that he found none. Blacks, by attributing power responsi-
bility, initiative, conspiracy, and evil to the MAN deny that they
cooperated in their own destruction. Unless they accept and face their
past and their complicity, the barbarity of white power may be matched
by that of black power.

The white community must somehow bear and exonerate its burden of hatred, terror, duplicity, and self-righteousness. The complacency, passivity, cowardice, and aimlessness of the black community is its burden to bear and to cleanse. Both groups must face their own failures for what has to be done if they are to escape the tyranny of ideology.

The problem of this study, then, is to determine the manner in which ideology limits the possibility of education and employment for Black Americans. Ideologies serve two essential functions:

1. To legitimatize existing social arrangements, and

2. To assuage the suffering of guilt and the pain of injustice. Social arrangements are legitimated when they are explained in some appealing fashion. The inequities that Negroes endure are explained in the south as the consequence of biological inferiority and in the north they are explained as consequences of cultural inferiority or deprivation. If Negroes are inferior, then the sorry conditions that they endure are the consequences of that inferiority. In time, according to the Northern view, we may expect the Negro to reach "our" level of development. Until that time we must wait patiently for their maturity, much as we must await the growth of a child before he can join the adult community.

Suffering is alleviated by belief in a myth that makes its endurance bearable. Religions often explain suffering as the means of redemption and salvation. There can be little doubt that, in both the north and the south, religions helped Negroes bear with minimal complaint the misfortunes that white society has imposed. If blacks are to suffer,

and if they are not to revolt against outrageous circumstance, they must

either perceive meaning and purpose in their own distress or deny the

reality of the experiences that they confront everyday.

The study of ideology is an investigation of the techniques

that a group under stress may use to assuage their misfortunes and to

avoid confronting the facts of their situation. All ideas may be exam-

ined to identify the social location of those who think them and the

social meaning that belief in particular ideas may have. The general

question that has come to motivate this study is this:

What is the social meaning of:

...the failure of black schools?

...the resistance to responsible school changes and the
   rhetoric of white educators?

...the employment difficulties of blacks?

...the ineffective efforts of equal opportunity firms?

These questions have been raised because both blacks and whites

in Milwaukee tend to act in various roles that Milwaukee society has

assigned. To understand these explanations, to understand their func-

tion, and to identify plausible ways of confronting "explanations" with

"reality" has been the basic purpose of this study.

The black protest in Milwaukee is to some extent a protest

against the inability of blacks to wear white chains, and the white pro-

test is against the necessity of sharing their more agreeable chains with

anyone. The hope--if there is any hope in Milwaukee--is to encourage

both blacks and whites to look to their chains and perhaps to discard

them. What hope for freedom is possible?

Drama: What Freedom Is Possible? The fictions of prison and
puppet have a great deal of utility as ways to think about society and
the racial situation in Milwaukee. But, however useful they may be and
however powerful may be their representation of social processes, they
provide an incomplete picture of Milwaukee or of any other community.
Societies do change; revolution is a frequent event throughout the world;
men do commit suicide; they do withdraw in ascetic contemplation; they
do commit crimes; they do establish subcommunities and they do engage
in violent revolt. None of these common events is easily explainable
with the prison and puppet metaphors. Men can be victims of their cir-
cumstances, but if they are to be victims they must willingly co-operate;
they must consent to every humiliation.

Just as there is no total power in society there is no total
impotence. Society is a paradox of mutual definition: men are defined
by society but society exists through the definitions of men. Society
is an artifact of agreed definitions and these definitions are always
fragile:

> . . .pretend to be a tolerant but firm abstainer at a
> New York cocktail party, or an initiate of some mystic
> cult at a Methodist church picnic, or a psychoanalyst
> at a businessmen's luncheon--in each case, it is quite
> likely. . .that the introduction of a dramatic charac-
> ter that does not fit into the scenario of the partic-
> ular play seriously threatens the role-playing of those
> who do fit. Experiences such as these may lead to a
> sudden reversal in one's view of society--from an awe-
> inspiring vision of an edifice made of massive granite
> to the picture of a toy-house precariously put together
> with papier mache. While such metamorphosis may be dis-
> turbing to people who have hitherto had great confidence
> in the stability and rightness of society, it can also
> have a very liberating effect on those more inclined to
> look upon the latter as a giant sitting on top of them,
> and not necessarily a friendly giant at that. It is
> reassuring to discover that the giant is afflicted with
> a nervous tic.[78]

The accident of birth in Milwaukee and elsewhere presents an
individual with either the opportunity for revolt or the possibility of
complicity. Complicity is to accept, affirm and cherish the roles and
attitudes that the accidents of birth assign. This acceptance is not
often difficult for those who enjoy the benefits of the inequities of
society. But for those who suffer the consequences of social injustice
and still affirm and cherish their status and roles, the distortion of
reality is costly and the intellectual and emotional investment in
mythologies that obscure experience is a large one.

Revolt is a challenge to societal artifact. Revolt can take
the form of sabotage, detachment, or charismatic redefinition. Although
every person is compelled to play roles according to what might be called
an assigned script, these roles can be played well or badly, with convic-
tion or with detachment, with passion or reserve. Every role carries an
opportunity for sabotage, and this vulnerability to sabotage reveals both
the precarious state of societies and the possibility for freedom.

The revolt of detachment is as ancient as man himself. The
withdrawal of ascetic contemplation is an individual rejection of the
roles and impositions of society. The withdrawals of many religious
groups provide their members with alternative ways of conceiving men
and their possibilities. The affirmation of such groups as hippies,
Panthers, SNCC, CORE, or SDS provide competing views of social reality
that reject the impositions of our larger society.

It is likely that for black Americans the most powerful revolt
of all is that of charismatic redefinition: Malcolm X, among others, has
redefined with drama and passion what it means to be black. This redef-

inition has transformed the consciousness of many--if not all--black
Americans. It has compelled some blacks to cling with even greater
fervor to their old roles of humiliation, and it has compelled others
to confront forthrightly the indecencies of white society. This redef-
inition of black meaning is changing the nature of the black-white con-
flict in Milwaukee. Heretofore, the catchword of racial militants was
integration; today, black power is now the demand, and black power is
a crusade for economic, political, and educational independence. Black
power is a demand for black responsibility and it apparently has arisen
from the charisma of Malcolm X and his followers.

Complicity leads a man to accept the accident of his birth;
revolt can lead a man to reject the injustice in his own life and free-
dom lies in the discovery of society. What are the possibilities and
dangers of the human condition? Four observations deserve considera-
tion:

1. There is enormous diversity in the ways men eat and dress,
   love and fear, rule and submit in the various communities
   to be found among the Earth's cultures.

2. Any society can be seen as a fragile set of agreements
   which need constant confirmation and reconfirmation if
   it is to endure.

3. There are no social arrangements that are natural to men.
   Men are not compelled by their nature to hate, dress, flee,
   or fight in any particular fashion.

4. There is no innate necessity about the roles men play in
   society. All of the role "imperatives" of society are self-
   chosen. Animals must follow the dictates of "instincts" but
   men who follow the dicates of society are quite free to act
   in other ways.

Society may be thought of as a network of roles, each one of
which may be an excuse for complicity, the occasion for revolt, or an

opportunity for freedom. The study of complicity and revolt, prison and

puppet, ideology and role can provide insight into how blacks and whites

react to one another in Milwaukee. It might divulge possibilities for

freedom that may exist there:

> Society provides us with warm, reasonably comfortable caves,
> in which we can huddle with our fellows, beating on the drums
> that drown out the howling hyenas of the surrounding darkness.
> "Ecstasy" is the act of stepping outside the caves, alone, to
> face the night.[79]

It is this perspective that has led us to look for deception and self-

deception as central aspects of the racial problems of Milwaukee.

THE HYPOTHESES OF THIS INVESTIGATION

Three postulates summarize the view that we have expressed re-

garding the educational and employment difficulties that black Americans

face in Milwaukee.

FIRST: Blacks and whites share a common culture.

SECOND: Blacks legitimatize their inferior status.

THIRD: Whites legitimatize their superior status.

Together these postulates provide a perspective on black-white relation-

ships that is heuristic, explanatory, and subject to empirical verifica-

tion.

Is there a culture conflict between blacks and whites that

"explains" the problem that blacks face in school and in employment?

If black and white children are different in their fundamental beliefs

and attitudes, then this may account for the problems that black chil-

dren encounter. Our postulate is that both blacks and whites become

part of the only society we have and they both affirm and believe in

basic American values.

The first postulate can be empirically investigated by testing
the hypothesis that blacks and whites do not differ in their views re-
garding basic values of American society. If blacks and whites share a
common value system, then the usual explanation of the problems of black
Americans will be subject to serious question.

The second postulate affirms that blacks tend to accept and
adapt to their inferior social situation. We have sought to explore the
plausibility of this assertion by testing the hypothesis that Milwaukee
high school graduates will deny the reality of their high school experi-
ence and legitimatize the status quo in education and employment.

The third postulate leads into a whole range of fascinating
possibilities for empirical study. It suggests the following hypotheses
about the Milwaukee School System:

1. Its leaders and its official publications will express a
    liberal rhetoric that affirms the good will and the genuine
    social concern of professionals in education. The social
    function of this rhetoric would be to assuage the conscience
    of professionals in education who maintain and who are re-
    sponsible for the failing schools in Milwaukee.

2. Its leaders will attribute all of the educational difficul-
    ties of black children to the social inferiority and lack
    of cultural readiness of black children. The social func-
    tion of this attribution would be to maintain the profes-
    sional self-esteem of those responsible for the failure of
    schools in black communities. If the children are unready
    or culturally deprived, the professionals in education
    cannot really be responsible. As long as professionals
    in education can comfort themselves with excuses for their
    failures, they can maintain a pleasant self-image in the
    midst of disaster in the lives of black children.

3. Its leaders will focus attention on and encourage study of
    the families, housing, health, and attitudes of residents
    of the black community. The social function of this ac-
    tivity would be to provide professionals in education with
    an apparently meaningful activity while they avoid examin-
    ing the functions and operations of the educational insti-

tutions that are ineffective. As long as research and
concern is focused on the victims of professional educa-
tion, the institutions itself will escape scrutiny.

4. Its leaders will avoid explicit study of the functioning
    of educational institutions. The social function of this
    avoidance is to preserve the existing institutions from
    serious study and investigation. As long as the diffi-
    culties of black Americans can be attributed to the social
    and intellectual defects of blacks themselves, the status
    quo in Milwaukee schooling will be preserved.

The third postulate also has implications for business leaders in Milwaukee.

Hypotheses relating to problems of employment are these:

1. Businessmen will affirm their willingness to hire qualified
    workers regardless of race, color, or creed. The social
    function of this affirmation is to assuage the consciences
    of businessmen; it will relieve them from having to think
    about the extent and degree of difficulty black Americans
    face in their efforts to seek employment and career oppor-
    tunities.

2. Businessmen will avoid any study of the practices, opera-
    tions, and customs of their own business. The social func-
    tion of this avoidance is to preseve the prevailing struc-
    ture of arrangements to be found in business. To study
    themselves or their own policies would imply that the
    business community itself might be responsible for in-
    equities in employment.

3. Businessmen will direct attention to the problem of qual-
    ifying blacks for existing responsibilities within their
    firms. The social function of attending to the problems
    of blacks protects the functions and operations of business
    from scrutiny and serves to preserve the status quo in
    business.

Our third postulate implies that any effort to attribute oddity,

defect, or difference to blacks is a device to preserve the status quo in

education and employment because it directs attention to the victims of

injustice rather than to the social institutions that regulate the rela-

tionships between the races.

If all three postulates are sustained by the data of this

study, a clear strategy of analyzing the social problems of blacks and

a useful mode of identifying social alternatives will be supported.

In the next chapter we will explicate procedure for testing the hypotheses that have been discussed.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL BASES AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This is a complicated study. In order to test some of the
hypotheses of this investigation, a questionnaire was developed to
measure a variety of social attitudes of high school graduates in
Milwaukee. In order to test other hypotheses we have conducted open-
ended interviews, assigned researchers to participant observer roles
in selected business establishments, examined official communications
of the Milwaukee Board of Education, and studied the professional
literature that deals with problems of urban communities today. We
have used both sophisticated statistical procedures and commonplace
observations of printed material.

POSTULATE: BLACKS AND WHITES SHARE A COMMON CULTURE

To investigate the contention that blacks and whites share a
common culture, we have sought to identify what may be regarded as
basic American values. We constructed a questionnaire that provides
respondents with the opportunity to record their values. To the extent
that such a measure does, in fact, reflect beliefs of the respondents,
we are in a position to study how white and black high school graduates
think about basic American values.

The Middle Class Ethic. The American value system has been
dissected and described in a great many ways, each of which has some
merits and some disadvantages with respect to the purposes for which
it is used. The viewpoint we have chosen as most useful for our pur-
poses is the result of a collaboration between a psychiatrist, Jurgen

Ruesch, and an anthropologist, Gregory Bateson. Their book, Communication: the Social Matrix of Psychiatry has as its premise the modern psychiatric notion that to understand the individual "...it is necessary to see the individual in the context of a social situation."[80] People do not live in isolation; they act upon and react to each other. Ruesch and Bateson define all such processes by which people influence one another as forms of communication.[81] To communicate successfully with one another, people must have similar premises for defining behavior. Similar language is a most obvious necessity for communication, but it is not sufficient: "...the general rules that pertain to the interpretation of messages...are not only based upon the symbols, words, and gestures used, but include such subtle things as timing and spacing of messages, the evaluation of figure-ground phenomena, the interpretation of authority, child-raising practices, and many other features."[82] In other words, to understand what a person is communicating, it is necessary to understand what his behavior means in the particular social context within which he is operating, and this demands understanding the values of that social context. "Information about the values which people hold enables us to interpret their messages and influence their behavior,"[83] and without such information, successful communication cannot occur.

Ruesch and Bateson view the present value system as the "...fusion of the needs of the pioneers with those of the puritan...,"[84] which has been modified to fit our urban-industrial economy. They see four principals--equality, sociality, success, and change--combined with a core of puritan morality as the basis for the American value

system. We have developed questions related to each of these values, each of which will be associated with a Likert response scale of five points.

Puritan Morality. The English Puritans valued "...plain living, industriousness, thrift, cleanliness, consistency, honesty, and cooperation within the community."[85] When they arrived here they were faced with totally new living conditions, and as a result of coping with the hardships of life in the colonies their value system was modified into what Ruesch and Bateson call the "pioneer morality." This value system retained the prohibitions against sex and gaity, it was modified by a belief in change and success, and it emphasized the necessity of social relations.

Many of these values are derived from the puritan concept of self-control and personal responsibility to God. Impulse gratification is not acceptable to Americans unless it is "justified by a socially acceptable reason."[86] It is better to save than spend, better to abstain than indulge, better to work than enjoy yourself--unless you can gratify your impulses and do some social good at the same time. Vacations, eating, and sleeping are not simply enjoyable, they are good for your health; sports and clubs are not simply fun, but they teach you fair play, help you learn to get along with others, and in many cases, help other people (do good works).

Since thrift, hard work, and providing for the future are important values, it follows that Americans are willing to assume the financial burden for others only if the others are weaker through unavoidable circumstance. Even age has only recently become an acceptable

reason for supplying aid. "Weakness owing to lack of will power or to laziness or carnal passion is not tolerated..."[87] Aid is not giving because one has less than you have, but giving to someone who would have what you have if he were able to do the work.

The term "puritan morality" is most often used in reference to American sexual mores. Certainly the puritan ethic has had a strong and lasting effect on the way Americans think about sex. It is not likely that widely discussed changes in sexual values--which are supposed to result from _the_ pill and the increased freedom with which sex is discussed--have replaced the more rigid puritan mores for most of the members of the culture.

Equality. In America, the value of equality is interpreted as "the assumption of equal opportunities rather than the product of final achievemen.."[88] Thus, some people are more successful than others, some have more money, better jobs, and a higher social status. But this does not mean they are "better" or "unequal," only that they have "...been skillful in utilizing the circumstances of equal opportunity."[89]

Because Americans resent the idea that some people are unequally better than others, they naturally have more confidence in a group decision of equals than vesting the decision-making power in one individual. Despite the emphasis on the "rugged individual" of frontier mythology, Americans prefer the community consensus to the individual view. "Authority resides in committees or other steering groups, and these bodies settle matters of policy."[90] Most American bureaucracies are not truly pyramidal; a committee is placed on the

top to supervise the entire organization. Such committees represent
the vested interests of the organization: the school board is composed
of parents, and the board of directors in most large corporations is
composed of the shareholders with the most stock.

Inequality makes Americans uncomfortable, and many processes
have been developed "which result in eradication of extreme deviations
and therefore promote a 'regression toward the mean'."[91] Compulsory
education is meant to insure equal beginnings, and universal suffrage
provides an equal voice in local and national affairs.

The American tendency to feel anxious in the face of inequal-
ity has also resulted in a general hostility toward idiosyncratic
thought. "As long as proficiency is based upon acquired skill and
training, it is acceptable. But as soon as one might have to explain
achievement, rightly or wrongly, by recognizing an unusual talent, it
becomes unacceptable."[92] Americans do not resent original thinkers
because they might become a threat to a rigid governmental ideology,
as has been the case in other countries. Rather, they are a threat
because "...they elude regimentation from without; and rather than
acknowledge the limits of external control, the persons in power at-
tempt to stultify individuals with special talents."[93]

Sociality. "In America the process of living and of inter-
acting with others is sought as a goal in itself."[94] Americans con-
sider people more important than objects, and are therefore more
interested in being "liked" than in acquiring material goods.

The belief in the committee or the group in decision-making
carries over into social situations. Americans abide by the decision

of the majority and recognize groups as responsible for the individuals

who belong to them.[95] Individuals are thought of in terms of the group

they belong to, so: "Offense against a person is an offense against

his group."[96] Groups provide safety and acceptance, so being without

a group must be avoided. Americans dislike solitude, and resent people

who choose to be alone rather than with others. Almost all forms of

recreation in America are group activities, from the cocktail party

to the Fourth of July company picnic. Americans even watch television

in groups and double-date to movies.

The importance of the group makes getting along with others

one of the most necessary qualities an American can possess. Deep

involvement with other people is not necessary; rather, gregariousness,

conformance to group standards, and the ability to work well as part

of a team are the requirements for group membership. Popularity doesn't

come easily, and Americans are expected to expend time and energy in

the pursuit of being well-liked. Ruesch and Bateson describe this

social effort as "...the attempt of the individual or group of indi-

viduals to obtain votes through some sort of campaigning."[97]

Success. The emphasis on success in the American value sys-

tem stems from the frontier days when it was necessary to assess people

without any knowledge of their background. In such a society it was

reasonable to measure an individual by what he could do. Often, how-

ever, even this measurement was not possible, so success became equated

with material, quantifiable possessions. Quantification is necessary

if success is to be used to judge a person's worth, since, "...the

success of any individual can be gauged only by comparing it with the

success of others."[98]

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Americans measure the value of an individual by his success, and they measure success by the quantity of his material possessions. Thus, material possessions become the criterion for measuring a person's effort, initiative, and ability to handle responsibility.

Americans are willing to gamble to achieve success. The high mobility rate which characterizes American families is largely due to the fact that breadwinners will take the chance that a new job will be better than the present one. Even legal gambles are acceptable: "success exonerates ruthless and sharp practices."[99] However, if an individual loses when he gambles, he is considered a failure, and his corner-cutting is no longer acceptable. Thus, most Americans are well aware of the extra-legal benefits many politicians accrue, but little serious consideration is given to this situation until a politician is "exposed." Then he must be punished; his gamble has not been successful.

Achievement of success is not necessary to win approval. "As long as anyone strives for success, as long as he makes an effort, he is a regular guy."[100] Further, success is measured by a person's relation to his peers, not by his relation to persons on a level different from his own. So while a person may have no chance of being successful compared to the top level, he can still gain approval if he keeps trying and if he does as well or better than those in his immediate social group or class.

Change. Americans have attitudes toward change quite different from those of members of other societies. Change is thought always to bring something better, and once change has occurred it is thought to be irreversible. Further, "...life is not viewed as being static

but is conceived as being in the process of continuous change."[101]
Europeans, on the other hand, regard change with alarm, and expect
any change to be for the worse. But in Europe, change is considered
reversible; things can go back to being how they were before.

American slogans and sayings illustrate the American view:
"Progress is Our Most Important Product;" "Don't cry over spilled milk;"
"You can't go home again." Buying habits reflect the same value.
Americans prefer to trade their perfectly good cars after one or two
years for more recent, and therefore better, models.

Change is in no way limited to material things; the most
important results of the American concept of change are those based
on the belief that people as well as things can change. Psychiatry,
welfare, social science, and all forms of social engineering stem from
this belief. The Horatio Alger stories and the American myth that
anyone can become President are based on the belief that with hard
work and determination people can change themselves and their lot
for the better.

Nowhere is the American belief in change and the future
more pronounced than in child-rearing practices. "The belief in the
future, ...results in the structuring of the parent-child relation-
ship, which puts children first and parents second."[102] Parents are
more likely to save money for their children's education than for
their own enjoyment, and many people suffer through long years in the
suburbs because "it's better for the children." Further, children
are supposed to emphasize the differences between the generations,
rather than the similarities. Older people are not considered wise

because of their vast experience, but out-of-date with the current

realities of the world.

Constitutional Commitment. For over fifteen years, Cr. H. H.

Re-mers and his Purdue Opinion Poll asked a representative sample of

thousands of American teenagers to define their attitudes about a

wide range of subjects dealing with schools, parents, communities,

religion, government, and many other topics.[103] Many of the resulting

responses were interesting; some were surprising. None, however, were

so startling as the responses dealing with the relation between a

citizen and his government.

In Poll No. 30 of the series, Remmers paraphrased sections

of the Bill of Rights, and, without indicating the source of these

statements, asked teenagers to agree or disagree with them. He found

that a large minority, and sometimes a majority, did not agree with

the values which are supposed to represent the most basic tenets of

American thought. For example, 45 percent of his sample rejected the

notion of freedom of the press, over one-fourth rejected freedom of

speech and right of assemblage, 34 percent rejected the right to peti-

tion, and an amazing 83 percent felt that the F.B.I. should be allowed

to use wiretapping of private phones.[104] Further, about 20 percent

had no opinion or were unsure about their feelings to most of these

statements. Since his sample was quite broad, it seems reasonable to

conclude that at that time, for that age group, a rejection of the values

expressed in the Constitution did not result in alienation from the

middle-class culture.

Time is an important qualification here. Remmers conducted
this poll in late 1951, at a time of "national confusion approaching
hysteria over the threat of Communism."[105] The witch-hunts, name-
calling and guilt by association that characterized this regrettable
period of American history resulted in the suppression of individual
freedoms in the name of security.[106] It might be assumed that the
attitudes of the teenagers were shaped by this situation, and would
not be representative of attitudes today. However, the right to dis-
sent and the right to protest have been called into question by the
civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam, so that the conflict
between national security and individual rights is again an issue of
national debate, and if the attitudes that Remmers found were not a
function of the time but still persist today, the implications are
disturbing and crucial.

We feel that an understanding of the value placed on
the ideals set forth in the Constitution is necessary to the develop-
ment of any clear picture of those ideals. Therefore, the question-
naire includes 10 questions that paraphrase the Bill of Rights or deal
with Supreme Court decisions on Constitutional issues. Six of these
questions are taken directly from Remmers' poll; the other four approx-
imate his questions but are worded somewhat differently. Responses to
this set of questions will also be scaled according to the Likert
model.

BLACK HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND THE MIDDLE CLASS ETHIC

Black graduates may react to the middle class value system
in any of several ways:

1. They can adopt the middle class ethic, and reject any elements of their own culture which do not correspond to those of the white culture. This must also involve rejection of blacks who cannot adapt to the mode of white society.

2. They can develop insight into the middle class culture and learn to communicate with members of that culture, without adopting the values of white culture. Anthropologists behave in much the same way when they study alien cultures. While they are living with the culture that is being studied, anthropologists are quite careful to avoid offending its members, but they do not permanently adopt the values of the members. Similarly, a black graduate might study the values of the white middle class in order to cope effectively with white institutions.

3. They can reject the white middle class ethic in some or all of the aspects, and support some alternatives of their own. For example, they can become "shack dwellers," Black Muslims, black militants, or adopt some alternate form of rejection.

None of these alternatives is easy, and the choice may be more difficult for blacks in small ghettos than for those in ghettos large enough to produce a strong alternative culture of their own. The psychological strain of accepting the middle class white value system is balanced by the economic strain of rejecting it. In many ways, there is no "best" alternative for Negroes faced with the current realities of segregation and white discrimination.

The hypothesis tested in this study is that blacks and whites will respond in similar ways to statements representing the

dominant--that is, white--American cultural values. Such values will

be affirmed or denied in the same fashion by both races.

In addition to the data relating to American values, we will

explore racial comparisons regarding attitudes toward school experi-

ence and work experience. These additional data have been generated

in order to study other aspects of the views of black and whites' high

school graduates in Milwaukee. Each sub-scale will be discussed pres-

ently. The basic hypothesis is that blacks and whites share common

views about school and work.

POSTULATE: BLACKS LEGITIMATIZE THEIR INFERIOR SOCIAL CONDITION

The description of the Milwaukee schools presented in Chapter

Two indicates that black students do not enjoy a healthy school experi-

ence. We know that black students are not doing well; there are many

unqualified teachers; the curriculum is irrelevant, and the style of

instruction is debilitating.

Our analysis of the work situation in Milwaukee indicates

that blacks occupy the lowest levels of the employment hierarchy. They

have jobs that call for skills of the lowest levels and which have

limited responsibilities.

The question that we have posed is this: how do black high

school graduates perceive their school and work experiences? If blacks

perceive their school and work as positive and meaningful, then we will

argue that they are engaging in a form of social rationalization. We

expect that many, if not most, black high school graduates will accept

and legitimatize their school and work experiences; but at the same

time they will give evidence of being aware of the reality of their

social location.

We expect blacks in Milwaukee to endorse incompatible affirmations about school and work. They will affirm the benevolence of the situations in which they find themselves; at the same time they will endorse other incompatible views. The irrationality of their views will provide one index of the degree to which they are denying the reality of their everyday experiences.

Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, in their book Small Town in Mass Society, have described how inhabitants of a small rural community are faced with the necessity for developing similar mechanisms to help them continue to function:

> "...the people of Springdale are unwilling to recognize the defeat of their values, their personal importance in the face of larger events, and any failure in their way of life. By techniques of self-avoidance and self-deception, they strive to avoid facing issues which, if recognized, would threaten the total fabric of their personal and social existence. Instead of facing the issue, they make compromises and modify their behavior in some cases, and reaffirm their traditional patterns in other cases. They do this, however, without any overt conscious recognition of the problems...
>
> The compromises, the self-deception and the self-avoidance are mechanisms which work; for in operating on the basis of contradictory illogical and conflicting assumptions, they are able to cope in their day-to-day lives with their immediate problems in a way that permits them some degree of satisfaction.[107]

They describe a number of mechanisms for distorting or avoiding reality used by "Springdalers," and these mechanisms are termed "modes of adjustment." We have used some of these modes of adjustment, we have modified others, and we have added some of our own in identifying what we consider possible techniques that might be employed by blacks to avoid conscious recognition of the realities of their social location.

Modes of Adjustment: Particularization. One way to adjust to
an unpleasant facet of reality is to refuse to recognize the existence
of the situation and to "repress from consciousness all those negative
elements which intrude into personal activities and images."[108] This
does not mean that the individual is unaware of the existence of the
situation, because he continues to take the situation into account in
his actions. "At the level of action [as opposed to the level of con-
sciousness] all the factors which make for the recognition of the prob-
lems are present in the actions of the individual..."[109] In other words,
the individual functions in such a way that it is clear that he does
recognize the situation.

Recognition is avoided by limiting the mention of the situa-
tion to highly specific detailed cases, and denying or ignoring the
total impression. Vidich and Bensman describe ways that the members
of the community act so that it is obvious that they recognize their
dependence on the institutions of the mass society. The farmer adjusts
his operations to suit the national market, businessmen deal with na-
tional distributors, school administrators use state and federal aid.
The conditions of dependency may be discussed, but only in terms of
specific instances. "No generalization sums up these detailed state-
ments, so that individuals are not explicitly aware of the total amount
of their dependence."[110] Thus, Springdalers can and do continue to think
of themselves as locally independent and self-determining.

We could expect students and white-collar workers to partic-
ularize by agreeing with statements that described specific instances

of the routinized, intrinsically meaningless work that they do, and
rejecting the more general conclusions about such work that it is boring
and meaningless. For example, if workers agree with the statement, "My
work is interesting nearly all the time," and also agree with the state-
ment, "I often find myself thinking about other things while I'm working--
what I'm going to do after work, something that happened at home, and so
forth," they have accepted a specific instance in which their work was
so uninteresting that they are able to think about nonrelated subjects,
while rejecting the general statement that their work is uninteresting
or boring.

Eighteen items in the work section and another eighteen in
the school section of our questionnaire measure the degree to which
students and workers "particularize." Nine of the items describe
specific instances of work and school that we would expect individuals
to find boring, meaningless, or in which they would recognize themselves
as powerless. The other nine statements are more general descriptions
of the same situations.

Conflicts in perceptions or attitudes will be interpreted as
providing evidence that the respondents 1) are making efforts to legit-
imatize or make attractive the conditions they experience, and at the
same time 2) indicate that they are aware of the realities they encounter.

Modes of Adjustment: Reaction to Authority. In order to legit-
imatize a position of powerlessness, it is necessary to endorse those in
authority. This may be done by subscribing to a "benevolent despot"
definition of authority figures. The belief follows an argument similar
to this: those in authority know better than I do what is good for me;

they are objective, just, and understand my problems; they have my best interests in mind; they understand better than I can why my work is important and how it fits into the larger goals of the organization; therefore, I should show respect for them, and for the rules and regulations they prescribe.

Six statements in the work section and six statements in the school section are addressed to reaction to authority. As with other questions, responses to the six statements are scaled in the Likert format.

Rejection of authority on these items, or rebellion, would involve a disagreement with the "benevolent despot" belief, a lack of respect for rules and regulations, and a feeling that those in authority are not the infallible beings they are supposed to be.

We expect black high school graduates will tend to legitimatize the authorities that are responsible for their inferior education and limited work opportunities.

Modes of Adjustment: Reaction to Peers. Vidich and Bensman write: "The greatest danger to a system of illusions which is threatened by an uncompromising reality are introspection and thought."[111] They suggest that many Springdalers throw themselves into work and social activities as an alternative to thinking about their situation. Such thought might lead to the recognition of facts that would threaten their illusions and "...he [the Springdaler] would find it difficult and painful to follow through on the path which he must take in his present situation to survive that situation."[112] They term this avoid-

ance of thought through activity "externalization." Both this category

and the next, reaction to work, deal with forms of externalization.

Social externalization is expected to be a pervasive method

of avoiding reality because besides being an alternative to introspec-

tion, it simultaneously provides two other important forms of adjustment:

> (1) It enables the low-level member to respond positively to
> the institution without any reference at all to the work.
> Work becomes irrelevant when the institution is viewed as
> a place where people who like the same things (bowling,
> basketball, or whatever) can meet and organize to enjoy
> their chosen activities.

What the individual has done in this case is cease to consider

the ostensible function of the institution as important, and he has in-

vented another kind of function for it. This adapted institution may

have as its primary purpose the recreation of its members. The work of

a school or firm may become an unfortunate but unavoidable membership fee

for entrance to a social group.

> (2) It reinforces the public ideology of the institution as
> a warm, friendly place, and at the same time, provides a
> feeling of belonging which may compensate for the personal
> powerlessness of the members.

Vidich and Bensman describe the social ideology of Springdale

as a firm belief in the following rhetoric:

> [Springdale is] a wholesome friendly place, the best place to
> bring up children, and made up of ordinary people, just folks,
> trying to make their community a better place to live. No-
> body here has to worry about having friends, all you have to
> do is be friendly yourself. No problems are too big for
> Springdale, it's the outsiders that cause all the trouble.
> People here have a lot of community spirit, you can always
> get people to take part, but usually the busiest people are
> the most reliable. One thing about Springdale, nobody is
> excluded. This is a democratic town. Anybody who tries to
> run things gets pushed down, but fast. If you join clubs you
> can learn things and have a lot of fun too. Everybody was
> invited and fun was had by all.[113]

That Springdalers--or members of a bureaucratic institution--may be in fact cliquish, hypocritical, bigoted, or uninterested in activities cannot be accepted by an individual who accepts this kind of social ideology.

Six items in each section of the questionnaire deal with social orientation and are scaled in the same manner as other questions described above.

The isolation that would be described by a very low score could be either isolation as an individual or as a member of a group. For example, a street gang could view a school as a meeting place where they could enjoy their activities. Membership in such a gang could clearly be considered a form of externalization as well as a social activity. But such membership is not used to legitimatize the institution; rather it is a form of rejection of the institution. Therefore, such gang members would score low on this scale and would also show other forms of rejection on the other scales.

Modes of Adjustment: Reaction to Work. Vidich and Bensman describe how some Springdalers fill their lives with the work they do, driving themselves to the point of exhaustion. They are not benefitted financially by these constant work activities, but such activities perform the same function as extreme sociality: "While engaged in the execution of any given task his mind is preoccupied with laying plans for succeeding activities. And so through the hours, the days, and the seasons, alternatives to self-preoccupation are constantly available."[114]

This mode of adjustment is probably the most difficult to maintain of all those described, since it requires the continual avoidance of highly obvious facts by immersing oneself in the very work which

makes the facts obvious. In other words, one avoids thinking about the
realities of work by working so constantly that one doesn't have time
to think. As Vidich and Bensman point out, "...all methods of exter-
nalization have one trait in common: They occur in a continuous se-
quence in which no single activity or event is likely to resolve the
problem for a specific individual for any length of time."[115] Activities
must be repeated over and over, and while one is being performed another
must be planned. This is difficult in white-collar work, which requires
little planning or decision-making on the part of the worker.

Just as social externalization reflects a belief that social
interaction is beneficial and that the people with whom one interacts
are interesting and friendly, externalization through work indicates a
belief that the work is rewarding and worth doing. We would expect those
who score high on this scale to reject any suggestion that their work is
meaningless or boring, and to feel a pride in their work.

Since the work is prescribed by the member's superiors in the
institution, the institution becomes worthwhile and beneficial, and the
member takes pride in membership in the institution as well. Thus a
student who attends the high school with the lowest achievement scores
in the city and the fewest college entrants, but agrees with the state-
ments, "Compared to other schools, my high school provided a very good
education," and "I was challenged by my work in high school," and "I
thought my ideas and skills were well used there" is clearly over-rating
both the institution and the work he does as a member of it.

A very low score on this scale is a strong rejection of the
institution. An individual who combines rejection of work with a strong

social orientation may still survive in the institution, since, as men-
tioned before, such an individual no longer thinks of the work as
relevant to the purpose of the institution. However, rejection of work
without a social orientation related to work would lead to rejection of
the institution.

If one rejects the work, conceiving it as unimportant and
trivial, one must also reject the authority which demands that the work
be done. The result could be disenchantment with all or part of the
system. In both school and work, our hypothesis is that there will be
little disenchantment.

Modes of Adjustment: Substitution of Goals. The members of
the group described above may or may not be correct in thinking that
their roles as low-level members of the bureaucracy are only temporary.
"The age of youth is one of aspirations and illusions expressed in their
highest and most ambitious form."[116] As long as school (or white-collar
work) can be thought of as a preparation, members can find meaning in
what they are doing. As the years go on, and it becomes increasingly
apparent that the individual will not fulfill the aspirations that have
enabled him to find meaning, new mechanisms of adjustment must be found.
As Vidich and Pensman point out, "The realization of lack of fulfillment
of aspiration and ambition might pose an unsolvable personal problem if
the falsification of memory did not occur, and if the hopes and ambitions
of a past decade or two remained salient in the present perspective."[117]
Moreover, the institution, which is acceptable when one looks ahead to
higher positions within it, is no longer acceptable when the individual
sees that he is likely to remain at his present level.

Modes of Adjustment: Shack Dwellers and Militants. Complete

rejection of the institution leads to other types of adjustment: that

of withdrawal from the institution and rejection of what the members of

the institution consider positive values. Vidich and Bensman call one

such group "shack dwellers;" Milwaukee Negro youth call them "slingers."

Vidich and Bensman describe shack dwellers: "The shack people

openly and defiantly reject the whole fabric of the public life and live

in a private code of pleasure, relaxation, or debauchery...Since they

reject the dominant ideology as irrelevant to their situation and do

not feel compelled to attack it, the mainstream of community values

lies outside the scope of their perception."[118]

Militants, on the other hand, challenge the institutions of

white society--the schools, the police and business--that seem system-

atically to exclude, reject or inhibit the contributions, progress and

possibilities of blacks.

We expect no basic rejection of their social location by black

high school graduates in Milwaukee. The situation might, however, be

quite different in larger cities--which have more self-sustaining ghettos--

such as Chicago and New York.

The kinds of adjustment choices available to black high school

graduates in Milwaukee, and the degree to which some are preferred to

others, may be peculiar to that city and other cities like it. They may

not be the kinds of adjustments available to Negroes in massive urban

ghettos. To borrow another concept from Vidich and Bensman, the size

(10 percent of the total population) of the Milwaukee inner city places

it in the position of a "small town" surrounded by a mass society of

whites. Milwaukee Negroes cannot isolate themselves from the white
society that surrounds them, for there are simply not enough Negroes
to make isolation possible. The heart of the Milwaukee inner city is
only a few minutes away from white neighborhoods. Therefore, Milwaukee
blacks may be forced to play and to legitimatize a set of roles extremely
constricted in their variability.

Harlem Negroes, and those in other huge urban ghettos, are
large enough in number and cover sufficient territory to allow their
residents to dissociate themselves completely from white society if
they choose to do so. It would be possible, although unlikely, for a
Harlem Negro to live his whole life within Harlem and never enter the
white world. In other words, Harlem Negroes are not members of a small
town, but have created their own mass society.

Vidich and Bensman consider the central fact of the small
town relationship to the mass society as ambivalence. The members of
the small town recognize their dependence on the mass society, and this
recognition results in both respect and resentment. "They (the members
of the mass culture) have respect because of their power and wealth,
and because their norms have the legitimacy of acceptance in wide areas
of society at large. On the other hand, the very dominance of the mass
institutions causes resentments, since, in the light of this dominance,
rural life...is devalued."[119]

We would suspect that Negroes in a small ghetto, such as that
in Milwaukee, would react to the majority white culture with the same
combination of resentment and respect. Negroes in Harlem or its equiv-
alent would be able to react less ambivalently, since they have a mass

culture of their own to respond to. Thus, similar roles--shack dweller,
second-class citizen, or middle class American--would have different
meanings in Harlem and Milwaukee, and would be based on different deci-
sions.

EXAMINING LEGITIMATION OF SOCIAL STATUS

The postulates that black and white cultures are not substan-
tially different (with respect to school and work experiences), and
that blacks tend to legitimatize their inferior social condition, were
examined by means of the developmen: administration, and analysis of a
questionnaire.

Questionnaire Design. The questionnaire was designed to
yield four general types of information:

1) Demographic data,
2) Attitudes toward school experiences,
3) Attitudes toward employment experiences, and
4) Attitudes toward society.

Each of the three attitude sections was comprised of six sub-
scales. The scales dealing with school attitudes and with work attitudes
had parallel structure and were derived from the theoretical bases posited
in the prior sections. The six subscales in sections (2) and (3) were
developed to measure reactions to:

A) Meaninglessness,
B) Boredom,
C) Powerlessness,
D) Authority,
E) Peers, and
F) Work.

Further, each of the first three of these subscales -- Meaning-
lessness, Boredom, and Powerlessness -- was divided into general and

specific components. This was done in an effort to identify empir:.cally

the phenomenon of particularization discussed above. Three items were

prepared for each component (general and specific) of these three sub-

scales for both the school and employment sections.

Six items were prepared for each of the subscales Reaction to

Authority, Reaction to Peers, and Reaction to Work, for both the school

attitudes and employment attitudes sections. Thus, there were in total,

36 school attitude items and 36 employment attitude items.

The questionnaire section on attitudes toward society also

contained six subscales:

A) Constitutional Commitment, based on paraphrased statements
    from the Bill of Rights and Supreme Court rulings,
B) Equality beliefs,
C) Puritan Morality beliefs,
D) Social Change beliefs,
E) Success beliefs, and
F) Sociality beliefs.

Ten items were prepared for the Constitutional Commitment sub-

scale; each of the other five subscales was represented by four items.

Thus, a total of 30 items were presented in the section on societal

attitudes.

Within each of the three sections, the items were presented in

a random order. The complete contents of the questionnaire have been

reproduced in this report as Appendix A. The subscales will be presented

separately in Chapter 6.

A Likert-type scale was used with all attitude items in the

questionnaire. It was a five-point scale:

1. Strongly agree,
2. Agree,
3. Undecided,
4. Disagree,
5. Strongly disagree.

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The scale was printed at the top of each page, and each item
was followed by a short line upon which the respondent was to record
his rating for the item.

The demographic section of the questionnaire yielded informa-
tion about marital status, Armed Forces service, work history, higher
education and unemployment, as well as the standard name, address, sex,
and age.

Sampling and Administration. There were two administrations
of the questionnaire: the first was a pre-test of the instrument and
the second yielded the data which are analyzed and reported in Chapter
6.

The pre-test was executed by administering the questionnaire
to 20 persons. This sample included white and Negro graduates of
Milwaukee high schools, from the graduating classes of 1962 and 1965.
Administration at this stage was in interview format; the interviewers
were professionals from the staff of the Survey Research Laboratory of
the University of Wisconsin Extension. Only slight revision in the
wording of a few questions was required.

The questionnaire was offset in final form during the spring
of 1967. This was the period of the most intense open housing demon-
strations in Milwaukee, and the Survey Research Laboratory suspended
all interview studies in the city. Thus, the questionnaire was mailed
(a few weeks later) to the sample, rather than administered by trained
interviewers as per the original plan.

The original sampling plan for the interview study was a
stratified proportionate scheme. Three graduating classes were selected:

1961, 1964, and 1966. Six high schools were selected, and they varied
markedly in percent of Negro enrollment: 100, 78, 55, 40, 19, and 0.0
were the 1966 figures for the six schools. Two of these schools had
consistently very high proportions of black students all three years,
and two had consistently very low proportions of blacks. The other two
schools were in flux during this period of six years: one had increased
from 17 to 55 percent black over this time span, and the other had
changed from 18 to 40 percent.

The selected sample sizes for the six schools and three years
are given in Table 46. The total anticipated sample size was 540. The
defined sample included white and black students of both sexes from all
six schools. It was intended that half of the respondents in each
category be male and half female. Names for the sample were drawn at
random from the list of graduating seniors given in high school year-
books for each of the 18 separate graduating classes involved. Addresses
were secured through consulting telephone books, city directories, school
records, and relatives. A total of about 100 of the original list of
540 could not be located; they were replaced by more names from the
yearbooks.

It has been noted that the mode of the study had to be changed
from interview to mailed questionnaire as a result of a Survey Research
Laboratory policy decision during the open housing demonstrations. Al-
though only a very few mailed questionnaires were returned because they
were undeliverable, the response rate was low. Two follow-ups were tried,
consequently: the first was a second mailing to nonrespondents, and two
weeks later a telephone canvass was made of those who had still failed

TABLE 46

Proportions of Negro Students and Initial Sample Sizes
For Three Graduating Classes In
Six Milwaukee High Schools

School	Year	Percent Negro Enrollment	Number of Whites in Sample	Number of Negroes in Sample
A	1961	82	0	50
	1964	99	0	50
	1966	100	0	50
B	1961	68	10	10
	1964	70	10	10
	1966	78	10	10
C	1961	17	10	10
	1964	32	10	10
	1966	55	10	10
D	1961	18	10	10
	1964	28	10	10
	1966	40	10	10
E	1961	8	10	10
	1964	12	10	10
	1966	19	10	10
F	1961	0	50	0
	1964	0	50	0
	1966	0	50	0

to respond. The final sample size was 224, or about 42 percent of the
initial mailing. The composition of the final sample is given in
Table 47.

Composition of the Sample. Selected descriptive characteris-
tics of the responding sample have been extracted from the demographic
section of the questionnaire and are presented in Table 48.

Nearly all respondents who had been to vocational school had
studied for professional and clerical positions. A small minority had
studied services and crafts. Of those attending a college or university,

TABLE 47
Frequencies of Categories of Respondents
To The Mailed Questionnaire

School	Negro 1961	1964	1966	White 1961	1964	1966
A	8	13	12	0	0	0
B	6	7	2	6	6	4
C	6	3	4	6	7	7
D	4	5	9	5	6	8
E	3	3	8	3	5	4
F	0	0	0	21	25	18

Negro Female = 58
Negro Male = 35
White Female = 74
White Male = 57

the most popular field of study was education, which was elected by 21
percent of the students. The humanities were chosen by 16 percent, the
social sciences 15 percent, the physical sciences 12 percent, and 9 per-
cent chose health sciences. Black students tended to prefer education,
social sciences, and humanities, and whites leaned toward education and
the physical sciences. Major areas of study were not identified by 21
percent of the reporting sample who attended college, and four percent
of those who had been to college had selected less popular areas of con-
centration, such as agriculture and area studies.

The attitude sections of the questionnaire were analyzed with
multivariate analysis techniques. Detailed descriptions of these analyses
and their results are given in Chapter 6.

TABLE 48

Percentages of Questionnaire Respondents
With Selected Demographic Characteristics

Characteristic	Negro			White		
	1961	1964	1966	1961	1964	1966
Married since graduating high school	48	35	14	71	47	12
Currently working full-time	67	65	51	73	60	61
Currently working part-time	4	6	29	2	10	12
Attended vocational school since graduation	74	42	29	32	22	12
Attended college or university since graduation	33	10	40	39	43	39
Most recent job was clerical	37	42	37	59	43	46
Most recent job was in Armed Forces	37	35	40	24	31	34

EXAMINING THE MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION FOR BLACKS

The theoretical discussion in the first section of this chap-
ter yields a third operational postulate:

Whites, in their educational efforts on behalf of black
children, actually function to preserve the status quo in
education.

This is a controversial contention. From it were derived a
series of four hypotheses which guided the examination of the management
of education.

Educational leaders in Milwaukee will affirm their humanistic
concern for the poor unfortunate black children who attend Milwaukee

schools. Educators in Milwaukee are carrying out a disastrous school
program for black children. To continue this program without a crisis
of conscience, Milwaukee educators must proclaim--to themselves and to
others--their good intentions, their compassion, their good will. With-
out this rhetoric of good will, Milwaukee educators would be unable to
deny the reality of the failure of their formally organized school system.

Education leaders in Milwaukee will not accept responsibility
for the failure of black students to perform well in school: the failure
of black students is a result of 'cultural deprivation.' This avoidance
of responsibility is essential if Milwaukee educators are to maintain
the formal organization that gives them power, prestige, and the modest
affluence that is available to the leaders in professional education.
As long as the education leaders can believe that black children can
fail while Milwaukee schools can succeed, their prerequisites in edu-
cation and their kindly self-perception are secure.

Milwaukee educators will devote much of their time and effort
to describing the social pathology of the black community. As long as
Milwaukee educators can expend their energies upon the study of black
children and the problems of the black community they will have little
inclination or obligation to examine the workings of the formal orga-
nizations over which they preside. Preoccupation with the difficulties
of their job allows them to escape the responsibility to study in depth
their own institutions.

Milwaukee educators will systematically avoid the study,
scrutiny, or investigation of the formal organization of schools and
the likely consequences of that organization. Milwaukee educators can

do little about single-parent families, the views and attitudes of black

adults, and the social attitudes of whites in Milwaukee. As long as

educators can focus their attention upon matters over which they have

no control at all, they preserve their own institutions from thoughtful

evaluation and criticism. Schools are deliberate inventions of profes-

sional men. Schools are not given to educators in Milwaukee in the same

sense that black children are given to them. The responsibility of

professional education is to provide useful services to the children

who actually come to school. What formal organization would provide

the most useful service to black children in Milwaukee? To pose this

question would focus attention upon the educational profession, on the

formal organization of the schools, and might lead to fundamental change

in the educational institutions. Milwaukee educators could study,

change, experiment with their formal organizations, but to do so would

alter the status quo in education. To be concerned with the institu-

tions that are under our deliberate control would reflect a serious in-

terest in the problems of education of the black community. Because

Milwaukee educators are not professionally serious, they will refuse to

examine their formal organization and they will devote their energies to

demonstrating how difficult their job is by exploring and recording the

pathology of the black community.

In the course of our conversations with Milwaukee educators

and our explorations of the documents of the Milwaukee system, we devel-

oped two additional hypotheses relating to the professional literature

in education.

We came to suspect that the legitimation of school failure that we studied in Milwaukee would be found in most major American cities and that this legitimation of the white establishment in education would be generally found in the professional literature.

We formulated these additional hypotheses in order to relate what we were studying in Milwaukee to the education profession in general:

> Research into urban problems will focus attention upon the pathology of black people, and

> There will be little research into the formal organization of the public schools.

The purpose of research in education, according to this view, is to preserve present institutional practice from careful scrutiny. Research into black pathology serves the social function of legitimating the status quo in education and preserving the present status relationships that prevail.

Method of Analysis. The postulate about the social meaning of white educational efforts in black communities was explored by means of an analytic strategy somewhat less formal than the questionnaire used in connection with the first two postulates. We formulated four simple questions that related to our hypotheses about Milwaukee educators:

1. How do Milwaukee school people talk about their hopes and intentions in their black schools?

2. How do they explain and interpret the difficulties black children experience in school?

3. Do they give a great deal of attention to the presumed pathology of the black community?

4. Are they willing to reexamine, rethink, or study the workings of the formal organization of the Milwaukee schools?

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These four questions directed the research efforts, which

described a process of three phases:

A) Interview a randomly selected sample of Milwaukee school
    principals.

B) Converse in many different settings with members of the
    central administration of the Milwaukee schools.

C) Read official documents of the Milwaukee school system.

On the basis of these interviews, conversations and documents, the basic

questions we have posed above can be answered.

In order to test our hypothesis about the broad social func-

tion of research into urban educational settings, we have identified

four recent publications reporting such research and discussion. Each

of these books provides a sample of the literature dealing with problems

of urban schooling. We have examined the contributions of each of these

books. Two questions were asked of each piece of writing:

1. Does the contribution focus attention upon the formal
    organization of public schools?

2. Does the contribution focus attention upon deprived chil-
    dren, teachers, the black community, and other such fea-
    tures of the educational enterprise?

If most or all of the writings deal with children, teachers,

and the black community, we will argue that the research legitimatizes

the formal organization, the status quo in education. If a substantial

amount of the writings deal with the formal structures of schooling,

then we will infer that the status quo in education is being questioned.

Our hypothesis is that the social function of research in urban educa-

tion is to preserve the formal organization from scrutiny. The formal

organization is to be assumed without question, only the children,

the community and perhaps the teachers are to be studied.

The five books examined were:

A. Early Education, Edited by Robert Hess and Roberta
    Meyer Bear;

B. School Children in the Urban Slum, Edited by Joan
    I. Roberts;

C. The Disadvantaged Child, Edited by Joe L. Frost and
    Glenn R. Hawkes;

D. Teaching the Disadvantaged Young Child, National
    Association for Education of Young Children.

EXAMINING THE MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYMENT FOR BLACKS

A fourth operational postulate which derives from the theo-

retical discussion initiating in this chapter is:

Whites, in their efforts to resolve the employment
problems of black Americans, actually function to
preserve the status quo in employment.

In a fashion parallel with that of the preceding section,

hypotheses and questions were formulated which represented this postu-

late and directed the research.

The hypotheses form an argument which suggests that in Mil-

waukee, efforts to resolve the employment problems of black Milwaukeeans

will serve to preserve a benign self-image for Milwaukee business

leaders without calling upon them to think seriously about, or to con-

front in any way, the barriers to employment that blacks face.

The hypotheses regarding employment are:

1. Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm their
   good intentions and human concern for the employ-
   ment difficulties that black Milwaukeeans face.

2. Milwaukee business spokesmen will stress that they will
   hire any qualified candidate.

3. Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm that the reason
   blacks don't have better jobs is that they are not qualified.

4. Milwaukee businessmen will be unwilling to examine the
   formal organization of the firms they manage.

5. Milwaukee businessmen will not deliberately foster changes
   in the formal organization of their business which might
   facilitate the employment of blacks in their business.

6. Milwaukee businessmen will not encourage the development
   of new institutions that may deal with the special problems
   of the black community.

In general, these hypotheses affirm that businessmen in Milwaukee
are not professionally serious in their efforts to deal with the problems
of employment of black people in Milwaukee. But they do find it essential
to affirm a rhetoric of concern so that they can avoid the troubles of
conscience that might arise in the face of their actual indifference to
employment problems of blacks in Milwaukee.

The social function of their activities is to preserve the
status quo in employment and to provide the illusion of dealing with the
crisis of employment that blacks face in Milwaukee and in our country
today.

In order to test these hypotheses, we formulated five rather
simple questions. We sought answers to these questions by sending partic-
ipant-observers to work in equal opportunity firms, by interviewing
management, and by examing the documents and plans of the Equal Opportunity
Council.

The questions are:

1. How do Milwaukee employers and spokesmen talk about their
   hopes and intertions regarding the employment of black
   workers?

2. How do they explain and interpret the difficulties black workers experience in Milwaukee?

3. Are they involved with studies of the social pathology of the black community?

4. Are they willing to reexamine, rethink, or study the workings of Milwaukee business and employment practices and are they willing to consider alternative approaches to business practices?

5. What are the work experiences of new employees in MVEEOC firms?

There were three phases in the procedure of observation in our study of Milwaukee business practice:

A) Engage researchers in participant observation,

B) Interview management, and

C) Examine documents of MVEEOC.

In participant observation, answers were sought to the question about the work experience of new employees by sending black and white investigators to apply for and to accept jobs in several MVEEOC firms. We recorded responses to these questions:

1. Were deliberate efforts made by management to recognize the possible difficulties that black employees might have?

2. Were deliberate efforts made by management to encourage the acceptance of black employees?

3. Were there racial difficulties, tensions, and discriminations on the job?

4. Was the work challenging and interesting?

5. Was the social atmosphere conducive to the development of positive feelings about the work experience?

In interviews with management, we sought to obtain answers to our first four questions in the course of open-ended interviews with management in a sample of MVEEOC firms.

In the examination of MVEEOC documents, we also sought to obtain answers to our first four questions. We simply read the material and answered the questions based on what was written.

The data that were collected as a result of these observations of business practice, interviews with management, and perusal of official documents, should allow, on a general level, either the affirmation or the refutation of the hypotheses derived from the postulate regarding employment.

SUMMARY

The attention of this investigation has focused upon four postulates. We derived hypotheses from these postulates and we have subjected them to empirical test. The postulates and hypotheses are summarized here.

POSTULATE: BLACKS AND WHITES SHARE A COMMON CULTURE

This is in conflict with common views of educators, employers, and important social scientists. If the hypotheses related to this postulate are supported by strong empirical evidence, we may conjecture that the liability that blacks face is the condition of being black in a society that is fundamentally rejecting black people, to the extent that many black people come to reject themselves.

Two basic hypotheses are related to this postulate:

1) Black and white graduates in Milwaukee high schools will respond in similar or identical ways to paper and pencil tests that elicit agreements and disagreements with statements that affirm or deny basic American values.

2) Black and whites will share identical views regarding the importance and meaning of school and work experiences.

POSTULATE: BLACKS LEGITIMATIZE THEIR INFERIOR SOCIAL CONDITION

This postulate affirms that one of the basic problems of the
Milwaukee black community is its complicity in its own degradation; it
has denied the reality of its ordinary experience. This is a fascinat-
ing conjecture about people under stress. If it is sustained by
empirical support, we would argue that until blacks confront their
complicity, they will not escape their condition.

Four basic hypotheses are related to this postulate:

1) Black high school graduates will affirm that their high
    school experiences are positive and helpful.

2) Black high school graduates will affirm views that deny
    the helpful and positive character of their school
    experience.

We expect black high school graduates to legitimatize their school expe-
riences because they must make palatable to themselves their own past
history. At the same time, we expect some recognition of what in fact
were debilitating school experiences for black youth in Milwaukee. In
a sense the dissonance in their views is an index of the conflict with
which they must deal.

3) Black high school graduates in Milwaukee will affirm
    positive attitudes about their work, its meaning, signi-
    ficance, and future.

4) Black high school graduates will have views which deny
    the meaning, significance, and future of the work they
    are doing.

We know that most of the black graduates of the Milwaukee
school system will have a very poor educational background, and there-
fore will have limited access to advancement in business and the pro-
fessions. They will be working in relatively undemanding jobs that

call for a minimum of skill and challenge. If blacks legitimatize this

condition they will be denying the reality of the whole experience of

the black community in Milwaukee. We expect the students to legitimatize

their experiences just as Vidich and Bensman reported that the people of

Springdale did; but we also expect them to express views which give some

recognition of the real situation they face. Their conflicts will be

another index of the social problem that black graduates in Milwaukee

must face.

POSTULATE: WHITES IN THEIR EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS FOR BLACK CHILDREN ARE
            FUNCTIONING TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO IN EDUCATION.

This postulate affirms that the real business of the black

schools in Milwaukee is to make black children educationally inferior.

We have formulated a series of hypotheses that are logically related

to this postulate; if these are sustained by empirical evidence, we will

gain some understanding of the conduct of urban schools for black chil-

dren and we will gain some insight into why black parents at times or-

ganize to protest the fate of their children in black schools.

Basic hypotheses related to this postulate are:

1) White educators in Milwaukee will affirm their human con-
   cern for the unfortunate black children who attend the
   Milwaukee schools.

2) White educators will take no responsibility for the failure
   of black children to perform well in school.

3) White educators will pay fascinated attention to the pre-
   sumed pathology of the black community.

4) White educators will pay no attention at all to the formal
   organization of schools and their likely social consequences.

By attending to the problems of the black community, they can direct

attention away from the formal organizations that may be changed, planned,
and designed to provide useful services to children.

School routines, materials, and formal organizations can, of
course, be changed, modified, or fundamentally altered. What a school
may do is subject to the decision of a professional staff. While the
schools may be easily modified, should anyone wish to, the problems of
single-parent families are not easy to resolve.

One would think that the responsibility of professional educa-
tion would be simple: it is to provide a useful service to children.

Our postulates suggest that by projecting upon the black com-
munity responsibility for the failures of black children to learn, the
white educators in Milwaukee are seeking to maintain schools that will
continue to destroy children, ignore the failures of the formal organi-
zations over which they have control, and preserve these organizations
from scrutiny and change that might disturb the system of privileges
within them.

POSTULATE: WHITES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS
OF BLACK AMERICANS ARE ACTUALLY FUNCTIONING TO PRESERVE THE
STATUS QUO IN EMPLOYMENT.

This postulate suggests that in the name of good will, affir-
mations of concern about the problems of unemployment and underemploy-
ment for Negroes, little will actually be accomplished to redress the
problems of employment that blacks face in Milwaukee.

We have formulated a number of hypotheses that focus attention
upon different aspects of business practice and the performance of the
Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council.

The hypotheses are:

1) Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm their good intentions and human concern for the employment difficulties that blacks in Milwaukee face.

2) Milwaukee business spokesmen will stress that they will hire any qualified candidate.

3) Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm that the reason that blacks don't have better jobs is that they are not qualified.

4) Milwaukee businessmen will be unwilling to examine the formal organization of the firms they manage.

5) Milwaukee businessmen will not deliberately foster changes in the formal organization of their business that might facilitate the progress of black employees in their business.

6) Milwaukee businessmen will not encourage the development of new institutions that may deal with the special problem of employment of the black community.

Together these hypotheses, if confirmed, suggest that the efforts at equal opportunity do not confront the problems of the job that blacks frequently face, and they ignore entirely real problems of getting a job that the majority of Negroes enc￼ ￼ter.

In order to test these hypotheses, we formulated questions that directed attention to specific aspects of business practice. We sought answers to these questions by interviewing a sample of business executives, examining the official publications of the MVEEOC, and by sending researchers in to work in selected firms belonging to the Equal Opportunity Organization.

CHAPTER V

IDEOLOGY IN BUSINESS AND EDUCATION

This chapter describes the inquiry into the social implica-
tions of:

    1)   The failure of black schools,.

    2)   The rhetoric of white educators,

    3)   The employment difficulties of blacks, and

    4)   The rhetoric of white businessmen.

The basic question which was posed was:

Is ther a way to explain prevailing discussions about em-
ployment opportunities and schooling as

    --- efforts to legitimatize and preserve the inequities of
    the existing social arrangements,

    OR AS

    --- efforts to assuage the white uneasiness about the injus-
    tice, suffering and disaster of the black community?

The functions of ideology are to shift responsibility, dis-
tort perception, provide comfortable views of disaster; and we are
seeking to determine whether it is reasonable to believe that a white
ideology is performing this function for Milwaukee businessmen and
educators.

Two postulates of the above question are the focus of atten-
tion in the present chapter:

    1)   White businessmen, in their efforts to resolve employment
    problems of blacks, function to preserve the status quo
    in employment.

    2)   White educators, in their efforts on behalf of black
    children, function to preserve failing schools in black
    communities.

In this chapter we will report our investigations of hypotheses relating
to these postulates.

EMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF IDEOLOGY

If Milwaukee businessmen are acting on an ideology that func-
tions to preserve the status quo, then it can be hypothesized that busi-
nessmen in Milwaukee will give frequent expressions of goodwill, will
engage in activities that are remotely related to black employment prob-
lems, and will avoid considering structural changes in employment prac-
tice.

The employment problem of blacks can be considered from either
of two perspectives:

Blacks are Defective,

OR

Business Practices are Defective.

If blacks are defective, then the problem is that they are poorly qual-
ified. The remedies, then, would be clinics, counselling, school pro-
grams, and other pre-employment activities.

If business practice is defective, then the problem is the
structure of business operations. In such cases, the remedies would
be to examine, evaluate, and alter the structure of business operations
so that blacks would be incorporated into Milwaukee business life.

To adopt the perspective that blacks are defective would be
to protect customary business practice and to insulate businessmen from
the necessity of examining the social consequences of their own business
procedures. This perspective charges the impoverished, the badly edu-
cated, the undernourished, and the enduring victims of a racist society

to resolve their own difficulties within the social system that has, until now, been devoted to their destruction.

To adopt the perspective that business is defective would be to challenge the affluent, the powerful, the benefactors of the economic system, to examine the structure of business practice, and to change that structure in order to bring blacks into the economic life of the Milwaukee community.

It can be persuasively argued that solutions to the problems that blacks face will arise only from the initiative of both the black and the white communities. There is much evidence today that blacks are showing considerable initiative concerning their economic and social liabilities. A question asked by this study is: Is there a matching initiative in Milwaukee's white business community?

The operative hypothesis is that there is no initiative to resolve the employment problems that black Americans face in Milwaukee. Instead, the business community will engage in exhortation and self-congratulations: if blacks can make themselves fit, there is opportunity in the presently existing structure of business arrangements.

The system of behavior that would characterize Milwaukee businessmen if they were seeking to preserve the status quo in black employment--rather than trying to change it--may be succinctly stated in a series of hypotheses.

Milwaukee businessmen will:

1) Affirm their goodwill and human concern about the employment problems of blacks.

2) Stress their sincere desire for qualified black applicants.

3) Assert that the reason that blacks don't have better jobs is that they are not qualified.

4) Refuse to re-think or re-examine the formal organization of the firms they manage.

5) Refuse to permit changes in formal organization of their business that might facilitate the employment and progress of black employees in their business.

6) Resist the development of new institutions that might deal with the special economic problems of the black community.

If an ideology is serving Milwaukee businessmen, then belief in it must make them feel better by: (a) allowing them opportunity to express their goodwill, and (b) engaging them in pleasant but harmless activities. The ideology must also provide a rationale for maintaining the existing arrangements in spite of whatever protests or criticism the black community may express. The essential ingredient of this ideology is the belief that the black community is defective. The hypotheses of this study express details of this ideological position. If they are sustained, then a beginning of an understanding of black and white relations in the Milwaukee business community will have been attained.

The hypotheses of this aspect of our study were tested by formulating and pursuing five questions:

1) How do Milwaukee employers and spokesmen talk about their hopes and intentions regarding the employment of black workers?

2) How do they explain and interpret the difficulties black workers have experienced in Milwaukee?

3) Are they involved in studies of the social pathology of
the black community?

4) Are they willing to re-examine, re-think, and study the
workings of Milwaukee business and employment practices,
and are they willing to consider alternative approaches
to business practice?

5) What are the work experiences or new employees in MVEEOC
firms?

We have developed answers to these questions based on inter-

views of Milwaukee businessmen, participant observation of selected

MVEEOC firms and a study of MVEEOC publications. In this report we

will examine each question in turn.

MILWAUKEE EMPLOYERS' HOPES AND INTENTIONS

The question to be explored in this section is:

How do Milwaukee employers and spokesmen talk about
their hopes and intentions regarding the employment
of black workers?

We have investigated this question through interviews with employers

and a study of the publications of the fair employment council that

has developed in Milwaukee.

No group in Milwaukee is more prominent for its work towards

what they call "fair employment" than the Milwaukee Vol stary Equal

Employment Opportunity Council (MVEEOC). Since its inception, MVEEOC

has received both public and private praise for its achievements. The

organization has been featured in an article in the Saturday Review,

council members have been appointed to national posts in the "equal

employment" field, and the Milwaukee method has been acclaimed by gov-

ernment officials. The comment by Norman Edelsbert, executive direc-

tor of the federal government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commis-

sion, is illustrative: "I think Milwaukee is very close to what we hope will be a model program for cities throughout the country."[120] Thus, an examination of this group, its methods and its results, will illustrate the most positive responses the people of Milwaukee have made to the condition of the city's Negro community.

MVEEOC was organized in 1963 by a bi-racial committee called "We-Milwaukeans," a group of white business leaders and prominent Negroes. The original MVEEOC group consisted of 34 firms--including some of Milwaukee's largest--and 120,000 employees. Since 1964, the Council has expanded to 220 firms employing over 225,000 workers, or almost one-half of the total work force in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

In December, 1963, when MVEEOC was formed, the Council issued a document containing five basic objectives of the group:[121]

1) To make certain that there is no employment discrimination in the Milwaukee community on account of race, color, religion, or national origin;

2) To persuade all Milwaukee area employers to affirm this purpose and to support openly the principle and practice of non-discriminatory hiring, promotion, training, and compensation of employees on the basis of individual qualification and merit;

3) To communicate convincingly to the Milwaukee Negro community (and other minority groups) the willingness of Milwaukee employers to hire qualified Negro and other minority group applicants and the availability of jobs, and thus establish a community knowledge that attaining essential qualifications leads directly to equal employment opportunity;

4) To encourage directly Negroes and members of other minority groups to obtain necessary education and training to qualify for existing and future jobs and to aspire to upgraded employment status; and

5) To establish a systematic method of assembling and dis-
seminating data and information among Milwaukee area
employers relating to minority group employment and
progress made in achieving plan objectives.

MVEEOC's program to end discrimination among employers is

carried out through the personnel advisory group which during the

period 1964-67 was headed by Roy A. Dingman, Vice President for Per-

sonnel Relations at A. O. Smith, and Hamilton E. Loving, Vice President

of the Wisconsin Telephone Company. "We asked ourselves," said

Dingman, "if we had done enough to employ minority groups? The answer

the employers came up with was: MVEEOC, which is dedicated to the

hiring and advancement of minority groups, notably Negroes."[122]

The title of the fair employment council provides some insight

into its purpose: Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity

Council. The black community, after years and years of discrimination

in housing, schooling, employment, and medicine, is to be offered an

"equal opportunity" to compete with white applicants for jobs. The

purpose of the organization, as revealed in its title and as illustrated

by its statement of objectives, is not to redress social inequity but

to suddenly offer, as though the past were not the past, equal oppor-

tunity.

What are the intentions of MVEEOC as revealed by:

1) Its statement of Purpose?

2) Its accomplishments?

3) Its budget?

4) Its publication?

Statement of Purpose. The purposes of MVEEOC may be restated
in this way:

1) The members of MVEEOC will obey the laws of the State
of Wisconsin regarding non-discrimination in employment.

2) MVEEOC will seek to encourage all employers in Milwaukee
to obey the laws of the State of Wisconsin.

3) MVEEOC will communicate to the Black Community in Milwaukee
that its associated members will obey the laws of the
State of Wisconsin.

4) MVEEOC will encourage blacks to try to become qualified
for the jobs that will be made available to them when
Milwaukee employers obey the laws of the State of Wisconsin.

5) MVEEOC will encourage schools and other organizations to
establish job-clinics and other aids to blacks so that
they may better compete for the jobs that will be available
when Milwaukee employers obey the laws of the State of
Wisconsin.

6) MVEEOC will maintain continuous communication with leaders
in the non-white community regarding the affirmation of
the Council that its members will obey the laws of the
State of Wisconsin.

The statement of purpose of MVEEOC indicates that the organi-

zation is devoted to encouraging businessmen not to discriminate in

their employment practices, and encouraging blacks to try to become

qualified for the low level jobs that will be made available to them.

What are MVEEOC's Accomplishments? In a report of the accom-

plishments and the future of the organization, the following were listed

as accomplishments: (Milwaukee Volunteer Equal Employment Council,

Milwaukee, 1968)

1) Membership in the year 1967-68 increased from 217 to 233.

2) Fifty-two representatives of 13 member companies parti-
cipated in a program called "How to get the job you want."
Sessions were held in 13 Milwaukee high schools during
school hours. Seven thousand three hundred five students
attended these sessions.

3) Personnel and equipment were provided for a UW-M Pilot
Training Project for Commercial Skills.

4) MVEEOC membership gave support to the Milwaukee School
System's Cooperative and Distributive Education Program.

5) MVEEOC members attended a breakfast and seminar on the
topic "Community resources related to employment," and
"Overcoming the barriers to effective development and
utilization of minority employees."

6) Some MVEEOC members cooperated with a Job Fair co-spon-
sored by CORE and the Negro American Labor Council.

7) MVEEOC gave various degrees of support to The Opportu-
nities Industrialization Center of Greater Milwaukee.

8) MVEEOC cooperated with the Urban League regarding on-
the-job training programs.

9) MVEEOC helped coordinate a number of sensitivity seminars
for first line supervisors.

10) On March 19, 1968, MVEEOC sponsored an Upgrading Seminar
at the Sheraton Schroeder Hotel.

11) MVEEOC conducted an evaluation of community programs
that offer training for skilled and unskilled individuals.

12) MVEEOC held meetings with the Wisconsin State Employment
Service.

13) MVEEOC sponsored a monthly Special Services day at WSES
in which MVEEOC firms interviewed minority workers.

14) In its bulletin, MVEEOC publicizes all WSES programs.

15) MVEEOC members participated in the WTMJ-TV show "Job
Opportunities Showcase."

16) MVEEOC arranged for WSES speakers to speak to MVEEOC
employers.

17) Some MVEEOC members are also members of the Greater
Milwaukee Employment Development Committee.

The achievements of MVEEOC are reflections of the purpose of the orga-

nization: cooperation with existing organizations, support of remedial

help for students, publicity about the council's effort to offer equality of opportunity to blacks and whites alike.

What does MVEEOC's budget reveal? An examination of the 1967-68 budget reveals the priorities of the council:

Disbursements:

Salaries	9,950.61
Rent	750.00
Printing	3,109.24
Postage	545.00
Electric Typewriter	540.70
Breakfast Meeting Expenses	1,301.17
Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	2,301.17
	$18,497.89

As the budget indicates, the chief function of this organization is the support of meetings, publicity, and coordination of volunteer involvement of members in the activities of other organizations. The size of the budget indicates the low priority which the business community assigns to its "major" effort to redress the employment problem of the black community.

The MVEEOC Bulletin. Next to salaries, the largest item in the MVEEOC budget is printing. The MVEEOC Bulletin is distributed to members, other organizations, and interested individuals. The bulletin reports its accomplishments:

MVEEOC will soon spread its message by means of slides which are now being prepared for local TV.

Herb Koepke, Executive Director of MVEEOC, taped a 5-minute interview of October 3rd with Ed Henshaw of

> WTMJ which is being forwarded to John Daly for a
> "Voice of America" broadcast. (MVEEOC Bulletin,
> October 1967)

A substantial portion of the bulletin is devoted to publicity efforts

of this kind. In addition, the bulletin announces the addition of new

members, sensitivity seminars, meetings of cooperating organizations,

Employees of the month, suggestions for promotion and hiring policies,

and special projects of various companies.

Another feature of the bulletin is occasional editorials and

quotations from other publications that report the seriousness of the

problem and the urgent need for action:

> The ultimate salvation of the cities, and the ultimate
> salvation of slums, lies not in high-rise public hous-
> ing, or welfare programs, or self-defeating housing
> code enforcement, or intra-city freedom of residence
> campaigns, or even in federal training programs that
> are not allied with industry's provision of jobs--
> though each of these government programs may be help-
> ful and indeed necessary.

> Ultimately it must be private industry that figures
> out ways to integrate the disadvantaged--especially
> the Negro--into the economy and to dissolve the slum,
> or it will soon be necessary to despair not only of the
> slum but of the total central city. (October, 1967
> MVEEOC Bulletin, Page 5)

The rather bland and happy activities of MVEEOC are in con-

siderable contrast to the seriousness of the problem that is occasion-

ally reported in its bulletin.

How do Milwaukee employers talk about their hopes and inten-

tions regarding the employment of black workers? Through MVEEOC they

express the hope to help the black community by means of their decisions

to:

1) Establish a low-budget publicity office,

2) Advertise the employment opportunities of equal opportunity firms,

3) Sponsor luncheons, breakfasts, conferences, and seminars of MVEEOC employers, and

4) Cooperate with existing institutions to prepare blacks for employment.

Are these hopes and intentions relevant to the problems that blacks face in Milwaukee?

The term "qualifications" is of major importance in the examination of the role of MVEEOC and other organizations involved with black employment. MVEEOC's pledge states the desire to communicate the willingness of Milwaukee employers "to hire qualified applicants, [and to] directly encourage Negroes ... to obtain necessary education and training to qualify for existing and future jobs."[123]

The necessity for applicants for any job to be properly qualified was stressed by Willot S. Maine, District Manager of the Milwaukee office of WSES, when he released the figures on the large numbers of unfilled jobs in the Milwaukee area:

"Many of the unskilled jobs were unfilled because the available people failed to meet employers' specifications relating to education, physical capacities, work experience, etc." He went on to emphasize that the category "unskilled" did not mean the job has no requirements.[124]

In its pamphlet to interested firms, MVEEOC says that they are not expected to hire individuals who do not "meet the same job requirements as others." The pamphlet, prepared in a question and answer style, had this exchange. Question from a form:

If I stimulate applicants and then turn them down because they don't qualify, won't I be likely to have a charge of racial discrimination filed against me?

Answer from MVEEOC:

> The best way to avoid this charge is to be sure that
> employment standards are fair and objective, ...
> that the passing criteria can be readily established.
> For example, if tests are used, it is only necessary
> to show that the applicant failed to pass the test.
> It may also be necessary to demonstrate that those
> who are employed do pass the tests.[125]

While this is not an unreasonable statement, it eliminates the possi-

bility of a re-examination of hiring techniques which may be damaging

to white applicants as well as Negroes.

Review of the tests of one MVEEOC firm revealed that they

bore little relationship to subsequent performance, even among the

whites who were employed.[126] When these discrepancies were uncovered,

the firm immediately discontinued its testing program.

The MVEEOC Pamphlet goes on,

> There are, of course, certain subjective criteria
> associated with selecting applicants for employment
> which do not lend themselves readily to objective
> measurement. Consistency in evaluating candidates on
> these bases is all that is required.[127]

Selections of white collar workers presents particular problems when

these subjective judgments are brought into play. The subjective re-

quirements generally refer to personal appearance, "neatness," "speech,"

"dress," and "behavior patterns." Given the sharp separation between

the white and black community in Milwaukee, and the implicit assump-

tions about white superiority and non-white "less than this," subjec-

tive criteria present difficult problems, when applied by whites against

blacks, "invisible" barriers inevitably result.

While qualified Negroes may be rejected because of faulty

hiring techniques, many Negroes do lack necessary skills. Lack of

training is probably the biggest handicap Negroes have. An editor'al

in the Milwaukee Star emphasized this point:

> Inevitably, the catch came, businessmen found that the
> Negro, through lack of motivation, education, and work
> experience, has not prepared for equal employment a
> situation businessmen were part and parcel in creating.[128]

The four-man team sent out by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz to

examine the supposed tight labor market concluded that the shortage

of manpower lay in

> ... a lack of training programs and a low employment
> rate for Negroes. The supply of skilled labor has been
> stretched nearly to its limits, inadequate employer
> training in previous years has helped to create a short-
> age, little apprenticeship activity exists, only 45-50
> persons were currently enrolled in Federal on-the-job
> training programs, and no philosophy to upgrade such
> programs has emerged.[129]

> In response to this conclusion, Robert A. Evans, executive

vice president of the Wisconsin Manufacturers Association stated at

the time:

> I said we have a good vocational school, engineering
> school, Boy's Tech, and other institutions here where
> we can train youngsters - but you can't make them
> learn. I told them the greatest thing the administra-
> tion can do is to get President Johnson on the TV to
> appeal for a return to work of the unemployed drawing
> unemployment compensation.[130]

This latter statement, excluding the obvious lack of insight into the

problems faced by most unemployed workers, whether white or Negro,

illustrates one extreme of the spectrum of thought regarding MVEEOC--

that the only obligation of MVEEOC firms, or any firms in Milwaukee,

is to hire people who are qualified.

> The other extreme is illustrated by this argument in an edi-

torial in the Star:

> Today MVEEOC ... says we would like to hire Negroes,
> but they are mostly not qualified. And, to show that
> they are equal opportunity employers, they'll hire one
> or two more often than not qualified 'showcase' Negroes
> in high visibility positions and point with pride,
> asserting, "We don't discriminate, SEE, there's our
> Negro ..."
>
> The real solution to the problem of employment dis-
> crimination is to seek out the unemployed and the
> unemployable Negro and to teach him a skill. And that
> takes more than goodwill, more than MVEEOC or any other
> voluntary organization has shown a willingness to do
> in Milwaukee yet ... A list of urgent needs any of
> which MVEEOC could consider concentrating on are: on-
> the-job training, up-to-date counselling, education of
> the most inspiring types, not de facto segregated schools.[131]

In this view, then, training, and re-training become necessary prereq·

uisites for any serious program designed to decrease black unemploymen:.

Thus, the most concrete and constant contention surrounding MVEEOC is

that of what constitutes an active and effective program.

Many blacks feel that institutions with which MVEEOC is

cooperating are the ones that have created the employment and education-

al problems that blacks face today. Whether or not this is true, the

principal function of MVEEOC is clearly to become involved--on a low-

budget basis--in public relations activities within the black community

and among the member firms of the council itself.

MILWAUKEE EMPLOYERS' INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF BLACK WORKERS

The next question we will explore is:

> How do Milwaukee employers explain and interpret the employ-
> ment difficulties that non-whites experience in Milwaukee?

This question has been investigated by means of interviews, examination

of MVEEOC publications, and study of public statements by Milwaukee em-

ployers and other officials.

Three contrasting statements were formulated to represent the

range of views regarding the difficulties that non-whites face in

Milwaukee:

1) The fundamental problem is that non-whites lack the quali-
   fications for employment.

2) The fundamental problem is that business itself--through
   its past discriminations, employment practices, and
   bureaucratic organization--restricts the employment and
   the advancement of blacks.

3) The fundamental problem is a product of an interaction of
   events: the conventional practice of business and the in-
   experience of blacks in the white business world.

Each of these representations of the problem of employment in Milwaukee

directs its advocate to a course of action. The significance of each

of these views is the actions which it suggests.

The interpretation of black inadequacy (No. 1 above) focuses

attention upon the inability of non-whites in Milwaukee to take advan-

tage of the available educational employment opportunities and educa-

tional facilities. This view can be a comfort to white business leaders

for it calls upon them to face no challenge, to engage in no self-reflec-

tion, and to invent no alternatives to cope with the problems of society

that are posed by poverty in black communities.

The interpretation of business inadequacy (No. 2 above) focuses

attention upon the responsibility business had in the past for the eco-

nomic position of the black community. If businessmen themselves are in

any way responsible for the economic position of the black community,

then the solution to the problem rests on the study and restructuring

of business practice. The notion that the structure of business and

industry is responsible for the difficulties of the black community, can

be a comfort to the non-whites in Milwaukee because it provides them
with an excuse for their inferior position in the economic life of the
Milwaukee community.

The "black inadequacy" view calls upon the non-white Milwaukee
community to qualify itself for the opportunities that the Milwaukee
business community has generously made available to it. The "business
inadequacy" view places an obligation upon the business community to
restructure its practice in order to render social justice to a community
that has been systematically denied equity in the economic life of
Milwaukee. According to this view, "equal opportunity" is no solution
to the difficulties of the black community: social justice is what is
called for, and this depends on restructuring conventional business
procedures.

The interpretation that the black community's employment dif-
ficulties arise out of interaction of "causes" suggests that the Milwaukee
business community and non-whites in Milwaukee have separate responsibili-
ties to face if the inequities of the economic life of Milwaukee are to
be resolved.

The basic hypothesis of this investigation is that the Milwaukee
business community will affirm the "black inadequacy" viewpoint.

Interviews with MVEEOC businessmen. A member of the research
staff conducted extensive open-ended interviews with a sample of MVEEOC
businessmen. These interviews disclosed that MVEEOC businessmen perceive
the employment difficulties of the non-white community as arising entirely
from inadequacies of the black community itself. The solution to the
problems of employment, according to these respondents, is to be found

exercising more effective use of existing opportunities in educatior.
and equal opportunity firms.

MVEEOC Publications. The MVEEOC bulletin does not explicitly
affirm any of the three alternative views of the employment difficulties
of the non-white community in Milwaukee. It does, however, report activ-
ities that MVEEOC supports. These activities include three kinds of
efforts:

1) Trairing programs for unqualified workers that are ini-
tiated by the public schools, state agencies, or private
organizations.

2) Lowering or changing entry level qualifications for em-
ployment.

3) Sensitivity training for personnel who work with members
of the non-white community.

All three of these activities imply that the problem of employ-
ment is the lack of qualifications of black workers. Programs exist that
will make blacks qualified. Efforts will be made to apply only relevant
standards so that individuals with marginal qualifications may be employed
and once employed will be supervised "sensitively." The bulletin affirms
goodwill and serious effort on the part of business to help the unquali-
fied to become qualified, and to help the qualified remain on the job
and rise in the business organization according to their ability.

The bulletin provides the same implication as the interviews
with business executives: the fundamental problem of employment in the
non-white community is lack of qualifications for positions that are
readily available for those who are qualified.

Public Statements of Milwaukee Businessmen and Officials. The
Milwaukee press was read daily for over a year: 1966-1968. During that

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time we were unable to find statements by Milwaukee officials or businessmen that reflected the view that the structure of business practice--either alone or jointly--was responsible for the employment difficulties faced by the black community in Milwaukee. The following quotation is suggestive of the kind of statement that was found in Milwaukee newspapers. Robert Evans, executive vice president of the Wisconsin Manufacturers Association, said:

> .... we have a good vocational school, engineering school,
> Boy's Tech and other institutions here where we can train
> youngsters; but you can't make them learn....the greatest
> thing the administration can do is to get President Johnson
> on the TV to appeal for a return to work of the unemployed
> drawing unemployment compensation.[132]

Whatever the problems of the black community may be, the white business community of Milwaukee does not seem to believe that it is in any way responsible. The lack of qualifications of blacks is the only thing that stands in the way of their full participation in the economic life of Milwaukee.

The evidence from interviews, the MVEEOC Bulletin, and the Press is substantial: Milwaukee employers regard the employment difficulties of non-whites as the result of their lack of qualifications for readily available positions.

No evidence was found to suggest that Milwaukee employers regard the employment problems of blacks as being in any way a substantive result of the structure of business practice in Milwaukee.

There were two exceptions to this generalization. There was some acknowledgement that entry level tests given to applicants might unfairly discriminate. MVEEOC urged employers to develop "professional" "relevant" tests:

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> By "professional" they mean that it is incumbent upon a company
> to determine by proper statistical means whether or not a test
> actually is useful in the hiring and selection process. The
> guidelines draw a distinction between "just thinking" or in-
> tuitively feeling that a test is useful and being able to
> actually validate it on a factually documented basis.[133]

These "fair" test procedures were recommended in order to guarantee that

non-white applicants would have a reasonable chance of obtaining a posi-

tion that calls for minimum skills.

MVEEOC also recommended that executives and supervisors take

sensitivity training so that they might be better able to relate per-

sonally to non-white employees:

> Too often, after only a day or two of employment, the new
> worker suddenly quits without any apparent reason. In such
> instances, the real reason for quitting may be the confusion,
> embarassment, and frustration because he cannot "adjust"
> easily.[134]

MVEEOC cooperated in the establishment of sensitivity seminars in order

to help employers to understand the problems of new non-white employees.

Participant observers in MVEEOC firms reported experiences

that suggest that sensitivity training for supervisors and executives

might be quite irrelevant to this problem. These researchers suggest

that it is the quality of life in white-collar jobs that drives non-

whites away, and not lack of "sensitivity" on the part of supervisors.

In fact, most observers thought the supervisors were friendly and sup-

portive.

The results of this aspect of our investigation are clear:

Milwaukee employers tend to explain and interpret the difficulties of

black workers as a consequence of their lack of vocational qualifications.

The Milwaukee business community does not discriminate: Blacks will have

'-bs when they are qualified.

MVEEOC INVOLVEMENT IN EXAMINATION AND SOLUTION OF EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

The third and fourth questions which oriented this research

(see page 149) were explored simultaneously. The foci of this phase of

the investigation were:

Are Milwaukee employers involved or concerned with studying
the social pathology of the black community?

Are Milwaukee employers involved or concerned with studying
the workings of business practice? Are they willing to con-
sider changes in the structure of employment procedures.

These questions were investigated by means of interviewing MVEEOC em-

ployers and studying MVEEOC publications.

The postulates of this study led to the following hypotheses:

MVEEOC and its members will not make detailed reports of their
own progress in offering equal opportunity to blacks in
Milwaukee.

MVEEOC and its member firms will not engage in detailed self-
study of their equal opportunity policies.

MVEEOC firms will not alter the structure of their customary
business procedures in order to facilitate the recruitment
and retention of members of the non-white community.

In effect, these hypotheses suggest that MVEEOC and its member

firms will avoid accountability 1) in their employment practices, and

2) in their effect on the employment difficulties of the black community

in Milwaukee. Our hypotheses suggest that rather than study the work-

ings of white institutions,

MVEEOC and Milwaukee businessmen will give considerable atten-
tion to detailed aspects of the housing, health, family, and
other problems of the Milwaukee non-white community.

As more attention is given to the variety, complexity, and

extent of the problems of poverty in the Milwaukee black community, less

attention will be given to the workings of white business institutions

and their effects on the efforts and experiences of members of the
Milwaukee black community. By focusing attention upon the problems of
poverty, MVEEOC employers legitimate their own customary procedures
and immunize themselves from scrutiny.

Interviews with MVEEOC Employers. In the course of open-ended
interviews with MVEEOC employers, two ideas were suggested by the inter-
viewers:

1. MVEEOC firms should initiate studies of the best ways to
   implement the policy of equal opportunity.

2. MVEEOC firms should explore alternatives in employment
   procedures in order to evaluate various approaches to
   implementing policies of equal opportunity.

It was stated that the facilities of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
and other private and public agencies would be available to implement the
various suggestions that were put forth.

Proposals for study and the exploration of alternatives were
rejected by the MVEEOC employers. The employers believed that the struc-
ture of employment practices needed no study or improvement.

The research team used many opportunities to present to MVEEOC
employers alternative approaches for implementing a policy of "equal op-
portunity." One early suggestion to MVEEOC was to hire non-whites in
the upper and middle management echelons. It was argued that such ap-
pointments would demonstrate the good intentions of the organization and
would help create the impression in the lower levels of MVEEOC firms
that management was serious. The response to this suggestion was that
no qualified people were available. A program to train middle management
personnel was then presented to MVEEOC at one of its seminars for "office

or department managers, sales supervisors, plant superintendents and

others whose job is to formulate and administer equality in employment

opportunity in their respective organizations." It was a scholarship-

intern program designed to open middle and upper level management posi-

tions to non-whites. The proposal called for an <u>outside appraisal</u> of

the non-white position in the business hierarchies of MVEEOC firms, for

money from MVEEOC to help finance undergraduate and graduate education

for eligible non-whites and for MVEEOC participation in the development

of educational experiences relevant to middle management positions.

MVEEOC was unwilling to support any of the proposals.

Roy Dingman, vice-president of personnel relations of A. O.

Smith Corporation and then Chairman of the Council's advisory group,

responded in this way:

> Dingman....said the suggestion (for the outside study)
> was on the group's agenda last month and would probably
> be discussed again.
> Dingman said that without knowing more about Howard's
> second proposal, his first reaction would be that thousands
> of foundation scholarships now 'go begging.' He said he
> thought it would be a good idea to research scholarships
> now available and bring them to the attention of appropriate
> groups so that they could be tapped.[135]

No action has been taken to seek outside appraisals of the

implementation of the policy of equal opportunity, and no efforts have

been made to develop non-whites for middle management positions. The

function of MVEEOC appears only to be to offer entry level positions to

marginally qualified non-whites.

Interviews with MVEEOC employers confirmed the hypotheses that:

1) Detailed studies of the implementation of the policy of
   equal opportunity would not be conducted.

2) Employers would not alter the structure of their customary
business procedures in order to facilitate the employment
and retention of non-whites.

This position preserves white business institutions from

scrutiny, and it focuses attention upon the defects of the black commu-

nity. The MVEEOC view of the employment problem is clear:

1) The employment difficulties of non-whites constitute a
manageable problem.

2) The present educational facilities in Milwaukee are more
than satisfactory.

3) The solution to non-white employment difficulties lies in
efforts to get non-whites to take and keep low-level entry
positions that call for minimum qualifications.

As long as MVEEOC employers maintain this ideology, they can

preserve their self image of goodwill and avoid dealing seriously with

the employment problems of non-whites in Milwaukee.

The MVEEOC Bulletin and Reports. An examination of MVEEOC

literature reveals that:

1. MVEEOC did not propose as its objectives:

a. status studies of the non-white employment situation
in Milwaukee,

b. self-study of the implementation of the policy of
equal opportunity,

c. innovation or alternatives in hiring procedures in
MVEEOC firms.

2. MVEEOC proposed objectives that, if achieved, would have
an unknown effect on the employment difficulties of the
non-white community of Milwaukee.[136] They included:

a. expansion of membership in MVEEOC,

b. participation in projects of the Milwaukee Schools,

c. maintaining continuing relationships with leaders
of the non-white community in Milwaukee.

MVEEOC proposes to solve the employment problems of the non-
white community in Milwaukee without determining the character and extent
of the problem, without establishing procedures for assessing the degree
to which policies of MVEEOC firms have an effect on the hiring and pro-
motion practices of member firms, and without determining the impact of
MVEEOC programs on the employment experiences of non-white members of
the Milwaukee community. In spite of this, MVEEOC officials and the
MVEEOC Bulletin does report on many aspects of the "pathology" of the
black community in Milwaukee and the nation. The Bulletin has quoted
extensively from Alfonso J. Cervantes, Mayor of St. Louis, and concluded:

> "....Our choice at this late stage of the game is between
> continuation of the city as a civilizing influence or its
> static survival as a dark ethnic island that serves the real
> work world as a dumping ground for an alienated population..."[137]

The MVEEOC Bulletin also reported:

> ....Negro family income is only 58% of white income.
>
> The incidence of poverty among non-white families remains
> high, with about one out of three classified as poor.
>
> Unemployment rates for non-whites are still twice those of
> whites...[138]

Another issue of the Bulletin printed this advice:

> A man without a job or with only a half-job is half-man.
> Management can help make men whole.[139]

The Milwaukee Newspapers have given extensive coverage to many aspects
of life of the non-white community in Milwaukee:

> ....the median income for all families in the Milwaukee area
> was $6,995 while the median income for non-white families
> was $4,872, or 40.4% less.[140]

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> They come north looking for jobs, for freedom, for self-
> respect, for future, for hope. Some find these. But many
> others found a new brutalized life. Instead of jobs, they
> found what it was to live off the impersonal charity of
> the state.[141]

> As a group, however, Negroes are not closing the economic
> gap between themselves and the white majority.[142]

> Louis R. de Coriolis, former president of the Milwaukee
> Board of Realtors (said that)....The combination of ignorance,
> lack of skills, poverty, insecurity, prejudice by whites,
> prejudice against whites, exploitation by other negroes and
> whites, lack of employment opportunities, moral standards at
> odds with the white community, and other factors have devel-
> oped a difficult social and economic problem.[143]

This "problem" in its various dimensions has been explored--it might be

said--endlessly. It is a scholarship of despair: it reports the diffi-

culty and complexity of social problems that seem beyond their capacity

to grasp. If the families are so disrupted, the educational level so

low, the housing so inferior, the poverty so degrading, what hope can

there be? Is it really possible to deal with such complexity?

Although there is a literature in the Milwaukee Press and in

the MVEEOC Bulletin that reports, to some extent, important aspects of

the social conditions with which the black community in Milwaukee must

deal, there is no corresponding literature reporting the details of ef-

forts of MVEEOC firms to cope seriously with these problems in a pro-

ductive "business-like" way.

MVEEOC has not established any kind of "production goals;" it

did not develop any kind of quality control measures, it did not create

any accountability for management. MVEEOC does not function on business

principles. Since it is a creation of white businessmen, it seems sen-

sible to conclude that its organizers had no intention that it would be appraised by ordinary business procedures.

It appears that MVEEOC is an organization that can neither succeed nor fail. Its function is to occupy management in a pleasant rhetoric about its concern for the non-white community of Milwaukee. It provides Milwaukee employers the advantage of a public expression of social concern without the disadvantage of facing the challenge of developing a business-like approach to the problems.

We found no disconfirming literature, interviews, or press reports. The Milwaukee business community:

1. avoids accountability in its equal opportunity efforts,
2. resists innovations in its employment procedures, and
3. gives considerable attention to the pathology of black communities.

MVEEOC appears to sustain the <u>status</u> <u>quo</u> in employment opportunities for non-whites in Milwaukee while enjoying the public and private benefits of expressing goodwill and human concern for the problems of poverty in the black community of Milwaukee.

WORK EXPERIENCES OF NEW EMPLOYEES IN MVEEOC FIRMS

The last question regarding employment, directed attention to the work experiences of new employees in MVEEOC firms. This is an especially interesting aspect of the study, in light of the employment difficulties that non-whites face in Milwaukee. MVEEOC has devoted its energies to recruiting firms to endorse the principle of equal opportunity in employment. In effect, it has proposed to the city and to the black community that equality of opportunity in hiring will resolve the employment difficulties of all members of the black community who are

willing to work. The new employment opportunity that MVEEOC is seeking
to make available to the black community is white-collar work. Is this
a viable economic opportunity for non-whites in Milwaukee?

Blacks tend to be underemployed when they are employed in
Milwaukee.* There are proportionately twice as many whites as Negroes
in white-collar jobs, and three times as many Negroes as whites in ser-
vice jobs. In Milwaukee and in the nation, non-whites are limited to
jobs of low pay scales. Among blue-collar jobs, non-whites hold primar-
ily operative and labor jobs, rather than skilled blue-collar jobs.
Blacks tend to be employed in job areas that are rapidly decreasing and
for which there is a diminishing demand. White-collar work is an area
of low skills and low pay scales: it too is diminishing with the advent
of automation. What is white-collar work? What opportunity does it
offer to non-whites?

In order to study the workings of business practice in MVEEOC
firms, participant observers were recruited, given training in observa-
tion and reporting, and then sent to be employed in a number of MVEEOC
firms. The data presented in this section of the Barriers Report is
based on the work of these participant observers.

Observations were made over a period of a year by three par-
ticipant observers:

a) A Negro female college graduate,

b) A White female college graduate, and

c) A White female clerical employee of the university, with
    one year of college.

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* Chapter II, pp. 73 ff.

Additional observations of MVEEOC firms were made by a group

of high school students in the summer of 1967. This group included:

a) two black males,
b) six black females,
c) one white female, and
d) one white male.

These two groups provided a range of age and experience from

which the workings of equal opportunity firms might be viewed.

Each participant observer was interviewed daily by one of the

researchers. In the course of these interviews, the questions that ini-

tially motivated the investigation of MVEEOC firms were explored repeat-

edly and in depth. At the end of his experience with an equal opportunity

employer, each participant observer wrote a final report of his employment

experiences.

Seven white-collar situations were investigated during the

course of this study. Three were studied intensively:

1. a subsidiary of a large steel processing firm,
2. a small independent shoe manufacturing firm, and
3. a large metropolitan bank.

Less intensively studied were:

4. a foundry,
5. a large assembly plant,
6. an office of the state government, and
7. a university.

These various employment settings provided a range of white-collar em-

ployment opportunity. Some of the work was only nominally different

from blue-collar machine operation, and some responsibilities involved

the operation of sophisticated data processing machines. The firms pro-
vide a broad spectrum of white-collar activity.

The focal questions of the investigation of white-collar work
directed attention to detailed aspects of the work life of white-collar
employment:

1. Are blacks working at all levels of responsibility in
   the organization?

2. What sort of work are entry-level white-collar workers
   called upon to do?

3. What are the physical arrangements in which white-collar
   work is done?

4. What are the social conditions in which white-collar
   work is done?

5. Who engages in white-collar work?

6. How did the participant observers personally feel about
   their white-collar employment?

7. What is the human meaning of white-collar work?

8. Is white-collar work a viable avenue of opportunity for
   blacks in Milwaukee?

Each participant observer answered these questions in his own way. The
answers were explored in interviews with the researchers. The informa-
tion reported here represents consensus of all observers and consensus
of observations relating to all firms. It deals with white-collar work
as it is to be found in these seven firms, and to the extent that these
firms represent white-collar work in Milwaukee, the report deals with
white-collar work in Milwaukee.

Employment of Non-Whites. The first question that we asked
our observers was simply this:

Are blacks working at all levels of responsibility in the
organization?

The uniform answer from all observers was no. This observation is con-
sistent with the data that developed from the interviews with MVEEOC
employers:

1. They were uninterested in developing university programs
   to train middle level management.

2. They were uninterested in developing their own incentive
   programs for the recruitment and training of non-whites
   for management roles.

3. They were primarily interested in offering entry level
   white-collar jobs to non-whites who were presumed to be
   marginally qualified.

The participant observers found that some non-whites were employed in

the lowest levels of responsibility in the various firms. It was

p.ausible to conclude that equal opportunity employment was offering

to non-whites the white-collar equivalent of the traditional employment

for blacks: low skill work in industry and service.

Entry Level White-Collar Work. A major concern of MVEEOC em-

ployers is qualification. MVEEOC urged member firms to establish screen-

ing procedures that were actually relevant to the skills that employment

in the firm demanded. An important question in the study of MVEEOC em-

ployers was:

What sort of work are entry level white-collar workers called
upon to do?

The tasks performed by the participant observers varied from

filing assignment through work in electronic data processing sections.

A consensus of reports suggests that the tasks were primarily unskilled

and a large number of them were devoid of skill requirements of any kind.

This dialogue between participant observer and one of the researchers

illustrates the quality of the task descriptions observed:

R (Researcher): Tell me again what you're doing; I don't yet understand.

PO (Participant Observer): All in-coming checks go through an IBM machine, and the printed list of checks that comes out las to be checked against the checks that go in. For example, big companies like Allen Bradley have something like 450 checks going through their accounts each day. You have to count all the items on the print-out to see that all the checks are there.

R: To see if the IBM machine has recorded all the checks? Are you checking out the checks?

PO: Yes. Then I have to put my signature on the list if it's complete. Each sheet has four columns and there are 36 in each column. Allen Bradley had six pages. Allis Chalmers, and places like that, have a lot of sheets that you have to be careful with.

R: Is this the kind of work you are doing all day? Are people doing this year in and year out?

PO: I think so, because--well, two young ladies at the table with me--one started in January and one started in December. They have been doing this since then.

R: For six months? What does she think about it? Is she pretty bored?

PO: She didn't show it. She was a pretty young girl and she's kind of active. She gets a kick out of the side conversation. When she sees the checks and how large they are, she says ooh! All that money! Well I did four drawers.

R: Are the checks in alphabetical order? Are you checking the name on the check?

PO: No, the number.

R: The amount of the check?

PO: No, the account number. These checks have all been issued by the bank, they go through the IBM machine and it picks up the number of the account from the checks.

R: Was there an explanation about what happens before the checks come to you?

PO: No, and I didn't ask either.

R: You talk about four or five older women and you mentioned
     Lynn, who I take it is on the younger side, a group of three
     around the telephones, a few working at the files and maybe
     some miscellaneous people. What are they doing?

PO: I think that if this were the type of work a person would like
     to be doing that it would be pretty good. Some people would
     like this kind of setup where you don't have to be or to do
     too much. It doesn't require much. You don't have to give
     of yourself and you sit there and do this dummy kind of work.

R: Is that your impression of Lynn too?

PO: I think Lynn is working for something. I know she wants to
     buy a car. I don't think she is thinking that much about the
     job, she knows how to do it and she does it--probably is
     thinking of something else all the time she is doing it.

R: Were you able to do that?

PO: Uh-huh. I think most of the younger girls are just working
     there until they get something better, I can't explain it,
     it's just the way I feel. Something about their expecting to
     move upstairs.

R: Do you feel that way about it too, wanting to move upstairs?

PO: Yes, or something better--to work my mind. Something where
     I don't have to sit there and let my brain get rusty, because
     it could really get rusty. Your eyes get a work out, but
     other than that there's no brain work. So, I mean, you know
     they think Negroes are so dumb--don't give them these jobs--
     they can do it, even the dumbest could do it. I don't know
     why they don't want Negroes down in their dungeon. What I'd
     like to know is what are their hiring policies? Something at
     this level they could sure give to a poor Negro, the Welfare
     could be sending mothers down there to do that kind of stuff--
     somebody could be making money off that little job. The way
     I see it, this is a job that has to be done because a bank
     like this has a lot of business. These things come in every
     day--they come in the mail, people bring them in--this is
     something they can't fix the machine to do, because we are
     checking the machine. It's very simple. If they don't want
     us to have a job like that, we're worse off than I thought,
     I mean as a human race, 'cause that's for pity.

     A few minutes on the job each day and the task is mastered.

After that the daily routine involves repeating endlessly that learned

task.

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One of the high school participant observers made these observations about his work in the University computer center:

June 6: The 1620 computer takes very little skill--only took ten minutes to learn how to operate it--but it takes much longer to understand it, the machine and the procedures it involves.

June 10: The job really consists of standing all the time-- I'm always on my feet walking to and from the files.

June 14: I like the job sometimes and sometimes I don't. If I'm sorting for two or three hours, I get a headache. It's fun working when I put my mind to it.

June 18: My job is not a complex thing. I operate the sorter, a simple machine. I do what I'm supposed to do and therefore get along well with the supervisor and assistant supervisor.

June 25: Data processing is likeable to a certain degree. I don't like some aspects of the work. The machines that I work with are slow. I like machines that run fast. I like to do things fast.

July 6: Here I am still working on the famous slow collator, interpreter and reproducer. I talked with Mr. L. (my instructor in the orientation program) about my being bored with data processing. I said the work was fine to a point, if only they had fast running machines. We talked about my working in the office with him sometimes when business becomes slow.

July 10: My job is a somewhat simple one. I sort cards, that is, I put them in a certain order. I reproduce cards and also run them through the interpreter which reads the holes and writes on the cards. This makes the card more readable. Without someone to sort, reproduce, interpret, and collate, the system couldn't function properly.

July 15: I do the same jobs over and over. Almost every day I sort, I collate, I reproduce, and I burst.

July 20: I enjoy working if I haven't a headache, maybe the headache is mental because I only get it when I reach the Computer Center.

These observations reflect the mood of all of the participant observers regardless of the firms in which they might be employed.

One of the high school participant observers might have spoken for the whole group of observers: "The 1620 computer takes very little skill--only took me ten minutes to learn to operate it."

The tasks vary but in all cases the demands were minimal:

"This job is so simple anybody can do it."

"You sure don't need a high school education to do this."

According to our observers, the tasks in much of white-collar work are routine, consisting mainly of manipulating paper. The same procedure is followed day after day, week after week. Most individual workers are responsible only for one limited aspect of a work process that few understand in its entirety. Those who do see the whole, or who have more involvement with it, find more meaning in their work.

Entry level white-collar jobs appear to have minimum skill requirements and to call for little in the way of vocational preparation. In light of this finding, it is difficult to understand the insistence by management that non-whites would be hired, if only they had necessary skills. A substantial portion of white-collar work could be performed by individuals with the most rudimentary vocational skills.

Physical Arrangements of White-Collar Work. A large portion of white-collar work seems to involve very little in the way of technical skills. What else is white-collar work? How can we understand it? White-collar work takes place in a formal organization. How does this organization work? What meaning does it assign to the various roles that workers must assume? Some insight into white-collar work can be gained

from just observing where it occurs.   Therefore this question was posed
to all of the participant observers:

What are the physical arrangements where your work is done?

Although white-collar work generally occurs in pleasant sur-
roundings, the settings for entry level workers was found to be uniformly
unattractive.   The reports suggested that the place in which white-collar
work is done is usually

1.   Anonymous,

2.   Inconvenient,

3.   Lacking in facilities,

4.   Unclean, and

5.   Indifferent to the "human" needs of worke..s.

The message of the <u>place</u> in which entry level white-collar work was done
suggested that entry level white-collar workers are low status, inter-
changeable, and without human qualities.

Each firm had its own approach to formulating this message but
all of the participant observers appeared to receive it clearly.

The first impression of physical arrangements was often posi-
tive.   The participant observers were interviewed in pleasantly arranged
personnel offices and were introduced to what appeared to be attractive
surroundings:

> The atmosphere is pleasant with lots of windows.   The floors
> are clean and freshly waxed.   The partitions are blue--clean
> and bright.   It's sort of like a Swiss chalet, and just great.

> The most noticeable first impressions are the carpets, carpeted
> offices, hallways--everything is carpeted, even the powde; room
> part of the bathroom.   It's all beige though on the third floor
> I think they have red carpeting...

> The working conditions are very good.   It is colorful with air
> conditioning.   The working area is kept very clean as it has to
> be because of the computers.   It is free of dust and stale air.

What appeared pleasant at the first impression was not a source of comfort for the participant observers who engaged in their various tasks over a period of time.

A discrepancy between first impressions and later realizations can be illustrated for all thirteen participant observers. The following is an illustration of change of mood that was typical:

July 10: The entrance to the place (the computer center) was somewhat hidden when I first went there. The entrance is between the first and second floor.

The working conditions are very good. It is very colorful with air-conditioning. The working area is kept very clean, as it has to be because of the computers. It is free of dust and stale air.

July 11: The work is OK but when it's slow I almost fall asleep.

July 14: The work is easy and the working conditions (excluding social companionship) are very good. Clean, cool, dust free, well lit, neat, orderly, but noisy. The data processing class didn't teach you how to cope with long hours of continuous standing.

July 17: It has gotten somewhat quieter. This makes the atmosphere ever more sleep inducing if you have no work to do. It is a very dull place because no one has time to socialize. They have the place arranged so that no one can sit and gossip. In the keypunch room the desks that the girls sit at are spaced so that two people cannot sit and talk because it is too great a distance and they cannot be heard over the machines anyway. They have a small coffee percolator in the rear. You have to hunt to find it. The water bubbler is at the other side of the office. I had to ask where it was so I could find it. In the working area they have numerous posters up but hardly anybody has time to read them. They do not have a rest room. They have many boxes of paper neatly arranged in the work area. There are no views of any kind because there are no windows.

July 21: Good working conditions--Clean and bright but now everyone has a white powder on their shoes from the cards.

August 4: It seems to be getting sloppier every day. Today
I put my hand down on the floor to see if the dust
was still there. It was. The front office has an
abundance of boxes, cards, and papers cluttering
up the place. And the keypunch room is even worse.
It has 24 keypunch desks and each one is cluttered
with papers, pencils, cards, sweaters, and lipstick.
At the front of the keypunch room they have a wall
of boxes that are filled with either cards or papers.
Although the chairs are empty, they all face in the
same direction. It was as if an air raid had come
and all the people were in a hurry to get out. I
have finally found a lounge area. It is very well
hidden. It is in the keypunch room. You have to
hunt to find it. It was hidden behind a pile of
boxes.

August 7: Now that I have been there for a while nothing im-
presses me. It seems like a well lit dungeon.
Nobody can use the lounge area unless it is lunch
time.

August 11: Last day - When I left today Burt was the only one
that said goodbye to me. The rest of them didn't
even look at me. Being around a place as cold as
that makes you believe you never want to come back.
As I leave I have but two good things to say about
the place. The lighting and the cooling system.

At first I thought this would be a very pleasant
place to work, but I was disillusioned. There
isn't any room for advancement, the wages are poor
and their facilities inadequate. (No lunch room,
obsolete equipment, and weak management.)

The work is all right but they better keep me busy
or I will fall asleep because it's a very dull
atmosphere.

My first and continuing impression of ***** was of
fear, first of being found out as a spy, second that
for some past or future misdeed I would have to stay
there for ever and ever.

The participant observers, on occasion, worked in buildings

resplendent with windows that afforded striking views of the city and

the river. Entry level white-collar workers were never situated so that

they could take occasional solace in the views that the windows offered.

> This place even had windows all over, but the only time
> people looked out was when someone had jumped, was pushed
> or was about to jump off the bridge below. And then gaping
> was accompanied by comments like, "First time this year,"
> 'later than usual--the first jumper usually is in April,
> it's already the middle of May." "This happens every spring,"
> "I'd been thinking it was about time for this."

The arrangement of entry level white-collar workers was not

designed to recognize their humanity, afford moments of poetic release,

or provide even sustained physical comfort. The arrangement was designed

to facilitate some presumed notion of efficiency that made people an ad-

junct of paper and of machines, rather than making paper and machines an

adjunct of the human needs of people.

At the steel processing plant, the main clerical area was pop-

ularly referred to as the "ballroom" and at the bank the area was called

the "cage." These informal names labeled the conditions of white-collar

work. The participant observers found at the bank and at the university,

at the foundry and at the government office, that conditions of white-

collar work impose sub-humanity upon employees.

Social Conditions of White-Collar Work. It has been noted that

entry level white-collar work does not call for extensive vocational

skills and that the place in which the work is done is often inconvenient,

uncomfortable, unkempt and not adapted to respect the human needs of

workers. These are descriptive characteristics of white-collar work.

With the next question, we began to explore the social meaning of the

white-collar experience to the participant observers:

> What are the social conditions in which white-collar work
> is done?

This concern was represented as four questions which were posed

to the participant observers:

1. Is the work you were called upon to do interesting?
   Challenging? Tedious? Boring? How did your peers react
   to the work?

2. Are you physically comfortable in your work? How do your
   peers feel about the facilities? How do you feel about
   them?

3. Are you satisfied with the rules, regulations, and customs
   that determine your relations with your supervisors and
   the firm generally?

4. How do you feel about the other people with whom you work?
   Do you get along? What are your difficulties? Do you
   enjoy talking to them? Are they friendly?

As the reactions of the participant observers were recorded and evaluated,

answers to the following questions were developed:

1. What did it mean to participant observers to engage in low-
   skill, routine, segmented work activities?

2. What did it mean to participant observers to work in uncom-
   fortable, often unkempt and inconvenient circumstances?

3. What did it mean to our participant observers to occupy
   entry level social status in a white-collar work situation?

4. What did it mean to our participant observers to work with
   peers who had adapted to (or were functioning in) white-
   collar work, surroundings, and social status?

The participants were not only observers of the white-collar work

situation, they were prototypes of potential white-collar workers. As

their reactions were evaluated, not only was it possible to gain insight

into the social conditions of white-collar work, but to begin to assess

the prospects that non-whites might find there.

In this report each question will be discussed in turn. The

first question explored was: Is the work interesting?

The answer to this question was alm·jt uniform: participant ob-

servers found little to challenge their ability, to stretch their capacity,

to explore and to develop their strengths:

At about the third week I was very bored with this work. It
seemed futile putting cards in a machine and taking them out.
It seemed as though the machine was sorting slower and slower.
I caught myself falling asleep. To combat this problem I
started to sing to myself. I would pray for the day when they
would put me on a different machine.

Some people would like this kind of setup where you don't have
to do too much. It doesn't require much. You don't have to
give of yourself and you sit there and do this dummy kind of
work.

I think Lynn is working for something. I know she wants to
buy a car. I don't think she is thinking about the job, she
knows how to do it and she does it--probably thinking of
something else all the time she is doing it.

These people are evidently the kind that can do this type of
work. As I watched Arny zip through 400 checks from Kohl's
I got the feeling her mind was far away. The second week I
was there, she was giving her future daughter-in-law a shower.
While working, she planned what to serve, who to invite, get-
ting the place clean and changing the furniture around. After
a series of checks, she would say aloud what she had decided
to do and when. She worked until we were finished and had the
entire evening planning. She had become so familiar with the
work that she could think of other things and not make a mis-
take. Accuracy is very important, one check out of place
could ruin the entire count, yet these people are so good they
can do this and think about other things. I found once I got
the hang of things, I was thinking of people around me, trying
to figure out what make them tick.

The repetitious report of the participant observers was that the work in
which they were engaged was dull. Even the participant observer who
felt most positive toward his job shared the common view:

You feel like a man working with men. You get to work alone
and it gives you a feeling of confidence. I like the job
because I know I am only doing it for the summer. It's a
good experience. I wouldn't want to do it for a career--
it's too hard and boring. You do the same thing over and
over.

Words such as "futile" and "boring" reflected the perceptions of the
participant observers. They worked with paper. This paper seldom
seemed connected with vital living concerns of the observers.

As the probing interviews with the participant observers con-
tinued, it became possible to evaluate their reports of their experience.
What they seemed to say was that white-collar work has:

1. No past,

2. No present, and

3. No future.

It has no past because it does not produce anything in which one can
take pride and it pays so little that even the money can hardly justify
the work. It has no future because one cannot look forward to the devel-
opment of new skills and the growth of ability. It has no present be-
cause there is little challenge in the task itself, and no opportunity
to exercise control of the conduct of day-to-day activities. White-
collar work as work is brutalizing. It is destructive of an individual's
capacity to be human and to exercise essential human qualities.

The work does not confer dignity, it undermines it; it does
not confer identity, it makes workers anonymous; it does not encourage
growth, it stifles it. White-collar work is a brutalizing experience
that may be endured at a price. For some, the price may not be too
high: the experience of a summer of employment, the cost of an automo-
bile, or of a trip to Europe. For others the price may be exorbitant:
collared in a dead-end career, dehumanized by unsatisfying work, one can
become adjusted to the loss of person and humanity.

The second question that was explored with the participant observers probed their feelings about the physical arrangements in which they worked. What did it mean to them to work in unkempt, often uncomfortable (although sometimes cheerfully painted) circumstances? The answer to this question was overwhelmingly clear: They did not like it.

One observer saw in an inconvenient arrangement a design on the part of management to discourage socializing among workers:

> When I first arrived there, I noted the water fountain and the coffeemaker were located at opposite ends of the office. It seemed to me that whoever put them there was purposefully trying to keep people from congregating.

Another observer just sensed a dullness that she found oppressive:

> PO: It's dull!
>
> R: The environment is dull?
>
> PO: I don't know if you can say that because it is decorated beautifully, loud colors, bright blues, oranges--the carpet is bright--the chairs are loud, shocking colors. But it is still dull. I guess because no natural light comes in or there's no sunshine to look out on and you can't see stuff growing.

Several observers reported that entry-level workers were required to use straight backed chairs, while those of high rank used chairs that tilted back. Another observer reported this conversation among a group of secretaries:

> They were talking in a jocular fashion in the lunchroom, although I couldn't help but feel that the comments reflected an undercurrent of discontent about being "Goops" (General Office Personnel Staff). One commented that it was not "Goops" but "guppies" swimming aimlessly around in a pool.
>
> The conversation continued with executive personnel being referred to as carpet people and clerical personnel as linoleum people. "We are just peons," one secretary concluded.

Although each firm posed different circumstances, the dominant affective

tone that characterized the observers' reports was one of repugnance at

the circumstances of work. The work environment came to be thought of as

cages, as dungeons from which escape became a coveted aspiration.

In objective terms the work place was often bright and even

gaudy; at the same time it was inconvenient; uncomfortable and frequently

unkempt. In subjective terms it was experienced as; degrading, confining,

and as a place to which one was condemned:

> My first and continuing impression of ----- was of fear...
> that for some past or future misdeed I would have to stay
> there forever and ever.

She spoke for the group. The place of work was a dungeon from which one

just might not escape.

Entry-level white-collar work is not only a _place_ and a _task_,

it is a role in a particular _social_ _situation_. There are people who

assign jobs, supervise work, praise, criticize, nurture, teach, and con-

verse with white-collar workers. There are other more remote supervisors

of supervisors who are only occasionally observed by entry-level workers.

In addition, workers have experiences with each other. Both of these

aspects of the white-collar situation were explored with the participant

observers.

The reports of the social experiences of the participant ob-

servers suggested that a rigid social system existed in most white-collar

work situations. This social system might best be thought of as a _caste_

system.

Entry-level white-collar workers appeared to belong to a low

caste with some ranks of white-collar work and the various ranks of

management belonging to a distinctly higher caste. These did not appear
to be _class_ distinctions that individuals might overcome as the result
of hard work and good luck; they appeared to be caste distinctions to
which entry-level workers would always be subject.

The caste distinctions that the participant observers reported
related to differentials in:

1. Privileges,
2. Demeanors, and
3. Symbols.

Those of lower caste were assigned few privileges, the demeanor
of happy submission, and the symbols of anonymity. Those of higher caste
were assigned many privileges, the demeanor of helpful indulgence and
symbols of personal identity.

Differential _privileges_ were reported by almost all observers.
They consist of that which is quite routine in business practice. Man-
agement and selected white-collar workers closely associated with man-
agement may:

1. Make and accept personal phone calls,
2. Smoke as they work in their offices,
3. Make flexible work arrangements,
4. Receive personal mail, and
5. Engage rather freely in conversation with peers and
   lower caste workers.

These privileges are generally not available to entry level white-collar
workers. One of the research staff made the following observations:

> He comes and goes when he gets ready. On one occasion, he said
> that he was going downtown for some personal business. I never
> hear anyone question his departing at all times of the day. I
> guess no one has the right to call the boss into question.

The rules are different for us than they are for them. When
we take time off, it has to be at a particular time. Or, if
we ask to take special time off, we have to make it up some
time.

I think a great many bosses think that it's all right to ask
someone to work overtime, thinking, 'She gets paid for the
overtime,' but we don't. We get compensatory time. Then you
usually have to see to it yourself that you get it and explain
to your boss that this is required. And then you always have
to ask for that time with tongue in cheek, like, "I have 8
hours coming to me. May I take tomorrow off?" And they might
say, "Yes," or they might say, "Well, I'm sorry but I did have
this project that I wanted to get out." So maybe you do and
maybe you don't get that day. And if you do take it, you feel
a little guilty.

I think a boss can make his own time. Like, if they have to
get something to a certain department by a certain date, they
can invariably call up and say, "I've got this conference, or
there's this interruption. I'll see that it gets over there
tomorrow morning by 11:00." Whereas we feel that if we get a
job and it is _due_ at 3:00 this afternoon, we can't call up and
say, "Well...." You see, they have a little edge on us. So
they can relax, maybe they can get away from their pressures
a little more..like at lunch; they aren't really bound by 45
minutes, they know their secretary is back there at the office.

Differential demeanor may be the most difficult aspect of white-

collar work. The participant observers reported that lower caste workers

were expected to exhibit a pleasant attitude, a light friendly face, and

a happy acceptance of the place and task of white-collar work. To be at

all rejecting of any aspect of white-collar work was considered by the

higher caste workers as incredible, an almost fundamental challenge to

the structure of their being:

Mr.----- was her boss and she didn't especially like him.
When she told him she was leaving, he said, "What's wrong--
aren't we good enough for you?" She _told_ him she was leaving
for better pay. He was not satisfied with that, so he had a
talk with K's friend who was in a different department and who
helped her get the job. He asked what was the big idea of
bringing a girl who only wanted to stay for two months. She
won't get that much more pay anywhere else. The girl friend
told him that K would be getting 100 more a month and she too
would leave for 50 more a month. Mr.----- said something to
the effect that it all seemed pretty ridiculous to him.

The typical demeanor of higher caste workers was a more kindly concern

with the problems of workers, although this compassionate interest did

not extend to features of the place and task of white-collar work.

These reports illustrate the demeanor of management:

> She thought highly of Mr.----, said he was very professional
> looking especially with his gray hair. Felt he was under-
> standing--an easy person to talk to; almost the kind of per-
> son you could have a "crush on."

> She said Mr.---- was nice and fair. Once she said she was
> leaving, he offered to increase her pay to what she needed.
> He had her in his office several times trying to talk her
> into not leaving.

> He's more of a counselor than a supervisor. He said, "Instead
> of using my head, I use my heart." He told me that he had
> saved a girl because he had been forceful with her. She was
> going back to school to learn how to use the automatic type-
> writer. He thinks she is hard of hearing and is encouraging
> her to go to the doctor for a hearing aid.

> He took a chance on a Puerto Rican girl and took her back after
> she had been absent for a week without even calling in. Her
> story was that she'd been sick and hadn't called a doctor be-
> cause she didn't have any money and in Puerto Rico, the doctor
> won't come unless you have the money.

> The manager is a very nice man. He has three children, two
> girls and a boy. He has a picture of them in his office. Al-
> though he is the manager, he doesn't keep to himself. You can
> find him almost every place in the area, smiling and talking
> to the employees.

The function of this kindly supervison, and the deep interest expressed

by management in sensitivity training, appear to be what Laing refers

to as the "mystification of expression:"

> It is not enough to destroy one's own and other people's ex-
> perience. One must overlay this devastation by a false con-
> sciousness inured ... to its own falsity.

> Exploitation must not be seen as such. It must be seen as
> benevolence. Persecution preferably should not need to be
> invalidated as the figment of paranoid imagination; it should
> be experienced as kindness.[144]

The demeanor of the higher caste has the function of obscuring the human

meaning of the place and task of white-collar work. The demeanor of

lower caste workers appears to preserve them from further penetration

by their kindly supervisors. Lower caste workers must not only perform

their tasks, but they must--in a sense--love their circumstances; to

appear to do otherwise can lead to dangerous social disequilibrium.

Management could not tolerate an unloving worker, and an unloving worker

would endanger the facade of his fellow workers.

The symbols reported by the participant observers publicly

sustain the place, task, and demeanor of white-collar workers. The most

frequently reported symbols of caste were three:

1. Customs of address,
2. Customs of work place names, and
3. Customs of sex separation.

Each of these customs reaffirm the anonymity of lower caste workers and

the dignity of higher caste workers

The customs of address call upon lower caste workers to address

higher caste workers by their last name with the prefix Mr., Mrs., or

Miss. Lower caste workers, regardless of age, are known only by their

first names. In one office studied, there were two Judys. One was

known as Little Judy and one as Big Judy. This ceremony of address af-

firms the caste distinctions, and it affirms both the dignity of manage-

ment and the anonymity of lower caste workers.

Higher caste workers assign their own surname to their place
of work. Mr.----'s office or Miss ----'s desk were frequent designa-
tions. Conversely, the places where lower caste workers performed
their tasks were given functional names. Higher caste workers usually
used these functional names, but the lower caste workers developed an
appropriate caste terminology for where they worked: dungeon, cellar,
prison, corral. As with surnames, the place of names of work affirmed
the dignity of the higher caste and the anonymity of the lower caste.

Management is usually male; lower caste workers are usually
female. Higher caste workers usually work in the private isolation of
a surnamed office; lower caste workers usually engage in their tasks in
highly structured, impersonal, and sexually segregated arrangements.
The advent of the steno pool, dictaphone, and automated machinery has
cut down the number of women who have personal relationships with higher
caste male workers, and has relegated them to the sexually homogenous
cage or dungeon where they can be viewed from the outside:

> It's like a harem or a woman's slave place--all those men
> walking along on the outside pricing you up and down.
> 'Course they don't often look, and even less do they speak.
> But you know where you stand--sit, rather.

Miscegenation is an absolute taboo in a caste society and the world of
white-collar work appears to have developed rather strict barriers to
intermarriage. The female participant observers reported very limited
sexual opportunities at work. One of the most persistent complaints
of white-collar workers was the absence of sexual opportunity:

> Her last day is Friday... There was no future for her in
> the computer room because when she started there, there
> were four eligible bachelors. Now there are none. She is
> thinking of applying for work at Pan American Air Lines.

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Whether the sexual isolation is by design or "accident," the communication affirms the anonymity and the caste position of white-collar workers.

Based on the reports of the participant observers, "success" in entry level white-collar work requires that a new employee

1. accept the system of differential privileges;

2. exhibit a happy demeanor;

3. defer to the prevailing use of symbols.

In order to succeed, a white-collar worker must learn her caste position and then affirm and reaffirm it in all of her relationships. She must become "a happy nigger," content with her caste, pleased with her task, place, and social role.

The reports of the participant observers disclosed that the basic function of the role relationships between members of the two castes is to maintain the status system. The modes of address, the symmetric demeanors and the system of privileges all serve to support the caste arrangements.

On a deeper level, the caste system depends on the denial to consciousness of the reality of the caste system by members of the lower caste. To acknowledge consciously that they are: a) powerless, b) anonymous, and c) vulnerable, would affirm their own dissolution as persons. As Vidich wrote of Springdalers:

> By techniques of self-avoidance and self-deception, they try to avoid facing issues which, if recognized, would threaten the total fabric of their personal and social existence.[145]

For those who succeed in becoming "happy niggers," Modes of

Adjustment* must be exercised to obscure the unpleasant reality with

which they must deal:

1. Powerlessness must be obscured by attributing to author-
    ity an extraordinary benevolence that surely would not
    permit the rape of their humanity that they experience
    in fact.

2. Anonymity must be obscured by involvement in non-work-
    related sociability that diminished introspection and
    creates social group functions that have nothing to do
    with the ostensible purposes of white-collar work.

3. Vulnerability must be protected by resisting change.
    All challenge of the existing social arrangement is a
    threat to the adjustment that has been achieved with
    great effort. Deviance is disaster for those who don
    the demeanor of lower caste white-collar workers.

The choice to adjust is the choice to deny powerlessness with

respect to altering the task, place, and social role of white-collar work,

to deny the demand for ingratiating demeanor and to deny the significance

of the symbols in common use. The choice to resist or to challenge the

caste system leads to one or more of the following:

1. Rejection of authority as benevolent,

2. Rejection of the sociability of white-collar workers, or

3. Defense of change in social arrangements, ethics, morals,
    and society.

We found among white-collar workers a tendency to: a) legitimatize

authority, b) externalize through sociability, and c) resist change

in such changes as the introduction of black workers, new styles of

dress, and "new," more overt, positive sexual attitudes.

We found among participant observers some efforts to legitima-

tize the white-collar work situation, but they were unsuccessful in that

*See page 116 ff., Chapter IV, for a discussion of Modes of Adjustment.

..ost participants would opt out of the white-collar caste. One partic-
ipant challenged the caste arrangements and was eventually dismissed by
management.

One question that we posed to the participant observers focused
attention on the relationships among white-collar workers: What did it
mean to our white-collar workers to work with peers who had <u>adapted</u> to
white-collar work? We found through this exploration the legitimations
that might be expected in lower caste workers.

The data is overwhelming. Management had goodwill. Super-
visors were helpful. This help was entirely "personal" - it did not
affect the conditions of lower caste status. When the conditions of
caste compelled certain workers to quit in spite of benevolent supervi-
sion, the new rejection of kindly management often had a violent tone:

> ---- made a funny comment. She said that by the time you
> quit here you'll end up hating the office manager and the
> sales manager. She was right! I did.

The participant observers reported that survival in white-
collar work depends largely on the new worker's ability to join one of
the social groups that are found in all white-collar employment circum-
stances. The social groups usually reflect age and related interests:

> The old ladies, you know, talk about things they know in
> common--people they know, from church maybe or from par-
> ticular groups or clubs, or people they may have lived
> next door to or old schoolmates or something like that.
> With the young girls, marriage was the main talk, or boy-
> friends, then clothes, then family life. The bank was
> last. No public issue was ever included in the conver-
> sation.

The function of these groups was to foster acceptance of ac-
ceptance, to encourage and sustain the modes of adjustment that must be

exercised if entry level workers are to succeed in their lower caste

white-collar career. Since work was empty of meaning, these groups

provided purpose that existed in white-collar work. Workers who could

not find that purpose did not survive.

These social groups not only created societies that gave

meaning to white-collar life, they were defensive establishments. The

black participant observers did not experience anything one could call

racial "prejudice," but they were an innovation and therefore a threat

to a change in established ways. While management was benevolent,

peers were often worried:

> I would like to say the behavior of these people was very
> boring. They wouldn't talk to anyone except when the machines
> broke down or jammed. They would look at each other very
> strangely when Kattie and I did something wrong, as if they
> were talking with their eyes. Kattie and I were the only
> colored people working in that whole department. Maybe that
> is why I felt out of place. They didn't seem like they wanted
> to accept us into their group... Thoughts were running through
> my mind like, how come I had to mess up--now people are going
> to say things like she is colored, you would expect her to
> mess up. I felt like I was making the colored race look bad.

> I jammed some payroll cards and no one was around. I was more
> afraid of Rey and Marie finding out that I jammed the cards
> than I was of the boss...I don't like to have the feeling
> everyone I'm working with is angry at me. It seems to me that
> I make worse mistakes now then when I started...I got to work
> a little early so I knew there were some payrolls that needed
> to be sorted, so I started to sort one when I forgot to put the
> weight on the cards and about five got jammed. I managed to
> get all but one card out and someone else got that out. I
> tried my best to duplicate those cards before Rey and Marie
> came but I didn't quite make it. They didn't get too angry
> with me but they gave me some heavy instructions.

> Sometimes I feel that maybe most of the people working in the
> computer center were from West Allis (an all white, low-middle
> income residential area), and maybe they didn't know too much
> about the Negro and so they kept whatever they had to say to
> themselves.

They hired a girl named Sandy for keypunch. That made me
mad because that's what I was for. I felt we could have been
doing that instead of sitting around all day doing busy work.
Sandy could not make out a name on a card, she took it to
Karen. "Some place in Africa," she said, "ask Lucille, she
probably knows." Like she is supposed to know everything in
Africa. I thought it was a shame. Lucille helped and Sandy
finished that. I asked Tony about the other floors; he said
"Dormitories," with spit hanging out of his mouth--I can't
stand him anyway--he looks nasty. He said, "Like hotel rooms,"
as if I didn't know what dorms were. That made me mad.

Most of the laborers there are Puerto Rican or Mexican. They
are working there because it's all they can get. They have
low status jobs.

I don't know how I fit. The people who are working don't look
at you or say anything to you. I guess I'm accepted like a
beginner. People who come into the computer center stare at
me in a funny sort of way.

I feel like a spot on a gray cloth. I stand out a little.
Everyone treats me okay, I guess. I can see no plots against
me.

The rejection of racial deviance was no less marked than the

rejection of sexual idiosyncracy:

Last day was when a woman had been on the night before who,
when asked how she spent her vacation, replied, "Eating,
sleeping, and making love." Carson evidently didn't know how
to respond; Bonnie said about the whole thing, "Some people
will say anything" and there was general agreement that the
lady either shouldn't have said that or shouldn't have done
it - I couldn't tell which.

Or the rejection of an unusual film character:

The movie "Dr. Zhivago" was mentioned one day and the ladies
in the back agreed that it was vulgar and shameful; even
Sylvia, who kind of needed an affair like that to give back
her faith in herself as a woman, was against it. (Sylvia
and her lack of sex life were the subject of many conversa-
tions.) The moral code ran funny that day. I remembered
Marge telling Sylvia somethings to do to get her husband
interested, even discussing the male nurse, and saying she
knew a woman who did something similar with the plumber to
make her husband jealous. Yet Dr. Z. couldn't satisfy two
women and turn away from his country without it being a dis-
grace.

Similarly, the rejection of "vulgarity:"

> No one in the group disagrees verbally or by facial gestures
> with most of Carol's assertions, which she makes fairly often.
> "I think it's terrible that...." I don't think they neces-
> sarily agree with her, just for some reason don't want to argue
> or don't really think about what she says. She shows a negative
> attitude toward anything of an "earthy" nature - and when some-
> one has some kind of joke like that they tell it when she isn't
> around. She also comments, negatively, on hearing people say
> "damm" or "hell." And nobody in the group does it. I guess
> she got to be the leader because she's the most assertive and
> wants things her way.

Or the rejection of unusual dress:

> One afternoon break Roz brought out some stockings she had
> bought that noon to wear in a wedding. They were loud orange.
> There was a stunned moment, then comments like, "You aren't
> really going to wear them," "You'll chicken out," "You think
> Susie (the bride) will let you?" Everyone knew that she had a
> long orange skirt and orange shoes, but they kept saying she
> really shouldn't wear the stockings, they were too loud and
> people would notice her and not the bride. Finally Carol said,
> "Well, I guess it's OK as long as you don't cross your legs."

The affective tone of the white-collar social groups was fear-
ful, negative, rejecting of whatever might be a threat to established
values, customs, and powers. Acceptance of acceptance as a motif of
life is essential to a successful strategy for those who are lower caste
workers. All change appears to endanger fragile adjustments.

Who Are The White-Collar Workers? White-collar work is being
presented by MVEEOC as a new avenue of opportunity for non-whites in
Milwaukee. Who is presently occupying these positions? What are their
characteristics? All of the participant observers were asked this
question:

Who engages in white-collar work?

Based on the reports of the participant observers, four groups
of white-collar workers may be identified:

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1. Young women,

2. Middle aged women,

3. Older women, and

4. Men of various ages, all of whom are part of management.

Typically, white-collar workers are women who have graduated from high school. Many have had aspirations that have been thwarted, and now they find themselves in white-collar work.

The young women are mostly single, interested in marriage, and waiting. Some are waiting to find a man; some are waiting for a man to return from service; some are waiting for a man to complete his education. These young women seem not to be attracted to white-collar work because of income, or the work, but for whatever status that comes from working for a well-known firm. For some, white-collar work appears to be a way of entering the marriage market. But this is not a well founded expectation. An important reason for leaving white-collar employment, for young women, is the search for more likely opportunities for sexual contacts.

Middle-aged women often enter white-collar work in order to achieve some specific but temporary end: money to pay for the education of children, money for family purchases, money for family adjustment after divorce. Some of these workers drift into white-collar work as a career and some leave white-collar employment when their specific objectives are accomplished.

Older women report a history of altered aspirations: they wanted to be librarians, teachers, engineers, housewifes. Somehow these aspirations never materialized and now they have no alternative but

to continue until retirement. They have no illusions about "getting ahead," they want just to do their job and keep things the way they are. They are resistant to change.

The men were generally part of management. A few were working at entry level jobs in the computer centers. But the observers reported that with few exceptions females were the "white-collar" workers and men with higher levels of educational and technical skills were management.

How Did Participant Observers Feel About Their White-Collar Employment? Many of the participant observers found the experience of working quite interesting. It was an experience that was useful to have had. But none of the participant observers saw white-collar work as a career possibility for a number of reasons:

1. The task of white-collar work was uniformly rejected as meaningless,

2. The expected demeanor of white-collar workers was often difficult and degrading,

3. The differential privileges were an irritation, and

4. The symbols of caste often were experienced as a humiliation.

The participant observers found the caste position of white-collar work unacceptable in terms of their aspirations and views of their own human worth. For some, the white-collar caste posed a threat to their self-regard that was traumatic. In order to become a successful white-collar worker, an individual must undergo an almost total reorganization of personality, or from the start be adjusted to the caste role that white-collar work assigns to entry level workers.

The Human Meaning of White-Collar Work. To engage in white-collar work means that an individual must accept an evaluation of himself that is so destructive that it can be endured only if it is obscured by modes of adjustment that diminish awareness of reality.

White-collar work is a dead-end career, occupied mainly by transitory young women and trapped careerless older women. To accept white-collar work is to accept an empty career and to tolerate the demand for a happy demeanor. Only those who are hopeless can succeed at becoming "happy niggers."

White-Collar Work as an Avenue of Opportunity for Blacks in Milwaukee. Is white-collar work a genuine avenue of opportunity for blacks in Milwaukee? It is evident from the reports of the observers in this study that the answer tends to be no.

What can white-collar work offer? The answers seem to be:

1. Poorly paid careerless employment,

2. Tasks that are not challenging,

3. Caste-ridden work environments, and the

4. Necessity to engage in massive self-delusion if success is to be achieved on the job.

Entry-level white-collar employment may provide temporary work experiences for women that can be educational or financially rewarding. But white-collar work offers a future of unfilled aspirations for most women who, through indecision or lack of alternatives, remain.

For non-white males it appears to offer a new kind of humiliating servitude that only the most passive, the most adjusted could endure. What is most likely for non-white white-collar workers is the

experience of one of the male participant observers. He was eventually

dismissed, but his problems began the first day.

This observer was assigned to one of the two foundries studied

in the project. He was an intelligent, even militant, black. He was

viewed in this way by one of the black female participant observers:

> K--- is an example of the "new Negro breed," a young man on
> the move with strong attitudes and feelings, also equipped
> with mother wit and just proud enough and angry enough not to
> take much mess from anyone. He has become aware of himself...
> He now proudly wears the "Afro." No more identifying with
> those brain-washing experts of lighter skin. Is K--- rebelling?
> He doesn't want to do too much hard work, the back-breaking kind
> that is tagged "Negro." He has damn good potential and he knows
> it. From his self-awareness he has gained new insights.
>
> K--- has turned out to be a self-made young man. He is confi-
> dent because he believes in what is being done. He is not the
> kind to be a typical "first" Negro--his attitudes and feelings
> will not allow him to fall into the "handkerchief head" cate-
> gory. Unless he gets hung up with "the system," he will be
> able to remain himself and set a fine example for those brothers
> and sisters who will eventually make the great change.
>
> His instructors are common in any ghetto--you fail or pass.
> If you fail, you are stepped on and eventually discarded. If
> you pass, you become a part of the staff and the direction in
> which you reach is up to you. Hoods help make better hoods
> and people like K---, not detached, give a different view of
> how progress can be made but still relying on some part of the
> ghetto Ph.D.--if only to help retain one's sanity.
>
> He's a hippie in the mild sense with a more stable goal in
> mind.

The participant was not adapted to the demeanor of the white-

collar caste. His first day brought this report:

> I was startled by the way most of the people spoke and smiled
> at me on the bus once we exceed the boundaries of the inner
> core. Both bus drivers (white) were friendly and helpful.
>
> I received exact directions from a fellow named John who worked
> at the foundry. John was the first Negro I had a chance to
> talk to since 19th and Walnut. After showing me the location
> to the plant he went into a tavern--most of the employees do this

> as they get fortified before and after work. The firs: per-
> son I met was Mr. S, one of the vice presidents. He was not
> too impressive and didn't look like the kind of fellow to be
> my boss. I noticed immediately that he used a limited vocab-
> ulary and simplified simple things. He could have been more
> real.

The partiipant was picking up cues. Rather than legitimatizing author-

ity, he was questioning it; rather than subscribing to the symbols of

caste, he explicitly questioned them.

Following a visit to the foundry by one of the researchers,

the personnel manager wrote a few days before the program began:

> This will confirm my phone conversation with your Mrs. Y
> this morning regarding our participation with you in your co-
> operative program, and we believe we understand your ob-
> jectives and will do the best we can to make our participation
> helpful to your study. We will be looking for your boy to
> begin the program. (italics added)

The key word was 'boy.'

While waiting in the interview room, the participant observer

watched an interview in which the applicant, who happened to be a Negro

man, was told that the information he had supplied would be checked and

that he would be contacted later. Once the applicant was out of the of-

fice the personnel manager dropped all the forms in the waste basket.

The applicant later was informed that the 'right answers' had not been

given.

Serving as he was in a white-collar capacity, the participant

observer initially was included in management conversations:

> The fellow I talked to second was the personnel manager. He
> was more personable and tried to answer questions--and if he
> couldn't he admitted it. We talked the whole thing over a
> cup of coffee and it was all very casual. The only negative
> impression was he didn't stress the need or importance of an
> education. He commented that the kind of guy he wanted to hire
> would have a limited education. To me this meant he wanted a
> person who would not recognize the importance of his job and

therefore wouldn't be much trouble. The company discriminates --
not because of color though--preferences are given to married
men and to those who have relatives already employed. There is
a conscious effort to recruit the unpromotable or those who
when employed will accept the undesirable conditions of work
because pressures can also be brought upon their already employed
relatives.

Once out into the work area the participant observer saw first

hand the undesirable working conditions at the foundry, the lot of the

blue-collar worker: all but unbearable heat, back breaking work with

shovels and wheel barrows, noise, and dirt.

> I could see now why so many Negroes were employed. I didn't
> see much, but what I saw was dirty and hard. All the super-
> visors I met were white and the foremen also. The first con-
> clusion that I drew was that this was the slave and master
> situation being re-enacted.

> When I left, the Negroes in the plant looked as if they wished
> I would get fired before I started. This thought may have been
> part of my mental frame but they seemed to be saying 'Don't let
> him get involved here, too; don't let him hurt himself.' Those
> looks also conveyed to me that they were dissatisfied but
> trapped, that I was their hope if I could advance beyond what
> was in their grasp.

Even though in a white-collar position, in quality control,

the participant observer quickly came into conflict with other supervisory

personnel. First it was his desire to wear tinted glasses and the med-

ical examination (a five-minute check) brought out his slightly impaired

vision and the need for him to wear tinted glasses to avoid glares; work-

ing around the molten metal at the furnaces made this mandatory. It was

only the second day, nonetheless, that a supervisor upbraided the par-

ticipant observer for wearing tinted glasses. In the interest of safety,

he was told, maximum vision was required. The observer reported that the

reminder had been made in a "belligerent manner."

The participant observer did not report his reply but his subsequent reports began to indicate "everyone is on the defensive—the foremen seem to feel I am spying, they must have told some of the whites not to talk to me." A day later he broke the safety glasses, and was told that their replacement was his responsibility and the cost would be $40.00. Then the supervisory personnel dropped him from their lunch conversations, and he found himself spending more and more time with the workers. His reports made reference to the facts that the workers divided at lunch by color, whites in one place, blacks in another, and that the washrooms the workers used were ill-kept. He heard the complaints about being expected to work on Saturdays, saw the high injury rate and management concerned only about loss of time and he came to know first hand why the workers felt a trip by the tavern to get "fortified" was necessary. The following comments were included in one of the participant observer's briefer reports:

> The only thing I've learned is that I don't want to ever work here. The union is in league with management—it really means little for the workers. The supervisors won't tell me what really is going on in these processes; it's either that they don't know or they don't want to tell me for fear that I would know their secrets and then know as much as they do.

The final showdown came after only three weeks on the job. One of the foremen told the participant observer, "We'll be watching molding today." (A process in which forms are prepared for molten metal in order to make the internal and external shapes of the final product.) The participant understood this to mean observing and discussing the techniques of molding. Instead, after a five-minute demonstration, he was instructed to mold for the next couple of hours. An exchange fol-

lowed between the participant and the supervisor, and the participant

was dismissed--technically told to return to the Institute of Human

Relations to get the matter straightened out.

This was the only dismissal among the field researchers and

was therefore given considerable attention. Two quite distinct explara-

tions were offered. The management of the firm presented in a morning-

long conference this explanation:

> The participant had been given much more attention than had
> any other trainee the company had ever had. Several foremen
> had spent considerable time with him explaining several of
> the processes in the foundry according to a pre-arrange
> schedule. The time had now arrived to learn how moldin; was
> done. In the opinion of management, the best way to learn
> molding was to mold. The participant had been told to mold
> for a couple of hours and he had refused. It was a clear
> case of insubordination.

The participant's explanation of the incident included a re-

statement of the insincerity and uncooperative spirit of the foundry.

They were not equipped to train supervisory personnel and there was no

expectation that the laborers would ever be anything but labor-rs. The

molding he had been asked to do was hard and dangerous and he did not

see how he could learn much by attempting it after so limited an explana-

tion. But mainly it was the attitude of the foreman. He heard the

"request" aa a demand that went beyond legitimate authority to challenge

his basic manhood. "You're going to mold whether you like it or not."

"Such a tone of voice in my community would be an invitation to do

battle," he asserted. "I responded in the same tone--it was a matter

of pride." This was the master-slave relationship he had observed--now

applied to him.

It was something I could feel. I explained how my grandfather had hurt his back molding and said that both he (the foreman) and I knew molding takes a lot of skill and five minutes instruction isn't going to do it. The foreman replied, "I don't understand you and I don't like your attitude anyway."

Everything the participant saw was repulsive--hard and boring labor with no variety. Men worked only because they had to. What conversations there were, were about what they would do when they were not at work. At the foundry work was brutal. These are comments of white-collar workers. Despite quite obvious differences in collar colors-- and despite the fact that the color of the collar matched the color of the skin--the reaction to work was very similar: it rendered the worker powerless, he was depersonalized and it was a brutalizing experience.

There was "P" married and with a pregnant wife. "He personally rejects all this." The participant said, "He's a thinking person and wants to be an individual. He wears his hair in an Afro." "P" was a rejector of his caste position, the circumstances of which prevented an expression of his feeling.

There was also M, the furnace man who tended the molten metal. His responsibilities were great, for the tolerances were narrow regarding when the metal had to be poured--too soon or too late and it was all waste. The participant observer had been told the M had been a foreman but that the men he was to oversee, mostly other Negroes, wouldn't accept it. The participant explained this to mean that the men interpreted this promotion as a way of forcing even more work out of them. "M" had returned to the furnace and the eternal sweating.

Then there was <u>R</u>, the core maker who had a very limited vocab-
ulary and who was "extremely Southern but he knew this highly technical
job very well." From a skill point of view, his knowledge exceeded that
of any foreman; but quite obviously the position of foreman was not
based on knowledge of the work or skill.

The foundry has neither a reputation as a good place to work
nor does it offer a desirable kind of work. It was clearly a job and
not a career--the work itself would take its toll. Clearly, opportunity
for anyone required improvement in the working conditions of all employed.
In the participant's short tenure, several improvements seemed easily
possible:

1. Cleaning up the shower area, furnishing towels, providing
   rest and lunch facilities and having it for use by both
   workers and supervisory personnel.

2. Instituting a training program which would relate wages
   and promotion to skill.

3. Prepare a safety program which would pay workers for
   accident-free employment.

4. Provide orientation and reorientation programs for workers
   to allow an overview of how each process fits into the
   overall operation of the foundry--so workers might know
   and be able to take some pride in what they produce. This
   should incorporate rotation in assignment to alleviate
   boredom.

5. Release the union so that it can assume the function of
   building for workers both larger freedoms and responsi-
   bilities. The output of workers is clearly central to a
   successful operation anyway, only their output at present
   is tied to their dependence, their feeling of being trapped
   rather than any sense of belonging to a team.

6. For general improvement in conditions, there was need for
   a much more human personnel administration that would take
   into account the manner in which the worker experiences
   his tasks.

The report of these suggestions to management did stimula:e
interest and the foundry expressed interest in the participant's return.
So too waa interest expressed by the firm's consulting metallurgist,
who had established the contact between the Institute of Human Relations
and the foundry. In conversations with him, it became clear that many
opportunities existed for advancement of those who would go on to study
metallurgy at the college level. Arrangements were made for the parti-
cipant to go to the university at Madison to see the metallurgy depart-
ment and to meet with Professor D. This venture ended in a second in-
cident, in which the participant was informed that he really had not
fully appreciated the opportunity that had been extended to him. In
the participant's words:

> Dr. C. asked me what happened at the foundry, and I began to
> explain. Professor D. burst into the conversation, "Your
> problem is that you are impudent!" I kept my cool but was
> bugged. He tried to prove it, I answered and argued, but
> only futilely.

In a later conversation with the participant and Mr. L. (who
was present during the above), the following account was given:

> The participant said, "I got really bugged, he turned me off."
> Mr. W. added that there were racial overtones, "Because you
> are Negro helped. Professor D. saw it as your problem and
> your culture. He thought much the same things of me save for
> the cultural element--problems of age, questions, rebellion."
> The participant went on, "He doubted my ability to know what
> the scope was or what info was on hand or to make the right
> judgment. He said, 'Who are you to judge, you weren't there
> to exercise judgment, you were there to learn and to do what
> you were told.' He said to Dr. C., 'Barriers to employment--
> look at him, there is the barrier, right?' I said, 'Right
> there is the problem--degrading, insensitive, unaware.' He
> took the stand that management takes, you don't challenge
> authority.

It seems unlikely that young, vigorous, newly self-aware, self-reliant and challenging black men are going to adapt to the caste system of white-collar work. It is a conclusion of this study that the caste arrangements of white-collar work constitute a major barrier for individuals who have been deeply affected by their experience in the black ghetto, and who are involved in a renaissance of initiative and challenge to the inequities of American white-dominated society.

It seems likely that there may be little equal employment opportunity for blacks until there are career openings for white male and females now on the job. The conditions necessary to upgrade the status of clerical workers are strikingly similar to the reforms needed to open white-collar employment to non-whites.

EDUCATION: A STUDY OF IDEOLOGY

In Chapter II of this report was given the results of a detailed study of the Milwaukee Schools. Three questions were the focus of attention of that report:

1. Does the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, with the assistance of the Office of the Superintendent of Schools, carry out a deliberate program of segregating teachers and children?

2. Does the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, with the cooperation of the Office of the Superintendent of Schools, offer to the non-white children of Milwaukee inferior programs and facilities for schooling?

3. Does the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, with the cooperation of the Office of Superintendent of Schools, administer a disastrously failing program of schooling for the black children of Milwaukee?

These are not easy questions to answer. If posed to school officials, the answers would surely be: There is no segregation of children or of teachers; all schools are provided with equal facilities,

except that the schools in the Milwaukee "core" may have some special

advantages; satisfactory educational progress is being achieved in all

of the schools of the city. If the questions were posed to critics of

the Milwaukee schools, the answer would be dramatic: The Milwaukee Board

of Directors are practicing educational genocide on the children in the

black community.

In the study reported in Chapter II, an attempt was made to

look behind public positions and, on the basis of the scrutiny of objec-

tive data, determine what was happening in Milwaukee schools. Careful

attention was given to the following:*

1. All available publications of the Milwaukee Board of
   School Directors dealing with the educational problems
   of Milwaukee's non-white community.

2. Reports of the testing programs of the Milwaukee Public
   Schools.

3. Reports of the building programs of the Milwaukee Public
   Schools.

4. Minutes of the meetings of the Milwaukee Board of School
   Directors.

5. Public Statements of Milwaukee School Officials.

6. Statistical reports of pupil attendance, course offerings,
   and teacher turnover that are made available through the
   Office of the Superintendent of Schools and the State of
   Wisconsin.

7. The reports of public and private organizations dealing
   with the Milwaukee Schools.

8. Records of interviews with children, parents, teachers,
   administrators, and central office personnel.

As a result of examining the decisions that were made, the

records that were kept, and the statistical and policy reports that were

published, the following conclusions were reported:

See the footnotes for Chapter II, pp. 76 ff.

1. The Milwaukee Board of School Directors deliberate.y seg-
   regate the children and teachers in Milwaukee schools.

2. The Milwaukee Board of School Directors offer inferior
   facilities and programs of schooling to the black children
   of Milwaukee.

3. Schooling in the black community of Milwaukee is in a
   calamitous state of failure.

These conclusions were based on an interpretation of public data and not

on the testimony of school officials or critics of the Milwaukee schools.

Although the rhetoric of the Office of the Superintendent of Schools is

clear, it seems to have little bearing on the practice of education in

Milwaukee:

> For these reasons, I would wish to set the record straight.
> We are proud of our teachers and principals. We are pleased
> with what is being accomplished in all of our schools during
> these trying times of such tremendous change: social, economic,
> scientific, technological, and other types of change. We stand
> behind our staff with complete confidence and we would say to
> them--so that the entire community might know our sentiments:
> 'You have willingly accepted the challenges of some very diffi-
> cult tasks and, through good teaching, you have achieved very
> satisfactory results.' (Italics added.)[146]

The decision to segregate the Milwaukee schools appears to be

a political choice that was deliberate, clever, legalistic, and largely

successful. The decision probably represents the will of the white

community. Interviews with members of the Board suggest that they are

totally confident that their views were supported by the large majority

of the citizens of Milwaukee. One of the most devoted advocates of the

policies that sustain segregation was once re-elected (by her report)

with the largest majority in the history of board elections. In a

recent election, the leading opponent of segregation of the Board was

defeated.

Although the decision to segregate the Milwaukee schools ap-

pears to be deliberate, the calamity in black schools is more complex.

Incapacity or incompetence, rather than design seem to create the dis-

aster in black schools. It is more than incapacity: it is unrelenting,

insistent, unintelligent incapacity. The record of disaster in black

schools is well documented and public. But year after year the Milwaukee

School system has enforced an approach to schooling that was known to

have failed in the past, was continuing to fail and would likely fail

in the future. An established treatment for failure was administered

every year by the Milwaukee schools and year after year the results were

assured: disaster for black children. Not only do the schools not serve

the children in the black community, but there is a demand that they fail

in the future in precisely the ways they have failed in the past. How

does this unrelenting incapacitation arise? How is it sustained? What

is its future?

The situation in Milwaukee appears to be this:

1. There is a Board of School Directors that is controlled
    by individuals who are committed to a policy of segre-
    gating children and teachers.

2. There is a professional staff that implements (and by
    inference supports) the political decision to segregate.

3. There is calamity in black schools that is planned, ad-
    ministered and defined as satisfactory by white profes-
    sionals.

Milwaukee school officials implement a policy of segregation while they

express great concern for the social problems of the black community;

these schoolmen are legally and officially responsible for the educa-

tional calamity in the black community, and their experience, expertise,

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and complicity in segregation commit them to the policies that create

the disaster. Their situation is difficult, conflictful, perhaps even

tragic.

How will this tragedy be resolved? Will the turbulence, con-

flict, and tension test their courage and lead to the development of a

new resolve to face and deal with the problems of learning to be found

in the Milwaukee schools, or will Milwaukee schoolmen be inclined to

retreat into rationalizations that will protect their status, their

power, and their self-image of goodwill? Of course there can be no

final answer to this question. The cowardice of today may turn into

courage tomorrow. But what was happening then, at the time of this

study, to the men responsible for education in Milwaukee?

In order to explore this question--in order to have a per-

spective with which to view: a) the many publications of the Milwaukee

School System, b) the public statements of Milwaukee School Officials,

and c) interviews with principals, teachers and other school officials,

contrasting postures regarding the causes and the responsibilities and

the possible remedies of educational difficulties have to be clearly

identified. One approach to problems of urban education shall be called

the Method of the Comforting Myth; and another approach shall be called

the Method of Professional Accountability. Using these two perspectives

as if they were a form of vision, the publications, statements, and

conversation of Milwaukee schoolmen will be appraised.

The Method of Professional Accountability may be thought of

as attempted intelligence where wisdom has failed. Intelligence is

the capacity to learn from experience, discard educational treatments

that have failed, to re-think the customs of the past and to learn

every day from the experience of the day.

According to this view, schools are in the business of serv-

ing children, all children, regardless of their past, their problems,

and their private circumstances. The challenge of the profession is

to develop many kinds of educational treatments and services for the

many different children who come to school. The notion of school can

be transformed to mean many different things. No fixed notion of

teacher, student, material, activity, or management routine is immune

from scrutiny and adaptation in order to serve children. An educational

treatment (such as a high school mathematics program) that is ineffec-

tive and does not work should be abandoned or altered, for learning

children ought to be served by any program; children owe nothing to a

program that does not work. Children cannot fail an educational treat-

ment, but educational treatments, programs, and professionals can fail

to be effective with children.

The practice of Professional Accountability deals with re-

sponsibility in these ways:

1. It assigns responsibility to the responsible: the profes-
   sionals who are paid to provide useful services to children.

2. It makes the responsible accountable: if the services are
   ineffective, they are at fault; they and not the children
   have failed.

3. It subjects the practices of schooling to careful descrip-
   tion and study: what is effective and helpful in school-
   ing? What is not? Why?

All children are compelled by law to attend school and, because

of that compulsion, the schools are ethically obligated to serve effec-

tively every child who attends. The demands of intelligence require a

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scholarship that investigates the dynamics of school life and their ef-

fects on children, teachers, parents, and administrators. Schools are

problematic, variable, and under the control of those who are respon-

sible, while children, in a sense, are simply _given_. Just as doctors

may not choose to give one treatment to all patients regardless of

their illness, so professionals in education who are accountable must

develop many different kinds of educational treatments in order to

serve effectively all of the different children who are compelled by

law to submit themselves to the public schools.

The approach of professional accountability works in these

ways:

1. It fixes the causes of school troubles on the organization
   and structure of schools, and not on the children who
   happen to come.

2. It directs research to study how school organizations
   succeed and fail with different children, and not on what
   kind of children fail to respond to the standard educa-
   tional treatment.

3. It proposes that the remedy to school troubles lies in
   creating various kinds of educational environments to
   serve different children, and not seeking to adapt
   children to the standard educational treatment.

4. It affirms an obligation to be effective and helpful with
   all children with some educational treatments, and not
   routinely fail--and persist in that failure--with custom-
   ary treatment.

This method is challenging, exciting, and demanding, but it

offers no panacea for difficult social problems. Intelligence and

hard work have developed treatments for cancer and many other serious

diseases. It is likely that intelligence and work will develop many

effective approaches to the wide variety of educational problems that

children bring to school. Without the commitment and search, there
will be no discovery. This notion of commitment is intrinsic in Pro-
fessional Accountability.

Education today may best be thought of as a kind of "patent"
medicine. There is one treatment; every child gets approximately the
same dosage. For some it seems to do some good, for some it seems to
do no harm, and for some it is clearly poison. The basic question
facing cities like Milwaukee is this: are they going to initiate seri-
ous thought about their educational problems or are they going to per-
sist a few more years in a "patent" medicine, single-treatment approach
to learning?

The Method of Professional Accountability is a challenge to
the conventions, expertise, and ethics of "patent" medicine, while
what has been called the Method of the Comforting Myth is a rational-
ization for its use.

The essential function of Comforting Myth is the creation of
a story that makes those who are responsible (the professionals) help-
less victims of circumstance, and makes those who are victims (minority
children) resolutely responsible for whatever difficulties the schools
face.

There is such a myth: it is called Cultural Deprivation.
Cultural Deprivation, as a myth, lightens the burden of responsibility,
undermines accountability, and assuages whatever feelings of guilt and
unease its believers may have. The myth has the following effects:

    1. It fixes the causes of school troubles on the difficulties
       of children and their families, and not on the professionals
       who operate the schools.

2. It directs research to study these causes, and not the functional characteristics of the schools.

3. It proposes that the remedy for school trouble lies in making children ready for the standard school treatment, and not creating and evaluating many different school treatments for the many different children.

4. It affirms the expectation that "education" will be in-effective with many children, and does not affirm any obligation to succeed.

The myth of Cultural Deprivation provides an effective solu-tion to professional educators who wish to seek rationalizations for their failures. Dramatically:

1. It makes victims responsible and the responsible into victims.

2. It preserves professionals from accountability.

3. It excuses the policies, practices, and the institution of schooling from study and scrutiny.

Belief in this myth can provide oppressed city educators with deep consolation and an opportunity for professional scholarship; it can occupy all their time so that they will never have to challenge or even consider the institutions that create the conditions they so humanely deplore.

The most important function of the Comforting Myth is that it obscures responsibility:

1. No one is responsible for the calamity in black schools. These are children whom the professionals can ethically fail.

2. No one is accountable. Good intentions legitimate failure. It is only necessary to have compassion.

3. The schools are ignored as subjects of critical inquiry. Voyeurism into the social difficulties of black families is a scholarship of despair that leads to no action by the schools and preserves the status quo.

The triumph of the Comforting Myth is its obfuscation of
calamity by making it intelligible, its distortion of responsibility
by assigning it to the powerless, and its assistance to professionals
by legitimatizing their power. This myth is essential to the profes-
sionals who are responsible for calamities about which they choose to
do nothing, for they are well intentioned and kindly men. If they are
to live with their complicity and retain their humanistic self-regard,
they must be absolved of responsibility and permitted the salvation of
unreserved expression of compassion.

For the reasons discussed in Chapter III of this report, this
study postulated that the white educational establishment in Milwaukee
will absolve itself of any culpability in the destruction of black
children's lives by adhering avidly to the Comforting Myth and eschewing
rigorously the role of Professional Accountability:

> Whites in their educational efforts on behalf of black children
> actually function to preserve the status quo in education.

Four basic hypotheses were derived from this postulate. They
formed the basis of the examination of the management of education in
the Milwaukee Schools:

1. Educational leaders in Milwaukee will affirm their human-
   istic concern for the poor unfortunate black children who
   attend Milwaukee Schools. (This will help legitimatize
   their lack of accountability.)

2. Educational leaders in Milwaukee will not accept respon-
   sibility for the failure of black students to perform
   well in school. (By making themselves victims and by
   making the powerless responsible, professionals deny
   their own responsibility.)

3. Milwaukee educators will devote much of their time and
   effort to describing the social pathology of the black
   community. (By directing attention to the problems of
   the black community, they preserve white institutions
   from critical study.)

4. Milwaukee educators will systematically avoid the scrutiny
    of the formal organization of schools and the likely con-
    sequences of that organization. (By preserving the exist-
    ing white institutions from scrutiny, they maintain the
    status quo in education. Research is an expression of
    power: the weak, the victims, the helpless are studied:
    children, prostitutes, delinquents, and sometimes teach-
    ers. The strong, the powerful, the relevant--the estab-
    lishment--are immune to study and thus they maintain their
    privileges.)

As these hypotheses became the focus of attention and ways of

studying them were being considered, another hypothesis almost forced

itself into consideration.

These hypotheses not only have relevance to Milwaukee but to

big city education generally. The reason for the existence of the

Comforting Myth is that many educators in great American cities are

being harassed and subjected to tensions that might lead to systematic

rationalization. The Comforting Myth did not have its origins in

Milwaukee. There is a rather large professional literature that deals

with it. There are men and wome.. in the profession who have developed

careers in its ministry.

If the Comforting Myth has replaced thought in urban educa-

tion, then much of the professional literature will have become liturgy.

If it has become liturgy in the Comforting Mythology, it will:

1. Explore the qualities of its victims--children, teachers,
    and other powerless people. Research is an expression of
    power.

2. Preserve the existing institutions and power relations
    from scrutiny by engaging professionals in harmless acti-
    vities. For the powerful are not to be studied and the
    white institutions are to be preserved in the status quo.

On the basis of these consider. tions, the hypothesis was for-

mulated that much of the literature dealing with urban problems has

become a liturgy in the Comforting Mythology. The following were for-

mal hypotheses that directed our examination of a sample of professional

writing about urban problems:

1. Research into urban problems will focus attention upon the
    pathology of black people and the powerless.

2. There will be little, if any, research into the formal or-
    ganization of public schools and much attention to non-
    institutional aspects of schooling.

The postulate about the social meaning of white educational

effort was investigated by posing four simple questions and then seeking

their answers in the multitude of publications of the Milwaukee schools,

and in interviews and informal conversations with Milwaukee school offi-

cials. These are the questions that directed the attention of this

aspect of the Barriers study:

1. How do Milwaukee school people talk about their hopes and
    intentions in black schools?

2. How do they explain and interpret the difficulties that
    black children experience in school?

3. Do they give a great deal of attention to the presumed
    pathology of the black community?

4. Are they willing to re-examine the workings of the formal
    organization of the Milwaukee schools?

Hundreds of pages of publications were carefully studied, and

records of conversations and interviews were examined in detail. The

results of this study will be discussed in relationship to each question.

In order to test the hypothesis that the professional litera-

ture had become a liturgy in the Comforting Mythology, four prominent

books dealing with urban education were selected for study. Each con-

tribution in these four books was carefully examined. Two questions were

asked of each piece of writing:

1. Does the contribution focus attention upon the fo mal organization of the public schools?

2. Does the contribution focus attention upon the powerless, the deprived children, teachers, and the black community; does it direct attention away from the sources of responsibility and power.

If most or all of the writings deal with the powerless, then the hypothesis about the function of research and the professional literature will have some support. In this report each of the questions that has been discussed will be individually examined and related to appropriate data.

The Hopes and Intentions of Milwaukee School People. In order to explore the hypothesis that a preoccupation of Milwaukee schoolmen will be to express sympathetic concern for the unfortunate children of the Milwaukee black community, the following question was posed:

How do Milwaukee school people talk about their hopes and intentions for black schools?

As material published by the Milwaukee schools was read, as records of interviews and conversations were evaluated, these directions focused observations:

1. Do they expect to be effective?	OR...	Do they expect to be ineffective?
2. If they expect to be ineffective, are they discontent? troubled? worried?	OR...	If they expect to be ineffective, are they content and satisfied?
3. Is their compassion connected with some responsibility, some accountability?	OR...	Is their compassion not connected with a search for alternatives, accountability?

After examining extensive publications and records, the data could only be interpreted one way:

1. Milwaukee school people do not expect to be effective with
   black children. They are not expected to read at grade
   level; they are expected to follow "unacademic" school
   careers.

2. Milwaukee school people are quite content with their own
   ineffective performance. It is regarded as normal that
   black children should do badly in school. There is nothing
   in their inferior performance that should worry anyone.
   The cure of time, of generations, is the only viable solu-
   tion to the educational difficulties of the black community.

3. Milwaukee school people express extraordinary concern for
   the difficulties of black children. The school people want
   to be kind, personally helpful, and compassionate, but no
   evidence was found that this compassion called for initia-
   tive, inventiveness, or the exercise of responsibility by
   school people. The compassion was an expression of des-
   pair and not a direction to exercise professional abilities
   in new and appropriate ways.

The intention of the Milwaukee school people seemed to be to

keep the Milwaukee schools just as they are--by inference, almost perfect

as such institutions go--and to develop special programs that might help

certain children do better in the standard schools, and then to commis-

erate with the overwhelming majority of black students who do very badly

indeed.

The hopes and intentions of the Milwaukee school people seem

to be to be kind to children who cannot be expected to learn and for

whom one can only have compassion for their troubles and limitations.

Interpretations of the Difficulties of Black Children. In or-

der to explore the hypothesis that Milwaukee educators would take no

responsibility for the poor academic showing of children in the predomi-

nately black schools, the following question was explored:

How do they explain and interpret the difficulties that black
children experience in Milwaukee schools?

The Milwaukee school system has published a really vast literature deal-

ing with school problems of the non-white community. As this literature

and the records of conversations and interviews were scrutinized, the

following concerns focused our observations:

1. Is the cause of the   OR...   Is the cause of the
   school troubles of   school troubles of non-
   non-white children   white children thought
   thought to be in any   to be the children them-
   way a result of the   selves or their family
   organization, struc-   and home lives?
   ture, and operation
   of the schools?

2. Is failure--chronic   OR...   Is chronic failure a
   failure--a cause of   cause of little concern:
   concern: are the   are the schools not
   schools accountable   accountable? If children
   to the children who   fail, there is no need to
   do not do well in   re-think the educational
   school?   treatment they receive.

3. Are there NO children   OR...   Are there some children
   the schools can ethically   whom the schools can
   fail?   ethically fail?

The data are clear. Milwaukee school people passionately affirm the

Comfortable Myth:

1. The only causes of the school troubles of non-white children
   are their own limitations, their backgrounds, their impov-
   erished culture.

2. The schools are not accountable to black children; if they
   do badly, it is their misfortune. The schools offer a
   sound program; the children did not respond to excellent
   treatment.

3. There are children whom the system can ethically fail.

Every publication, record, and public statement affirms the

same simple message: The schools are doing very well! Unfortunately,

sadly, helplessly, the children are failing. No one is accountable. No

one is responsible. The adult white educational establishment is a help-

less victim and there is nothing it can do; the situation is beyond its
control; the unkempt, powerless, troubled children of the black community
are adamant in their will not to learn.

The Comforting Myth has rendered powerful men weak, well-inten-
tioned men indifferent, and compassionate men irresponsible while the
black children suffer.

The Pathology of the Black Community and the Formal Organization
of the Milwaukee Schools

The hypotheses regarding these two factors were explored joint-
ly. The following two questions were the foci of attention;

Do the schools give a great deal of attention to the
presumed pathology of the black community?

Are they willing to re-examine the workings of the
formal organization of the Milwaukee Schools?

The hypotheses affirmed that Milwaukee educators were preoccupied
with the pathology of the black community because it took their attention
away from the workings of the institutions for which they were officially
responsible. The more they become involved with the troubles and conflicts
of the black community, the less they were aware of the formal and infor-
mal workings of the Milwaukee schools. As each statement about schooling
for the black community was examined, it was categorized in one of the
following two ways:

1. Do the statements and reports focus atten- tion on the powerless, the minority groups, the difficulties of the black community?	OR...	Do the statements and reports focus attention on the responsible, the powerful, the operations of the institutions of the white educational organization?

> 2. Do the statements and   OR...   Do the statements suggest
>   reports suggest that   that Milwaukee schoolmen
>   the Milwaukee schoolmen   would avoid rethinking
>   are willing to rethink   and making problematic
>   the structure of educa-   the present structure of
>   tional practice?   educational practice?

The position of Milwauk⋯ ⋅choolmen is absolutely clear; the data are overwhelming:

1. The focus of attention on the educational difficulties of the children of the black community is specifically directed toward the pathology of the black community.

2. There is an absolute unwillingness to reconsider, reevaluate, or render problematic the operations of the Milwaukee schools.

These views were clear in interviews with school personnel, in conversations with central office staff, and in publications of the Milwaukee schools.

In view of the success of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors in its thoughtful efforts to segregate the Milwaukee schools and the failure of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors in its efforts to provide effective schools for children of the black community, it is not difficult to understand the abandonment of the objective of integration by many leaders of the black community. If integration is not to be, if The Man is going to have his way, then he cannot also have life and death control over the forcibly segregated black schools in black communities. If there is to be segregation, then many leaders in the black community argue, responsibility must be segregated as well.

On the basis of the findings of this study, it seems reasonable to believe that the failure of the black schools developed because belief in the Comforting Myth, in a self-fulfilling prophecy, made failure with black children the normal expectation. The failure in black schools was

sustained because complicity in segregation and preoccupation with a

scholarship of despair made the rethinking of institutional practice

not only unnecessary but inconceivable. The future of this failure,

however, is insecure. It is likely that conflicts in the future will

be over the quality of educational services and community control. The

practice of white educational institutions routinely failing black

children is likely to become intolerable in black communities. Pres-

sures from the black community to regulate its own institutions will be

resisted. The white educational establishment under this new pressure

will, as always, seek to preserve its position, defend its perquisite,

and legitimatize its power as an expression of human kindness. It is

unlikely that this expression of kindness will be indefinitely toler-

ated by segregated black communities. The Comforting Myth is likely to

have serious critics in Milwaukee and elsewhere.

THE PROFESSIONAL LITERATURE AS LITURGY

Education is a massive, bureaucratic, expensive public enter-

prise. Thousands of individuals have worked diligently to achieve sta-

tus, power, self-regard, and affluence in school systems in various

cities and states in the nation. Thousands of individuals have pursued

graduate studies, have become faculty members of schools of education

and consultants and spokesmen for public schools. This is a vast polit-

ical system, jealous of its rights, its privileges, its status and de-

voted to the preservation of its powers.

The educational organizations of the great American cities are

particularly monolithic, inbred, and resistant to change. At the same

time, in the great cities of the country one can find the most massive

and calamitous failures of public education, the most bitter conflicts

about the conduct of schooling, and the most disturbing racial tensions.

A white educational elite has been responsible for educational programs

that have been largely ineffective in black communities.

This white educational elite can be expected to seek to pre-

serve its position, its power, and its self-regard. This is difficult

to do if most schools are failing and some are in chaos.

It has been found that in the city of Milwaukee there is

evidence to suggest that what has been called the Comforting Myth has

performed these functions for Milwaukee educators:

1. It has preserved the existing institutions from scrutiny
    and study.

2. It has focused the attention of research and public dis-
    cussion on the problems of the weak, the powerless, and
    the vulnerable.

3. It has proposed that the solution to the educational
    difficulties of Milwaukee black children will come when
    the weak become strong, when the disorganized families
    become stable, and when the culturally deprived become
    fulfilled.

4. It has been suggested that until that time, schools will
    have to endure troubles that are not of their making and
    for which they are not responsible.

What the Myth has done for Milwaukee educators, it may also

do for other schoolmen in other cities and in the universities. It is

hypothesis of this study that the function of scholarship in education

is to preserve the powerful from scrutiny by subjecting the vulnerable

to endless investigation, and by engaging professionals in safe inves-

tigations that will never question the foundations of institutional

practice.

If research is an expression of power, then there are safe and
unsafe areas of study. Professionals must pursue the safe modes of in-
quiry and avoid the dangerous possibilities if they are to preserve
their securities, their self-regard.

Belief in the Comforting Myth makes the pursuit of scholarship
and the preservation of the status quo in education a comfortable achieve-
ment.

The Comforting Myth assures that:

1. It is safe to study children--particularly black and
   minority children--for they are powerless.

2. It is safe to study psychological processes, particularly
   abilities, developmental learning, concept attainment,
   the growth of language, and motivation, because no such
   inquiry threatens any aspect of the political establish-
   ment in education.

3. It is safe to study teachers and their characteristics
   because they are vulnerable members of the political
   system.

4. It is safe to talk about and to study various approaches
   to working with children as long as the political system
   of a school is unexamined, unquestioned, and unstudied;
   for research that does not question fundamentals, pro-
   vides protection from research that does.

Those who pursue the Comforting Myth preserve their position
in education; they protect the status quo and express compassionate con-
cern for the unfortunate children in black communities.

The mode of research that is unsafe has these characteristics:

1. It questions the political structure of the educational
   establishment.

2. It explores the effect of milieu on all members of educa-
   tional institutions.

3. It determines how schools are effective and how they are
   ineffective.

4. It seeks the creation of alternate milieu and of alter-
   nate institutions that might serve in different ways the
   varying interests of children.

5. It conceives of schools as problematic, contingent, and
   variable.

This is a dangerous mode of inquiry because it questions the

premises upon which the conduct of education is usually based and the

faith by which many educators live without reflection.

If the hypothesis regarding professional literature is sus-

tained by observing the four examples of publications which deal with

urban problems, then it would be expected that most of the writings will

report "safe" discussions. Of course not all professionals are white

and not all white professionals subscribe to the Myth, but if the Com-

fortable Myth predominates in educational thought, then most writings

will be of the "safe" variety.

Four books were scrutinized:

The Disadvantaged Child,[147]

Early Education,[148]

Teaching the Disadvantaged Child,[149] and

School Children in the Urban Slum.[150]

Even the titles of these books are suggestive. It is part of

the Comfortable Myth to speak of "The Drop-Out" rather than of the

"Failure Quotient" of a school, to talk about "Children" and not "Schools"

and to talk about "lack of motivation" rather than the variety and avail-

ability of learning situations. Each of the articles in each of the

above books was judged to be dealing with either a safe or unsafe topic

according to directions that specified safe and unsafe research and

discussion. The following are the findings of that study for each book:

The Disadvantaged Child

Safe articles: 33

Unsafe articles: 0

Ambiguous: 1

Total: 34

This book is particulary interesting because it systematical-
ly avoids the central problem of education: the interaction of children
with the school milieu. The section dealing with teaching was entirely
"safe" according to instructions for rating.

Early Education

Safe: 11

Unsafe: 0

Ambiguous: 1

             12

Although this book deals with early education, its focus was
on problems of urban education. Only one article even tangentially
dealt with the conduct of schooling.

Teaching the Disadvantaged

Safe: 14

Unsafe: 0

Ambiguous: 1

             15

Not a single article in this volume addressed itself to any
kind of fundamental problem.

School Children in The Urban Slum

Safe: 38

Unsafe: 5

Ambiguous: 0

           43

Not all of the articles that were categorized as "unsafe" dealt
profoundly with central problems of institutions, but they did at least
deal to some degree with the problem. The design of the book directed
attention away from the problems of institutions rather than towards them.
The acceptance of schools as unexamined givens was the basic approach of
this volume.

In summary over 90% of the contributions to these four books
directed attention away from the qualities of institutions and focused
attention upon the individual characteristics of powerless people. There
is substantial support of the hypothesis that the professional literature,
to a large extent, has become liturgy in the Comfortable Myth; it has
become a rationalization of the inability of the white educational elite
to cope with the failure of black schools.

The hypotheses of this study regarding the social meaning of
the intentions and actions of Milwaukee schoolmen and employers, and re-
garding the professional literature dealing with urban problems, have
been supported by findings of this study.

The implications of these findings with regard to the study
of Barriers to Employment in Milwaukee will be discussed in Chapter
Eight.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL AND WORK

This chapter is a comprehensive report of the results obtained
from the questionnaire which was administered to graduates of Milwaukee
high schools. There are four parts in the chapter: a review of the de-
sign of the questionnaire, demographic and biographic results from the
study, factor analyses of the attitude scales, and specific findings re-
garding the hypotheses enumerated in Chapter 3.

DESIGN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

Structure of the Questionnaire. The theoretical basis for
the preparation of the attitude items in the questionnaire was described
in Chapter 4. In format, the document contained four subsections:

A. Demographic and biographic (12 items),

B. Attitudes toward school (36 items),

C. Attitudes toward employment (36 items), and

D. Social attitudes (30 items).

All 102 attitude items were of the Likert scale variety,
ranging on a five-point response scale from "Strongly agree" to "Strong-
ly disagree." The entire questionnaire is given in this report as Ap-
pendix A.

Parallel structure existed between the section of school at-
titude items and the section of employment attitude items. Each section
had six subscales: three of these were designed to index three hypothe-
sized psychological reactions to the institutions of school and work;
and the other three were designed to reflect more specific reactions to

the Authority, Peer, and Work aspects of those institutions. Fur·her, the three psychological subscales--Meaninglessness, Boredom, and Power-lessness--were each comprised of three _general_ and three _specific_ items. That is, the substance of one item type would be stated in general and global terms, while items of the other type were stated in language which included more specific referents. This distinction between _gen-eral_ and _particular_ was motivated by the hypothesis that blacks may legitimatize their inferior social status through the device of partic-ularization. That is, it was felt that black respondents may disagree with the general premise that their jobs are meaningless or boring, while simultaneously affirming that specific aspects of their jobs are indeed meaningless and boring.

The structure of both the school and employment attitude sec-tions, then, was:

A. Meaninglessness
   1. General   (three items)
   2. Specific   (three items)

B. Boredom
   1. General   (three items)
   2. Specific   (three items)

C. Powerlessness
   1. General   (three items)
   2. Specific   (three items)

D. Reaction to Authority   (six items)

E. Reaction to Peers   (six items)

F. Reaction to Work   (six items)

The items for the School and Employment scales were constructed for maximal similarity, with respect to content as well as to structural

characteristics. With few exceptions, there were item-for-item counter-
parts between the two sets.

The thirty items of the Social Attitudes section of the ques-
tionnaire were also divided into six subscales. The theoretical moti-
vation for these subscales has been discussed in Chapter 4. The six
subscales and their item compositions were:

A. Constitutional Commitment   (10 items)

B. Equality   (4 items)

C. Puritan Morality   (4 items)

D. Social Change   (4 items)

E. Success   (4 items)

F. Sociality   (4 items)

Within each of these three distinct sections, items were pre-
sented in random order. The identity of questionnaire item numbers for
each subscale is given in Table 49.

In Table 49, 36 items are marked with asterisks to indicate
that they were negatively worded with respect to the label given the
underlying conceptual dimension. For example, Item 15 was assigned to
the set "School-Meaninglessness-General." The asterisk indicates, though,
that the statement asserted in general terms that school was meaningful
rather than meaningless. Thus a person would provide a maximum response
to the School-Meaninglessness-General dimension by answering "Strongly
disagree" (5) to Item 15. Such reverse-worded items were included as
an attempt to avoid consistent positive-negative response biases and to
utilize certain situational descriptions which seemed naturally to con-
tribute to the conceptual meaning of some of the subscales.

TABLE 49

Item Composition of the Attitude Questionnaire

Section	Subscale	Level	Items
School	Meaninglessness	General	15*,16,19
		Particular	18,25,37
	Boredom	General	24,26,32
		Particular	27,28,43
	Powerlessness	General	13,14,23
		Particular	36*,40*,44*
	Reaction to Authority		30,34,35,39*,46,47
	Reaction to Peers		17*,20*,21,22,29*,31*
	Reaction to Work		33,38*,41*,42*,45,48
Employment	Meaninglessness	General	57,60,63
		Particular	52,54*,68
	Boredom	General	58,61*,81
		Particular	56,64,74
	Powerlessness	General	77*,79,82
		Particular	66*,72*,80*
	Reaction to Authority		49,59*,65,69,75,84
	Reaction to Peers		51*,53*,55,71,76*,78*
	Reaction to Work		50*,62,67,70,73,83
Social	Constitutional Commitment		86*,87,88,91*,92*,95*, 96*,100*,101*,110*
	Equality		90*,98,99,108
	Puritan Morality		103,104,106,114
	Social Change		89*,94,109,111
	Success		85,102,112,113
	Sociality		93*,97,105,107

* Indicates item worded negatively with respect to underlying conceptual dimension.

Sampling Respondents. Respondents to the questionnaire were

selected according to a proportionate stratified random sampling plan

in which stratifiers were School, Year of Graduation, Race, and Sex.

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Graduates from six Milwaukee high schools were chosen to be in
the sample. These six schools varied in racial composition from 99%
white to 99% black. Two of the schools were, in 1966, very close to
evenly divided between Negro and white students; one school was more
than 99% white and one more than 99% black; one was about 75% black and
one about 75% white.

Three graduating classes were selected from each of these
schools. A range of six years was spanned by these three classes in
order to assure a variety of post-high school work experiences among the
respondents. The years chosen were 1961, 1964, and 1966.

Race and sex of all members of each of the 18 graduating
classes (as defined by three years and six schools) were determined by
examination of the 18 indicated high school yearbooks. The population
figures for these 18 classes, also stratified by race and sex, were de-
termined. The initial sample size for the questionnaire study was set
at 500 persons, which were distributed proportionately according to in-
tersections of the stratifying variables. This distribution of fre-
quencies by School, Race, and Year cells in the sampling design is given
in Table 50.

Lists of names were prepared to correspond to each cell in the
sampling design. The specified number of names in each cell was drawn
at random from the list of names for the population. In addition, five
more names were drawn to comprise a back-up sample for the purpose of
replacing non-respondents. Current addresses were then traced for all
681 randomly selected names which comprised the primary and back-up
samples. Sources for these current addresses included school records

TABLE 50

Questionnaire Study Sampling Plan

School	Negro 1961	1964	1966	White 1961	1964	1966	Proportion
A	27	36	33	0	0	0	.192
B	12	13	13	11	11	12	.144
C	10	12	12	12	12	11	.138
D	7	13	13	11	12	16	.144
E	6	11	14	10	12	12	.129
F	0	0	0	45	42	40	.253
							1.000
Total	62	85	85	89	89	91	N = 501
Male	29	38	41	48	48	46	M = 250
Female	33	47	44	41	41	45	F = 251

(from the year of graduation), telephone books, city directories, the

U.S. Army, family contacts, and personal acquaintances.

The items for the questionnaire and the lists of names, ad-

dresses, and telephone numbers were given to personnel at the Survey

Research Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin in Madison (SRL),

which maintains a corps of staff members in Milwaukee. The SRL mailed

the questionnaires and attended to the follow-up procedures for non-

respondents. Two follow-up efforts were made for each person who failed

to respond: a new copy of the questionnaire was mailed; if still no

response was received after two more weeks, the person was telephoned

(if his telephone number was known) or sent a postcard reminder.

Results of the returned questionnaire were coded and punched

onto cards by SRL staff. The final tally of respondents who returned

completed questionnaires is given in Table 51.

TABLE 51

Frequencies of Respondents to the Questionnaire Study

School	1961	Negro 1964	1966	1961	White 1964	1966	Proportion
A	8	13	12	0	0	0	.147
B	6	7	2	6	6	4	.139
C	6	3	4	6	7	7	.147
D	4	5	9	5	6	8	.165
E	3	3	8	3	5	4	.116
F	0	0	0	21	25	18	.286
Total	27	31	35	41	49	41	N = 224
Male	10	12	13	18	19	20	M = 92
Female	17	19	22	23	30	21	F = 132

A comparison of Tables 50 and 51 yields three basic points
about the efficacy of the sampling plan in terms of possible effects on
the interpretations of the results. First, the proportions of respondents
by school are about the same as the proportions specified in the sampling
plan. Thus biases due to differences between schools are not expected,
for the response rate was about the same across the six schools. Second,
the general response rate was quite low: about 45%. In no strict re-
spect can these 224 respondents be considered a random sample, of either
the initial population of 18 graduating classes or of the initial
primary and back-up sampling lists of 681 persons. Thus the results
may be biased in favor of low-mobility, sympathetic, and cooperative
individuals. Third, the response rate was considerably higher for fe-
males (53%) than for males (37%). Thus the results may be biased to
favor the female perceptual viewpoint, if such exists.

MODES OF DATA ANALYSIS

The analyses which will be explicated in the remainder of this chapter are of three types: summaries of the biographic and demographic information secured from the questionnaire are summarized in tabular form; the information existing in all the item responses is reduced to a smaller number of underlying variables by employing factor analyses; and selected sample subgroup comparisons are drawn to reflect on the hypotheses stated and discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Biographic and Demographic Data. Information of this type was obtained from the first twelve items (that is, all the non-attitude items) of the questionnaire. Besides name, address, sex, and age, this information fell into categories of educational and marital history, armed forces service, post-high school education, and employment history. Summary frequencies of these categories are tabulated in the next section of this chapter, to more fully describe the sample of respondents.

Factor Analyses. Two independent factor analyses were executed on the attitude item responses. The first of these was designed in such a way that the 18 subscales of the questionnaire were bound to retain their a priori defined identity, but the items of a subscale were combined into a linear composite so that each person might have only one score for each subscale. The steps in this analysis were these:

A. Compute the means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the items that comprised a subscale.

B. Compute the principal component[151] of the items which comprise a subscale. Thus the single largest factor from a principal components analysis is a weighted linear composite of the set of input items for that subscale.

C. Compute the factor scores--that is, the scores for all
individuals on the derived composite variable--for the
principal component representing the subscale, transform-
ing the scores into z-score format.

D. Compute the intercorrelations of the set of 18 indepen-
dent principal components.

E. Perform an Image analysis[152] on this matrix of principal
component intercorrelations. This reduces the informa-
tion contained in the set of 18 principal components to
a very small number of basic factors which may be used to
differentiate sample subgroups.

F. Rotate the significant factors by means of Kaiser's
Varimax[153] technique, and compute factor scores for in-
dividuals on these rotated Image factors.

These steps produced four Image factors. These four factors

provided scores for individuals which, along with other scores obtained

separately and according to the a priori definitions of subscales, were

used in the subgroup comparisons.

The second set of factor analyses were performed to examine

empirically the structure of factors underlying the attitude questions,

and to compare this empirical structure with the a priori structure of

subscales. The steps involved in this set of analyses were:

A. Compute the intercorrelations of all attitude items com-
prising a major section of the questionnaire.

B. Perform a complete principal components analysis on the
set of items.

C. Rotate the significant factors of the components analysis
by means of both Varimax and Orthoblique[154] rotational
techniques.

These steps were performed separately for each of the three

attitude sections of the questionnaire. Thus, the computations generated

a set of orthogonal factors and a set of correlated factors as empirical

underlying structures for School Attitudes, for Employment Attitudes,
and for Social Attitudes.

Subgroup Comparisons. Two categories of information were
treated as dependent variables in this set of comparisons. The first
category was made up of the a priori defined subscales of the question-
naire, where a person's score on a subscale was determined simply by
adding together his responses to the items constructed to represent that
subscale. The second category of dependent variables was made up of the
four orthogonal Image factors, the derivation of which is described
above.

Several of the biographic-demographic distinctions were chosen
as independent variables for the subgroup comparisons. Four of these,
of course, were the variables which had been used as stratifiers in
selecting respondents: school, year of graduation, race, and sex. Two
other variables were related to the hypotheses of the study, and so were
also isolated as independent variables. These were post-secondary edu-
cation and job skill level.

The procedures for making subgroup comparisons include t-tests
and analyses of variance, as well as graphic methods.

BIOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARIES

The categories of information which are summarized in this
section include marital, armed forces service, post-secondary education,
and employment data.

Marital and Armed Forces Experience. Data of these categories
were secured by item 5 and item 6 of the questionnaire. The results are
summarized in Table 52 for subgroups of race and year of graduation.

TABLE 52

Summary of Marital Status and Armed Forces Experience (Percent)

	1961		1964		1966	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Marital						
Married	48	71	36	47	14	12
Not Married	52	29	64	53	86	88
Armed Forces						
Have Served	19	24	13	47	14	7
Not Served	81	71	87	53	86	91
Not Determined	0	5	0	0	0	2
Number of Respondents	27	41	31	49	35	41

There is a marked discrepancy between black and white respondents with respect to the rate of acceleration in the tendency to get married as time passes. Also, there appears to be a substantial difference in armed forces service history: proportionately more white than Negro respondents had served, especially for 1964 graduates. It is recalled from Table 50, however, that only about 45% of 1964 Negro respondents were males, whereas 54% of 1964 white respondents were male. Further, 1964 graduates had been out of school for just three years at the time these data were collected. Thus they were of just the right age to have been drafted and about half way through their military careers--probably in Viet Nam--when the questionnaires were mailed. It is hypothesized that many non-respondents were not reached or did not respond because of their existing affiliation with the armed forces.

Post-Secondary Education. Data relevant to post-secondary education was obtained from questionnaire items 9, 10, and 11. The

TABLE 53

Summary of Incidence of Post-Secondary Education (Percent)

	1961		1964		1966	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Currently in College, University, Vocational or Technical School	4	20	26	22	37	34
Attended College or University since High School Graduation	33	39	32	43	40	39
Attended Vocational or Technical School since High School Graduation	74	32	42	22	29	12
Number of Respondents	27	41	31	49	35	41

summary of persons who elected some form of post-secondary education is given here as Table 53.

From examination of these data--and particularly the data for 1961 Negro respondents--it is clear that the university population and the technical school population are not mutually exclusive. Some students try both types of education. The incidence of attendance at college is somewhat higher for white than for black students; the incidence of technical school attendance is much higher for black than for white students. The implication is that proportionately larger numbers of black students obtain some form of higher education; this is mitigated, however, by the probability that a greater ratio of white high school graduates go directly into full-time jobs.

A second point of interest with respect to post-secondary education is the distribution of subject areas of concentration of respondents who did enter into post-secondary education. The relevant summary is presented in Table 54.

TABLE 54

Summary of Areas of Study for Respondents with Post-
Secondary Education (Percent for all Graduating Classes)

Type of Education and Area of Concentration	Negro	White
College or University		
Physical Sciences	7	15
Social Sciences	21	11
Health Sciences	9	9
Humanities	21	19
Education	21	19
Undetermined	21	23
Number	33	53
Vocational or Technical		
Professional	26	48
Clerical	53	24
Crafts	5	10
Services	12	14
Undetermined	4	4
Number	43	29
Total Number of Respondents With Some Higher Education	76	82

Table 54 indicates that the predominate difference between college-attending blacks and college-attending whites of this sample appears to lie in their respective emphases on the physical and social sciences. Relatively more blacks choose social sciences, whereas the whites tend to prefer the physical sciences. In technical and vocational schools, there is a significant race-aligned split between training programs for professional and clerical positions. Among white respondents, students chose professional over clerical programs by a two-to-one margin; exactly the opposite was true for black students.

Employment Data. Information regarding employment was obtained from responses to items 7, 8, and 12. Data regarding the incidence of

TABLE 55

Summary of Incidence of Employment (Percent)

Employment Status	1961		1964		1966	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Employed Full-time	67	73	64	59	51	61
Employed Part-time	4	5	10	13	29	12
Not Employed	29	22	26	31	20	27
Number of Respondents	27	41	31	49	35	41

full-time and part-time employment and unemployment are reported in

Table 55.

Employment rates do not vary considerably, in view of the

probable error due to small sample size and low return rate. As well,

the attenuation of employment rates among whites who graduated in 1964

and 1966 may well be due to their greater attendance at colleges and

universities. It is noteworthy that all the "not employed" figures in

Table 55 are substantially higher than the published unemployment figures

for Milwaukee, for both the black and white sectors of the labor market.

An aspect of employment which is relevant to the hypotheses of

the study is the types of jobs held by the respondents. Table 56 describes

the varieties of employment held by respondents as their first jobs after

graduating from high school.

It appears from Table 55 that clerical and service jobs pre-

dominate for both black and white graduates. There is a reliable differ-

ence between them, though, in terms of the pattern of affiliation with

these two categories: blacks tend to divide between these two categories

TABLE 56

Summary of Job Descriptions* of Respondents'
First Post-Secondary Employment (Percent)

Type of Job	1961		1964		1966	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Professional	7	0	3	8	3	2
Clerical	37	59	41	43	37	46
Sales	7	5	3	0	6	2
Crafts	4	5	7	8	3	7
Services	37	24	36	30	40	34
Not Determined	8	7	10	11	11	9
Number of Respondents	27	41	31	49	35	41

* Exact codes for these summary job descriptions can be found in
  Appendix

in about equal numbers, but whites seem significantly to favor clerical
positions.

FACTOR ANALYSES

In this section, results of the two sets of factor analyses
will be reported. The principal component analyses for the 18 question-
naire subscales are presented first; the image analysis of these 18 de-
rived variables complete the first of the two subsections.

The second subsection contains results of the separate factor
analyses of the three major sections of the questionnaire: School, Em-
ployment, and Social attitudes.

Analyses of Subscales. All results relevant to the principal
component analysis of a subscale are presented in one table. The six
tables for the School subscales are given first; these are followed by
the six tables for Employment subscales and then by the six Social sub-
scale tables.

Each table contains the following information:

A. The proportion of variance among the items in the subscale which is accounted for by the principal component. This figure appears as a percentage of total variance, and is given in parentheses just under the table title. In Table 57, for example, the principal component "accounted for" 25.72 percent of the variance residing in the six items of the School-Meaninglessness subscale (PV = 25.72).

B. The intercorrelations of the subscale items are given in the upper left-hand corner of the table. Only the lower half of the correlation matrix is given, and the items are identified by the numbers they were assigned in the questionnaire. Decimals have been omitted.

C. Means and standard deviations of item responses are provided in two columns immediately to the right of the correlation matrix.

D. The rightmost column in the top section of the table gives the loadings of the individual items on the principal component. An entry in this column is the correlation between the derived composite factor and the indicated item; decimals have been omitted.

E. The bottom section of the table is comprised of the actual items of that subscale. Thus the meaning of each principal component may be evaluated without reference to the appendix.

F. An item number which has a superscripted 'p' identifies an item written for the particular level for the Meaninglessness, Boredom, and Powerlessness subscales of the School and Employment sections.

G. An item number which is followed by an asterisk identifies an item which was worded negatively with respect to the concept of the subscale.

Table 57 presents the analysis for the six items of the School-Meaninglessness subscale. Items 16 and 19 contributed relatively little to the composite; their correlations with the other items and with each other were very low. The negative loading of Item 15 corresponds to its reversed wording.

TABLE 57

Principal Component Analysis of School: Meaninglessness Subscale

(PV = 25.72)

Item	15*	16	18^P	19	25^P	37^P	Mean	S.D.	Loading
15*	100						2.09	0.84	-61
16.	-03	100					4.00	1.17	21
16^P	-06	00	100				3.47	1.31	43
19.	01	-12	13	100			3.07	1.48	16
25^P	-15	13	09	07	100		4.07	1.08	62
37^P	-28	04	16	02	23	100	3.37	1.17	73

15* When I had to write something in school, my teachers usually gave me a chance to think about things and express myself.

16. The subjects I studied in high school haven't done me any good since I got out.

18^P On a test, I would give the answer a teacher wanted, even if I thought the answer was wrong.

19. The main reason for going to high school is to get the diploma, which is the passport to a good job or college.

25^P Even if I thought the only way to pass a course was to cheat, I would cheat--if I thought I could get away with it.

37^P The only way to get a good grade in high school was to memorize what was in the book.

The analysis of the School-Boredom subscale (Table 58) in-
dicates that it is a somewhat more reliable dimension. The weakest
item (number 28) had a loading of .44; all other loadings were greater
than .50. The strongest loading was Item 32, which is a fairly dir-
ect assertion that high school is boring. The general tendency, how-
ever, is to claim that high school was not boring. Item 26 was strongly
disagreed with, and every item except numbers 28 (the weakest loading
item) and 43 had mean ratings somewhere in the "Disagree" segment of
the rating scale.

The School-Powerlessness subscale (Table 59) also yielded
a reasonably effective principal component, which accounted for about
32 percent of the total variance. Item 36 contributed little to the
factor, perhaps because it is much more a factual recall item than an
attitude item. The three particular-level items of this subscale also
happened to be reversed; Items 40 and 44 consequently exhibit negative
loadings. The three general-level items are considerably the stron-
gest in terms of their loadings on the factor. There was a modest
tendency to disagree with all six statements, whether they were re-
versed or not.

Table 60 is the result of the analysis of the School-Reaction
to Authority subscale. The reversed item, number 39, yielded a nega-
tive but low loading on the component. Item 46 also was relatively in-
effective. The mean responses to the items indicate a generally favor-
able reaction to school authorities. Most strongly agreed with was
the statement that teachers and principals were working to help students
(Item 47).

TABLE 58

Principal Component Analysis of <u>School: Boredom</u> Subscale

(PV = 37.01)

Item	24	26	27[P]	28[P]	32	43[P]	Mean	S.D.	Loading
24.	100						3.88	1.15	62
26.	40	100					4.20	0.86	68
27[P]	29	27	100				3.94	1.02	63
28[P]	10	10	17	100			2.88	1.26	44
32.	26	34	37	24	100		3.67	1.05	72
43[P]	14	22	13	26	28	100	2.69	1.18	52

24. It is hard to work in high school because the courses are so boring.

26. High school deals mainly with unimportant and boring things.

27. The best time of the school day was lunch, because that's when things happened.

28. In my math classes, we spent most of the time going over homework assignments.

32. In high school work, we did the same things over and over again.

43. My classes usually went like this: you read a book, went over the material in class, studied your notes, took a test on the material, then started reading the book again.

TABLE 59

Principal Component Analysis of <u>School: Powerlessness</u> Subscale

(PV = 31.55)

Item	13	14	23	36^{P*}	40^{P*}	44^{P*}	Mean	S.D.	Loading
13.	100						3.60	1.07	66
14.	32	100					3.52	1.17	74
23.	33	40	100				3.53	1.12	72
36.^{P*}	13	10	03	100			4.06	1.05	18
40.^{P*}	-13	-17	-09	04	100		3.72	1.26	-39
44.^{P*}	-09	-17	-21	00	18	100	3.58	0.98	-46

- -

13. There was nothing the students could do to change things in my school.

14. Generally speaking, classroom discussion in my high school was phony. It always ended up with what the teacher had in mind.

23. Students were treated too much like little kids in my school.

36.^{P*} Students in my high school could walk in the halls during class without a pass.

40.^{P*} The student government in my high school was responsible for making rules about dress, smoking, and cutting class.

44.^{P*} The students helped decide how time would be spent in classes.

TABLE 60

Principal Component Analysis of <u>School: Reaction to Authority</u> Subscale

(PV = 30.99)

Item	30	34	35	39*	46	47	Mean	S.D.	Loading
30.	100						1.98	0.96	62
34.	23	100					2.41	1.18	51
35.	25	22	100				2.16	0.92	69
39.*	-01	-12	-13	100			3.58	1.32	-24
46.	11	03	14	-06	100		2.95	1.23	43
47.	28	15	34	-03	25	100	2.11	0.85	70

30.   In general, teachers enjoy teaching and helping their students.

34.   My high school was very democratic, and grades were based on what you knew, not who you were.

35.   In my high school, a kid usually deserved his punishment.

39.*   I broke some school rules like the ones about smoking, eating, and dress.

46.   The authorities in my school knew what I should study better than I did.

47.   The teachers and principal in my high school were working to help me.

The component for <u>School-Reaction to Peers</u> (Table 61) is of mediocre reliability, probably because Items 21 and 29 were both quite weak. The pattern of loadings for this component makes a difficult job of assigning it a descriptive label, but it appears to reflect a reaction to in-groups or cliques.

The composite for the <u>School-Reaction to Work</u> subscale (Table 62) appears to be quite good. Although one item (41) was relatively weak, the other five were good. The reverse-worded items all had negative loadings; they also had systematically higher average levels of disagreement than items worded directly.

Curiously, all principal components for the Employment subscales accounted for significantly more variance than did the components for the School subscales. The <u>Employment-Meaninglessness</u> subscale, for example, accounted for over 47 percent of the variance in the six items, while the <u>School-Meaninglessness</u> component accounted for only about 25 percent of the item variance. (It should be recalled that items in these two subscales were constructed to have parallel meaning, insofar as was logically feasible.) This may indicate that the theoretical structure which controlled item writing is more relevant for attitudes toward employment than for those toward school. Alternatively, it may mean that attitudes toward school had become scmewhat dissipated over time since graduation--ranging from one to six years for this sample.

Results of the <u>Employment-Meaninglessness</u> subscale are reported in Table 63. The composite is generally strong, with the single exception of the loading for Item 54, which was both reversed and particular. There was, however, a strong degree of agreement with this item. Loadings of all other items were very high.

TABLE 61

Principal Component Analysis of <u>School: Reaction to Peers</u> Subscale

(PV = 29.35)

Item	17*	20*	21	22	29*	31*	Mean	S.D.	Loading
17.*	100						3.90	1.07	-62
20.*	25	100					3.50	1.23	-70
21.	-05	-01	100				3.16	1.27	02
22.	-13	-25	-07	100			1.68	0.70	58
29.*	-11	05	16	-07	100		2.77	1.43	-10
31.*	32	31	00	-24	09	100	3.66	1.22	-74

17.   In order to do well at my high school, you had to do what
      everybody else did.

20.   Only the "rah-rah" students in my high school joined clubs.

21.   Students who joined clubs usually had better personalities
      than those who didn't join.

22.   A person could find friends at my high school if he wanted
      to.

29.   One of the biggest problems in my high school was trouble-
      makers who gave the school a bad name.

31.   There was one gang in my high school that ran things.   If
      you didn't belong to that group you didn't count.

TABLE 62

Principal Component Analysis of <u>School: Reaction to Work</u> Subscale

(PV = 32.70)

Item	33	38*	41*	42*	45	48	Mean	S.D.	Loading
33.	100						2.46	1.08	70
38.*	-29	100					3.64	1.06	-66
41.*	-12	06	100				3.29	1.21	-21
42.*	-26	34	15	100			3.69	1.25	-60
45.	22	-19	-01	-12	100		1.75	0.93	54
48.	31	-18	03	-13	29	100	2.71	1.13	59

33. I was challenged by my work in high school and I thought what I did was important.

38.* Much of the work we did in high school was "busy work" with no particular point to it.

41.* People worried too much about grades in my high school.

42.* Personality and bluff can get you through school.

45. If a student wanted to work hard in my school, he could get a good education.

48. Compared with other schools, my high school gave a good education.

TABLE 63

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment: Meaninglessness</u> Subscale

(PV = 47.11)

Item	52^P	54^{P*}	57	60	63	68^P	Mean	S.D.	Loading
52^P	100						4.24	1.17	78
54^{P*}	1?	100					1.88	1.27	30
57.	42	13	100				3.51	1.48	72
60.	48	04	53	100			4.11	1.17	76
63.	44	32	33	37	100		4.12	1.24	68
68^P	53	07	43	49	39	100	4.11	1.12	75

52^P In my job, it's more important to <u>act</u> like you know what
you're doing than to really know what you're doing.

54^{P*} I get satisfaction from knowing that my job is important
to the organization I work for.

57.   What I do in my job doesn't have much to do with the impor-
tant problems of living.

60.   I sometimes feel that my job is so unimportant that it
doesn't matter whether or not I dc it.

63.   I usually know <u>what</u> to do in my job, but I usually don't
know <u>why</u> I'm supposed to do it.

68^P There is no point in working too hard at my job, because
I'm not expected to do too much.

A reversed item (61) was also the only weak statement on the
Employment-Boredom component (Table 64). Inter-correlations among the
other five items were quite high, and loadings were uniformly high.

The Employment-Powerlessness subscale appears in Table 65
to be very good, but three items of reverse wording did not correlate
negatively with items of straightforward wording and did not produce
negative component loadings. There was no extreme tendency toward
violent agreement or disagreement, so it appears that response bias is
not a reasonable explanation. The substantive interpretation of this
component is more ambiguous than any of the other 17 subscales.

The Employment-Reaction to Authority component is analyzed
in Table 66. One item (49) is quite weak; another (59) is also of
somewhat limited use. Item 59 was worded opposite in direction to the
other five items; it did not load negatively on the component. As with
the corresponding School section subscale, reaction to authority seems
to be generally favorable.

Table 67 reports the Employment-Reaction to Peers analysis.
Again on this subscale, the two items which opposed the others in
direction of wording (55 and 71) failed to correlate negatively with
other items and to develop negative loadings on the component. As in
the parallel School subscale, the item which contributes most strongly
to the component contains reference to the phenomenon of in-group or
clique formation.

Again in the Employment-Reaction to Work subscale (Table 68),
a reverse-worded item was of limited functional utility. Item 50 had
an insignificant loading on the component. The other items all had

TABLE 64

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment</u>: <u>Boredom</u> Subscale

(PV = 49.24)

Item	56	58	61	64	74	81	Mean	S.D.	Loading
56.[P]	100						2.68	1.43	70
58.	48	100					3.32	1.52	82
61.*	-04	-14	100				2.49	1.37	-01
64.[P]	48	51	08	100			2.96	1.52	77
74.[P]	39	60	03	49	100		3.87	1.36	79
81.	39	53	03	47	53	100	3.63	1.33	76

- -

56.[P] Sometimes I think I would like to change jobs just to do something different for a while.

58. I often feel that anyone could do my job. It is only a repetition of the same thing over and over again.

61.* My work is interesting most of the time.

64.[P] I often think about other things while I'm working--what I'm going to do after work, something that happened at home, and so on.

74.[P] After you learn the basic tasks in a job like mine, you don't need to learn anything new or different.

81. My job doesn't give me a chance to do my best work.

TABLE 65

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment: Powerlessness</u> Subscale

(PV = 42.87)

Item	66^P	72^{P*}	77*	79	80^{P*}	82	Mean	S.D.	Loading
66^P	100						3.95	1.27	67
72^{P*}	30	100					2.98	1.41	65
77*	34	46	100				3.60	1.36	69
79.	32	22	29	100			3.83	1.15	64
80^{P*}	34	52	38	22	100		2.55	1.38	70
82.	34	02	20	52	23	100	3.51	1.31	56

66^P If the employees where I work don't like a particular foreman
or supervisor, he usually gets transferred.

72^{P*} Where I work, supervisors listen to the ideas of the workers
before they make a big change in policy.

77* There aren't many rules and regulations where I work. We
decide how to behave and how to do our own work.

79. In my job employees don't have enough responsibility for their
own work.

80^{P*} Usually, my supervisors give me very clear directions so I
know exactly what to do and how to do it.

82. Supervisors make all the important decisions. Anyone who
thinks the workers can change things is just kidding himself.

TABLE 66

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment: Reaction to Authority</u> Subscale

(PV = 41.54)

Item	49	59	65	69	75	84	Mean	S.D.	Loading
49.	100						2.11	0.97	25
59.*	06	100					2.95	1.44	43
65.	12	18	100				2.76	1.46	72
69.	14	21	27	100			3.10	1.50	68
75.	08	17	40	37	100		2.68	1.47	73
84.	13	26	57	50	53	100	2.23	1.18	86

49. Employees should be sufficiently supervised, so their mistakes aren't too serious.

59.* Many of the regular workers would be better supervisors than the people who are supervisors now.

65. Most of my supervisors are interested in the problems of the employees.

69. I think it is a good idea if employees say "Sir" when address- ing a superior. It shows respect.

75. Promotions and raises where I work are fair. There are no "favorites."

84. When the bosses make a policy change, there are usually good reasons for it. We should do our best to follow their decisions.

TABLE 67

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment: Reaction to Peers</u> Subscale

(PV = 40.30)

Item	51*	53	55	71	76*	78*	Mean	S.D.	Loading
51.*	100						3.62	1.40	54
53.	43	100					3.85	1.33	73
55.	⌐08	15	100				1.75	1.01	43
71.	22	23	34	100			2.65	1.33	64
76.*	23	46	17	28	100		4.19	1.11	71
78.*	17	37	18	39	42	100	3.00	1.42	70

51.* A small group of people run this organization, and you can't do much unless you're in with them.

53. At the place where I work, each guy has his own friends, and the people in a group don't have much to do with anybody else.

55. I have met many interesting people in the places I have worked.

71. Other workers are more important in making a job enjoyable than the work itself.

76.* The place I work is too formal and unfriendly.

78.* I usually don't see the people I work with after working hours.

TABLE 68

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Employment: Reaction to Work</u> Subscale

(PV = 48.78)

Item	50[*]	62	67	70	73	83	Mean	S.D.	Loading
50.[*]	100						4.09	1.30	10
62.	02	100					2.18	1.33	88
67.	-02	69	100				2.59	1.38	82
70.	-02	71	58	100			2.92	1.53	82
73.	20	39	41	35	100		3.04	1.60	61
83.	13	46	37	43	31	100	2.96	1.37	65

50.[*] In my job, it's not important what you know, just look alert and give the right answers.

62. I am proud to do my job.

67. I prefer my job to other lines of work.

70. The work I do is very challenging.

73. The only thing I'd like to change about my job is the pay.

83. In my job, you have to be on your toes all the time. If you don't work hard, you don't last long.

high loadings, with "I am proud to do my job" loading strongest and
meeting general agreement.

With the exception of Government (Constitutional Commitment),
principal components of the Social subscales ranged from 35 percent to
49 percent of item variance accounted for.

The analysis for Social-Government is summarized in Table 69.
The items have generally high loadings, with the exceptions of weak
Items 87, 88, and 110; Numbers 87 and 88 were worded in opposition to
the other eight items of the scale. The component accounts for less
variance than components of the other Social subscales; that is at least
partially due to the fact that there are simply more items. and thus
more variance to be accounted for. A person with a high score on this
factor would tend to deny the validity of statements supporting the
constitution. The means of item responses indicate that the respondents
generally tended to support the constitution.

Table 70 contains the result of the analysis of the Social-
Equality subscale. There was an overall tendency to agree with the
items of this scale with the exception of Item 90, to which the response
was equivocal. All loadings are about .60 or higher. A high score on
this component identifies a person who believes strongly in the utility
and validity of decision by group.

The Social-Puritan Morality component (Table 71) appears to
be quite reliable. Compared to the other items, Item 114 appears weak.
Other inter-item correlations are quite high, as are the corresponding
loadings. Generally, the respondents tended to agree with statements
reflecting Puritan morality.

TABLE 69

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Government</u> Subscale

(FV = 30.21)

Item	86[*]	87	88	91[*]	92[*]	95[*]	96[*]	100[*]	101[*]	110[*]	Mean	S.D.	Loading
86.[*]	100										3.13	1.32	62
87.	10	100									3.62	1.27	08
88.	00	15	100								2.60	1.35	03
91.[*]	40	11	07	100							4.27	0.91	70
92.[*]	29	04	08	39	100						2.84	1.41	61
95.[*]	23	11	03	39	27	100					4.14	0.89	62
96.[*]	32	-01	-12	31	15	42	100				3.44	1.46	57
100.[*]	29	-01	09	30	34	23	18	100			3.22	1.14	62
101.[*]	30	-04	02	35	35	31	35	47	100		3.53	1.22	71
110.[*]	20	-09	-14	17	17	16	07	18	29	100	3.50	1.22	40

86.[*]   The F.B.I. should be allowed special privileges like wire-
tapping, because they are fighting to protect our country.

87.   Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything
they want, except military secrets.

88.   Since the Supreme Court says that segregation is unconstitu-
tional, everything possible should be done to integrate.

91.[*]   Once in a while, police are right to hold someone in jail
without telling him about the charges against him.

92.[*]   Some criticism of our government is helpful. But remarks
which make our country look bad should be stopped.

95.[*]   If someone refuses to testify against himself in court, he
should be punished.

96.[*]   In some cases, the police should be allowed to search a person
even if they do not have a search warrant.

-Continued-

TABLE 69

-Continued-

100.* Some of the petitions which have been circulated should not be allowed by the government.

101.* There are some groups which should not be allowed to hold public meetings even though they gather peacefully and only make speeches.

110.* Some people are ignorant or sick, and they just can't vote sensibly. They should not be allowed to vote.

TABLE 70

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Equality</u> Subscale

(PV = 44.49)

Item	90*	98	99	108	Mean	S.D.	Loading
90.*	100				3.25	1.18	66
98.	13	100			1.95	1.05	61
99.	29	13	100		2.68	1.29	59
108.	33	40	24	100	2.22	0.95	78

90.*   Ordinary, hard-working people give a lot more to our society than artists and writers.

98.   It is more fair for a committee to make an important decision than to leave it to one guy.

99.   A person who works hard and tries to do his best should be given the same rewards as a person who is so smart that he doesn't have to work so hard.

108.   Several people working together as a group can make better decisions than any one of the same people can make by himself.

TABLE 71

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Morality</u> Subscale

(PV = 49.40)

Item	103	104	106	114	Mean	S.D.	Loading
103.	100				1.92	0.98	81
104.	50	100			1.69	1.00	79
106.	41	4¹	100		2.08	1.22	72
114.	24	17	12	100	2.08	1.14	42

103. It's a good idea to start early in life to save money, be-
cause you are going to need it later on.

104. Welfare is a good method of helping people who are unable
or too old to work, but a lot of people who are on welfare
could support themselves if they tried.

106. People may talk a lot about sexual freedom, but most men
still want to marry a girl who is a virgin.

114. Even if you don't like what you are doing, it's good to
know that you work hard and do your share.

One item (111) appears not really to affiliate with the others of the Social Change subscale, as is shown by Table 72. The other three items are fair, although the statement about the prime time to get rid of a used car (109) is not as strong as the others. A high score on this component would be obtained probably by someone who thought social change could be rationally effected.

Inspection of Table 73 verifies that the component for Social-Success is not a general one but is due essentially to the relatively high ($r = .37$) correlation between Items 112 and 113. Also, the subscale includes the only item in this study (85) which loaded negatively on the relevant component even though its wording was not reversed. The two items which dominate the component (112 and 113) both found general agreement. A high score on this component identifies someone who believes self-improvement is valuable and success is desirable.

The final Social subscale, Sociality, is reported in Table 74. It contained one relatively weak item: Number 93. (Again, this was a reverse-worded item.) Loadings and intercorrelations for the other three items were relatively high. A person with a high score on this component might be characterized as believing that interacting with and securing the good opinions of others is extremely worthwhile.

Image Analysis of Principal Components. In order to perform an Image analysis of the set of 18 principal components, the distribution of factor scores was determined for each component, and the resulting 18 sets of scores were intercorrelated. The component intercorrelations within each of the three questionnaire sections are given in Table 75.

TABLE 72

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Social Change</u> Subscale

(PV = 35.43)

Item	89*	94	109	111	Mean	S.D.	Loading
89.*	100				3.31	1.33	73
94.	31	100			2.81	1.27	76
109.	09	20	100		2.63	1.15	53
111.	13	-06	04	100	2.56	1.30	17

89.* Many civil rights groups don't recognize that these problems will work themselves out in time.

94. Hard work can overcome most social or economic handicaps.

109. It is usually better to trade a car in for a new one after a few years, than to spend the money to keep the old one in good shape.

111. Most old people don't realize that the world isn't the same as it was when they were young.

TABLE 73

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Success</u> Subscale

(PV = 34.97)

Item	85	102	112	113	Mean	S.D.	Loading
85.	100				3.94	1.22	-23
102.	05	100			2.33	1.04	15
112.	-16	03	100		1.69	1.05	84
113.	05	06	37	100	2.45	1.36	78

85. You can usually judge how successful a person is by where he lives and what kind of car he drives.

102. Someone who isn't willing to take a few chances will never be a success.

112. Even if you like your present job, you should never stop trying to improve.

113. Sometimes you have to be tough to get what you want.

TABLE 74

Principal Component Analysis of <u>Social: Sociality</u> Subscale

(IV = 38.33)

Item	93*	97	105	107	Mean	S.D.	Loading
93.*	100				3.25	1.32	27
97.	07	100			2.33	1.18	69
105.	03	29	100		2.36	1.03	72
107.	10	21	26	100	2.25	1.10	68

93.*   I enjoy spending a lot o_ ne by myself.

97.   For me, getting along with people is more important than making a lot of money.

105.   I like to belong to a team or group.

107.   In order to get along you have to realize that you can't dress and act in some ways.

TABLE 75

Component Intercorrelations Within School,
Employment, and Social Attitude Sections*

Component	SECTION					
	SCHOOL:					
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
1. Meaninglessness	100					
2. Boredom	47	100				
3. Powerlessness	37	45	100			
4. Reaction to Authority	-38	-30	-29	100		
5. Reaction to Peers	38	28	28	-29	100	
6. Reaction to Work	-46	-46	-41	51	-39	100
	EMPLOYMENT:					
	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
7. Meaninglessness	100					
8. Boredom	80	100				
9. Powerlessness	64	56	100			
10. Reaction to Authority	50	40	77	100		
11. Reaction to Peers	74	66	74	56	100	
12. Reaction to Work	30	14	70	76	53	100
	SOCIAL:					
	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>
13. Government	100					
14. Equality	38	100				
15. Puritan Morality	50	53	100			
16. Social Change	51	39	46	100		
17. Success	02	02	12	02	100	
18. Sociality	42	49	52	39	-03	100

* Decimals omitted.

A striking characteristic of these correlations is that they are generally quite high. The average magnitude of intercorrelations of School scales is .38; the average for Employment scales is substantially higher at .59; and the same statistic for the Social scales is .32. The Social-Success subscale did not correlate significantly with any of the other Social subscales; excluding those five coefficients, the average correlation between Social subscales is markedly higher at .46.

Among the School subscales, both Reaction to Authority and Reaction to Work have been reflected. All correlations between them and the other four subscales are negative, and the correlation between the two is positive (.51). Thus, if a student felt that the school experience was meaningless and boring and that he was powerless within it, he also tended to have unfavorable reactions to authority, peers, and work. The Reaction to Peers component is so comprised that a high score indicates an unfavorable reaction to peers, whereas a high score indicates a favorable response on the Reaction to Authority and Reaction to Work components. Hence the Reaction to Peers vector in the correlation matrix is not negative, as are the vectors for the Authority and Work reactions.

A very interesting contrast to this pattern typifies the intercorrelations of Employment subscales. Here again, a high score on the Authority component indicates a favorable reaction, as it does on the Work component; and a high score indicates an unfavorable reaction on the Peers component. Despite this, there is not a single negative correlation among Employment subscales. Thus strong feelings of meaning-

lessness, boredom, and powerlessness are accompanied by _favorable_ reac-
tions to authority and work and by relatively unfavorable reactions to
peers.

Thus it seems that in the school setting, unfavorable reac-
tions to authority, peers, and work attend feelings of meaninglessness,
boredom, and powerlessness. But this does _not_ happen in the job setting--
at least not on any large scale. Clearly, the six concepts do not have
the same meanings in the two different settings; at least they are not
interrelated in the same way in the two different settings.

TABLE 76

Correlations Between School and Employment Components*

SCHOOL	EMPLOYMENT					
	7. Meaning- lessness	8. Boredom	9. Power- lessness	10. Authority	11. Peers	12. Work
1. Meaninglessness	31	38	06	-07	31	-05
2. Boredom	16	25	03	-01	15	01
3. Powerlessness	18	19	-01	-04	12	-07
4. Reaction to Authority	-24	-25	-12	06	-29	01
5. Reaction to Peers	22	20	15	02	21	03
6. Reaction to Work	-24	-25	-08	08	-19	06

* Decimals omitted.

In Table 76 are presented the cross-correlations between the
components derived from the School and Employment subscales. In general,
the Employment components for _Meaninglessness_, _Boredom_, and _Reaction to
Peers_ tend to correlate with all School subscales in moderate degree,
while the other three Employment subscales do not correlate signifi-

cantly with any School subscales. The algebraic signs of these coeffi-
cients are directionally consistent with the interpretations of Table
75.

TABLE 77

Correlations of Social Components with School & Employment Components*

	SOCIAL					
SCHOOL	13. Government	14. Equality	15. Morality	16. Change	17. Success	18. Sociality
1. Meaning-lessness	-06	06	-06	-05	-07	-09
2. Boredom	00	04	-11	04	-03	-07
3. Power-lessness	-18	-02	-20	-09	01	-03
4. Reaction to Authority	14	07	27	15	15	15
5. Reaction to Peers	-03	03	-11	04	-04	-06
6. Reaction to Work	07	-07	19	00	17	08
EMPLOYMENT						
7. Meaning-lessness	03	12	-07	03	-15	-05
8. Boredom	01	14	00	01	-13	-05
9. Power-lessness	02	13	-04	03	-11	-05
10. Reaction to Authority	04	08	04	07	-05	00
11. Reaction to Peers	-02	06	-06	-06	-10	-03
12. Reaction to Work	03	06	02	04	-03	01

* Decimals omitted.

Correlations between the Social subscales and all twelve School
and Employment subscales are given in Table 77. Of these 72 coefficients,
only two exceed .20 in magnitude. These are the correlations between

Puritan Morality (component 15) and School components 3 and 4: Pover-
lessness and Reaction to Authority. These are too small to warrant
interpretation; the general interpretation is that the Social components
are independent of the School and Employment components.

The matrix of intercorrelations among all 18 principal compo-
nents was factored by performing an incomplete Image analysis. The
factor pattern matrix from this analysis is given in Table   . Only
the factors are included in this table which had latent roots greater
than unity, and the pattern matrix given is the result of Varimax rota-
tion of the incomplete Image analysis results.

The dominant characteristic of the Image results is that the
three largest factors correspond quite closely with the three sections
of the questionnaire. The largest factor was the Employment factor; all
Employment components loaded significantly on this factor, and all but
Meaninglessness and Boredom had very high loadings. There was no con-
tamination from the school and social components; all loadings from
those sections were less than .10 in magnitude.

Interestingly, all loadings on the Employment Image factor
had the same algebraic sign. The meaning of the factor is thereby com-
plex, because the Reaction to Authority and Reaction to Work components
are interpreted as being scal   in the opposite direction (with respect
to the favorable-unfavorable dimension) from the other four subscales.
Each of the six components of the Employment section had a very high
squared multiple correlation with the remaining variables in the set
of 18; this was surely due to the high intercorrelations among those
six components.

TABLE 78

Rotated[a] Image Factors of Eighteen Principal[b]
Components of Attitude Questionnaire Subscales

Subscale Component	FACTORS				
	1	2[c]	3	4	SMC[d]
SCHOOL					
1. Meaninglessness	-01	60	-01	22	42
2. Boredom	02	58	00	03	34
3. Powerlessness	-03	51	-11	05	29
4. Reaction to Authority	-03	-50	18	-09	34
5. Reaction to Peers	08	44	-01	06	22
6. Reaction to Work	01	-63	04	-05	43
EMPLOYMENT					
7. Meaninglessness	48	28	03	61	71
8. Boredom	36	32	05	67	70
9. Powerlessness	81	06	02	30	76
10. Reaction to Authority	81	-08	05	16	70
11. Reaction to Peers	65	26	-02	43	71
12. Reaction to Work	82	-06	02	-08	68
SOCIAL					
13. Government	02	-07	58	01	35
14. Equality	07	06	60	07	38
15. Puritan Morality	-02	-16	66	02	48
16. Social Change	03	-02	57	-03	34
17. Success	-05	-09	03	-06	05
18. Sociality	-02	-07	59	-04	37
SS[e]	278	210	186	120	

[a] Varimax rotation

[b] Decimals omitted

[c] Factor 2 has been reflected

[d] Squared multiple correlations

[e] Sum of squares

The three components most heavily weighted in the definition
of the Employment factor were Reaction to Work, Reaction to Authority,
and Powerlessness. A respondent with a high score of this factor would
have favorable reactions to work and authority and would perceive him-
self as being relatively powerless.

Factor 2 was comprised essentially of the School components,
with marginal secondary loadings from the Meaninglessness and Boredom
Employment components. The loadings of the School Reaction to Authority
and Reaction to Work components are negative, which assures a straight-
forward interpretation of the factor as a School: favorable-unfavorable
dimension. A person with a high score on Factor 2 remembers his school
experience as meaningful, neither a boring nor powerless situation,
and accompanied by positive reactions toward authorities, peers, and
work.

The magnitude of both the loadings and the squared multiple
correlations are substantially lower than the comparable figures for
Factor 1. However, with one exception, all loadings on the School fac-
tor were of the order .50 or higher.

The third factor is strictly a social factor. With the excep-
tion of the Success component, all Social components loaded strongly on
Factor 3. The Success component did not load on any factor, and only
six percent of its variance was common to the set of the other 17 com-
ponents. Its contribution to this analysis, and to analyses in the
following section, was nil. It adds nothing to the meaning of Factor 3.
The other five Social components had nearly equal loadings, ranging
from .57 to .66.

Factor 4 was a kind of residual Meaning-Boredom factor. Its
primary loadings were the Meaninglessness and Boredom components of
Employment, with weak secondary loadings from Reaction to Peers and
Powerlessness. The loadings for Meaninglessness and Boredom were the
strongest for those components on any factor. It is anticipated that
this circumstance would have altered considerably in the event of an
oblique rotation of the Image analysis.

Factor scores were computed on these four Image factors for
all questionnaire respondents. Because the Varimax rotational scheme
was employed, the four distributions of Image factor scores have zero
intercorrelations. Thus Factors 1, 2, 3, and 4 are statistically in-
dependent, and they will be analyzed separately in the hypothesis-testing
section of this chapter.

FACTOR ANALYSES OF THREE MAJOR QUESTIONNAIRE SECTIONS

The set of items forming each of the three major sections of
the questionnaire - School, Employment, and Social Attitudes - was sub-
mitted to a principal components analysis. The function of these analy-
ses was to provide an empirical referent with which to compare the the-
oretical structure of the questionnaire. Ideally, the factorial struc-
ture of a particular section would approximate the a priori categoriza-
tion of items yielded by the theoretical constructs underlying that sec-
tion. Any difference between the factor structure and the a priori
categorization should be an important consideration in the analysis of
data and interpretation of results.

The analytic technique applied to each of the three sets of
items was a principal components analysis. The resulting set of signi-

ficant factors (i.e., those with eigenvalues greater than 1.00) from
each analysis was rotated by means of both orthogonal (Varimax) and
oblique (Orthoblique) methods.

Results from the orthogonal rotation of the principal components
of the School section are summarized in Table 79. The means, standard
deviations, and intercorrelations of the items in this section were
presented in Tables 57 through 62. The complete pattern matrices for
both rotations, and the factor intercorrelations for the oblique rota-
tion, are located in Appendix C.

The identities of items are given in Table 79 by item numbers
and abbreviations of the subscale identity for each item. Further, an
asterisk against the item identification indicates that its content
was reverse-worded.

Twelve principal components were extracted from the School items,
with no single component very large (the largest eigenvalue for the or-
thogonal rotation was 2.66). Interpretation of these factors by analyz-
ing items of primary loading is not simple. For example, the largest
facto includes items from four different subscales. It indicates that
relatively favorable reactions to school work and school authorities are
accompanied by relatively low indices on general aspects of meaningless-
ness and boredom. The second factor includes many items that were com-
posed of reverse-loaded content; this may indicate that a generalized
response set was functioning in this part of the questionnaire. Factor
C is clearly interpreted as a general powerlessness factor, while Factor
D also has straight forward implications as a boredom factor. Factor E
is complex, although it contains only three items; it may be a response-

TABLE 79

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 36 SCHOOL ATTITUDE
ITEMS (VARIMAX ROTATION)[a]

Factor	Item[b]	Loading[c]	Factor	Item	Loading
A (ss^d=266)	16. M,G	-71	F (ss=163)	22. R-P	72
	46. R-A	71		30. R-A	47
	47. R-A	60		35. R-A	44
	48. R-W	47		20. R-P*	-39
	33. R-W	42			
	26. B,G	-40	G (ss=158)	28. B,P	66
	35. R-A	37		41. R-W*	55
				43. B,P	46
B (ss=230)	17. R-P*	63		40. P,P*	43
	31. R-P*	62			
	34. R-A	-56	H (ss=154)	21. R-P	72
	20. R-P*	49		24. B,G	46
	15. M,G*	-38		15. M,G*	-45
	42. R-W*	37		25. M,P	43
	36. P,P*	36			
	48. R-W	-36	I (ss=142)	29. R-P*	80
				35. R-A	44
C (ss=215)	13. P,G	77			
	14. P,G	57	J (ss=139)	46. R-A	73
	23. P,G	47		15. M,G*	36
	26. B,G	45		47. R-A	36
	40. P,P*	-37			
			K (ss=138)	19. M,G	66
D (ss=199)	27. B,P	73		18. M,P	64
	32. B,G	71			
	24. B,G	38	L (ss=135)	44. P,P*	79
	15. M,G*	-35		40. P,P*	(29)
E (ss=170)	39. R-A*	83			
	38. R-W*	43			
	25. M,P	41			

[a] The complete pattern matrices for this analysis and the following
five analyses are given in Appendix C.

[b] See the questionnaire, Appendix A, for item content.

[c] Decimals omitted.

[d] Sum of squares for the factor.

TABLE 80

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 36 SCHOOL ATTITUDE
ITEMS (ORTHOBLIQUE ROTATION)

Factor	Item	Loading	Factor	Item	Loading
A	16. M,G	90	F	28. B,P	76
(ss=246)	45. R-W	-69	(ss=165)	41. R--W*	49
	47. R-A	-42		40. P,Pt	47
	48. R-W	-41		43. B,P	43
	26. B,G	39			
			G	18. M,P	75
B	22. R-P	86	(ss=160)	19. M,G	68
(ss=209)	35. R-A	54			
	30. R-A	51	H	39. R-A*	92
	20. R-P*	-43	(ss=159)	25. M,P	35
C	15. M,G*	65	I	21. R-P	69
(ss=199)	17. R-P*	-60	(ss=154)	24. B,G	57
	34. R-A	55		37. M,P	35
	31. R-P*	-44			
	43. B,P	41	J	46. R-A	77
			(ss=150)	20. R-P*	38
D	27. B,P	77		47. R-A	37
(ss=193)	32. B,G	71			
			K	29. R-P*	81
E	13. P,G	91	(ss=142)	35. R-A	42
(ss=191)	14. P,G	44		38. R-W*	35
	36. P,P*	38			
	40. P,P*	-36	L	44. P,P*	83
			(ss=140)	25. M,P	(28)

set factor or a general reaction factor. Factor F is clearly a reaction
to "people in school," while Factors G and H combine items from several
subscales. The remaining factors are small triplets, doublets, and
singletons.

Table 80 contains the results of the oblique rotation of the
principal components of the School items. Many of the primary loadings
in this result are considerably higher than in the orthogonal rotation.
There are also non-trivial differences in the order of the factors (in
terms of size) and in their actual composition (in terms of items in-
cluded). Even so, there are some crude correspondencies between the
two sets of factors. Orthogonal Factor A and oblique Factor A are
roughly equivalent in item composition; other similarities exist between
orthogonal B and oblique C, orthogonal F and oblique B, orthogonal C
and oblique E. The oblique factor intercorrelation matrix given in
Table 81 includes some high entries; in particular, oblique factors B
and C are related by $R = .46$. Oblique factors A and B are negatively
correlated $(R = -.38)$, as are A and C $(R = -.32)$.

The primary loadings on the principal components of the Work
items (orthogonal rotation) are given in Table 81.

The most striking characteristic of the results given in Table
82 is that there are only five significant factors. This leads to a
very interesting comparison with the corresponding analysis of the School
items (discussed above in connection with Table 79). These two sets of
36 items each were parallel in content and expression, by a priori de-
sign. It seems perplexing, therefore, that one set would factor into
twelve relatively small underlying dimensions, while the other would,

TABLE 81

INTERCORRELATIONS[a] OF UNRESTRICTED COMPONENTS
OF 36 SCHOOL ITEMS -- OBLIQUE ROTATION

FACTOR[b]	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
A.	100											
B.	-38	100										
C.	-32	46	100									
D.	30	-26	-21	100								
E.	23	-31	-26	30	100							
F.	13	-19	-20	18	27	100						
G.	21	-26	-23	28	33	23	100					
H.	26	-25	-26	19	28	27	21	100				
I.	11	-14	-11	18	18	15	21	15	100			
J.	-24	16	08	-10	-06	01	-01	00	-02	100		
K.	-10	04	-02	-03	00	08	04	00	11	14	100	
L.	-14	14	14	-13	-16	00	-17	-01	-08	06	-09	100

[a] Decimals omitted.

[b] Alphabetic factor designations are the same as those in Table 80.

TABLE 82

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 36 EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDE
ITEMS (VARIMAX ROTATION)

Factor	Item	Loading	Factor	Item	Loading
A	62. R-W	89	C	50. R-W*	71
(ss=804)	61. B,G*	87	(ss=477)	51. R-P*	69
	70. R-W	80		56. B,P	66
	67. R-W	79		52. M,P	63
	84. R-A	75		59. R-A*	63
	54. M,P*	74		53. R-P	56
	72. P,P*	70		63. M,G	56
	80. P,P*	66		64. B,P	55
	55. R-P	65		66. P,P	49
	65. R-A	64			
	75. R-A	63	D	73. R-W	4C
	83. R-W	55	(ss=150)	65. R-A	39
	69. R-A	49		58. B,G	36
	71. R-P	48			
	73. R-W	48	E	49. R-A	75
	77. P-G*	47	(ss=130)	78. R-Γ*	(-27)
B	68. M,P	75			
(ss=551)	74. B,P	71			
	82. P,G	71			
	81. B,G	69			
	79. P,G	68			
	76. R-P*	62			
	60. M-G	60			
	58. B,G	54			
	78. R-P*	54			
	57. M,G	50			

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TABLE 83

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 36 EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDE
ITEMS (ORTHOBLIQUE ROTATION)

Factor	Item	Loading	Factor	Item	Loading
A	65. R-A	88	C	70. R-W	80
(ss=553)	72. P,P*	83	(ss=451)	62. R-W	70
	73. R-W	83		61. B,G*	67
	80. P,P*	76		58. B,G	-65
	77. P,G*	65		54. M,P*	64
	75. R-A	63		67. R-W	58
	84. R-A	54		55. R-P	57
	71. R-P	45		57. M,G	-50
	58. B,G	41		60. M,G	-45
	57. M,G	40		74. B,P	-41
B	76. R-P*	89	D	59. R-A*	83
(ss=524)	79. P,G	88	(ss=449)	56. B,P	77
	82. P,G	86		51. R-P*	74
	68. M,P	70		50. R-W*	72
	81. B,G	64		52. M,P	60
	74. B,P	60		53. R-P	55
	78. R-P*	60		54. M,P*	54
	69. R-A	52		63. M,G	49
	65. R-A	-44		66. P,P	46
	83. R-W	42		64. B,P	44
			E	49. R-A	76
			(ss=134)	69. R-A	(31)

using the same analytic technique, be divided into three quite large
and two relatively small factors.

The orthogonal rotation of the Work components yields a large
factor with an eigenvalue of 8.04. That factor "includes" 16 (of the
36) items, which are allied with all six of the a priori subscales.
Further, five of these sixteen items were reverse-worded by design, but
the corresponding entries in Table 82 are not negative. Factors B and
C of this analysis are quite similar in their perplexity. Factor D is
a weak triplet whose loadings are all small and whose items came from
three different subscales; and Factor E is a singleton, comprised solely
of the very first item on the Work section!

Now examine Table 83, which presents the results of the oblique
rotation of the Work components. This solution is somewhat more pleasing
then the orthogonal results. There are five factors again (by necessi-
ty), but in this case the item distribution is somewhat more equitable
across four of the factors, and the relative factor sizes (eigenvalue)
are more nearly equal. Again, there is a small single-item "primacy"
factor: Factor E, Item 49. Again, however, the factors are extremely
difficult to interpret and are extraordinarily heterogeneous with respect
to the a priori item design and categorization.

In Table 84 is given the matrix of intercorrelations of fac-
tors described in Table 83. It includes some unusually high entries
for analyses of this type. Four of the ten factor intercorrelations are
greater than R = .45; Factors A and B correlate very strongly (R = .62),
as do Factors B and D (R = .67).

The dominant conclusion to be drawn from this set of analyses

TABLE 84

INTERCORRELATIONS[a] OF UNRESTRICTED COMPONENTS
OF 36 EMPLOYMENT ITEMS -- OBLIQUE ROTATION

FACTOR[b]	A	B	C	D	E
A.	100				
B.	62	100			
C.	46	06	100		
D.	48	67	-08	100	
E.	16	00	15	-05	100

[a] Decimals omitted.

[b] Alphabetic factor designations are the same as those in Table 83.

TABLE 85

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 30 SOCIAL ATTITUDE
ITEMS (VARIMAX ROTATION)

Factor	Item	Loading	Factor	Item	Loading
A	103. Mor	62	E	89. Cha*	69
(ss=303)	106. Mor	62	(ss=195)	92. Gov*	56
	107. Soc	62		91. Gov*	45
	104. Mor	58		94. Cha	44
	105. Soc	52		86. Gov*	40
	100. Gov*	50			
	108. Equ	45	F	102. Suc	65
			(ss=187)	90. Equ*	64
B	114. Mor	77		108. Equ	53
(ss=225)	111. Cha	72			
	110. Gov*	63	G	93. Soc*	72
	112. Suc	63	(ss=180)	88. Gov	65
				109. Cha	56
C	95. Gov*	71		85. Suc	(−34)
(ss=223)	96. Gov*	69			
	101. Gov*	55	H	87. Gov	70
	91. Gov*	49	(ss=143)	99. Equ	57
D	98. Equ	75	I	113. Suc	75
(ss=199)	97. Soc	72	(ss=131)	112. Suc	(38)
	94. Cha	51			

is that, in this research, a given a priori structure has one meaning
in the School attitudes domain, and it means something entirely dif-
ferent in the domain of attitudes toward work. One or more hypotheses
may explain this. The most obvious one is that people simply don't
think of their jobs in the same terms (along the same dimensions of
reference) as they do their School experiences. Another factor may be
that the work questions, for most respondents, referred to contemporary
situations, while the School items raised questions about circumstances
of the somewhat distant past. Differential recollection, or selective
perceptual retention of certain aspects of the School experience, may
be responsible for the radical difference in factor structure between
the two sets of items. A third possibility is that there is no real
(or psychologic) comparability between items in the School and Work sec-
tions, even though they were logically constructed to be parallel ac-
cording to sociological theory (see the earlier section which describes
the hypotheses of the study). Words used in questionnaire items, like
all other words, have meanings which depend upon context. Thus if the
contextual referent changes from "School" to "Work," perhaps the mean-
ing of the entire item changes in some unpredictable fashion -- despite
the most conscientious effort to adhere to sociological theory in item
construction.

The implication of these hypotheses is that the construct vali-
dity of the dependent variables analyzed in subsequent sections is in
serious doubt.

The thirty items of the Social attitudes section of the ques-
tionnaire were also analyzed by means of principal components. A summary

TABLE 86

SUMMARY OF UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS OF 30 SOCIAL ATTITUDE
ITEMS (ORTHOBLIQUE ROTATION)

Factor	Item	Loading	Factor	Item	Loading
A	106. Mor	82	E	98. Equ	74
(ss=312)	104. Mor	63	(ss=186)	97. Soc	71
	86. Gov*	62		94. Cha	42
	111. Cha	-60			
	94. Cha	43	F	93. Soc*	78
	105. Soc	41	(ss=155)	109. Cha	40
	92. Gov*	(38)		92. Gov*	(38)
B	95. Gov*	84	G	88. Gov	70
(ss=233)	96. Gov*	76	(ss=150)	89. Cha*	-51
	91. Gov*	47			
	101. Gov*	45	H	113. Suc	81
	85. Suc	(38)	(ss=146)	112. Suc	37
C	90. Equ*	70	I	87. Gov	74
(ss=232)	99. Equ	68	(ss=139)	107. Soc	(-38)
	108. Equ	62		100. Gov*	(-29)
	102. Suc	55			
	103. Mor	47			
D	114. Mor	82			
(ss=231)	111. Cha	67			
	110. Gov*	64			
	112. Suc	60			

TABLE 87

INTERCORRELATIONS[a] OF UNRESTRICTED COMPONENTS
OF 30 SOCIAL ATTITUDE ITEMS -- OBLIQUE ROTATION

FACTOR[b]	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
A.	100								
B.	50	100							
C.	53	35	100						
D.	22	23	25	100					
E.	31	08	24	01	100				
F.	32	20	28	15	09	100			
G.	05	-13	08	01	14	18	100		
H.	-14	-11	-04	18	-05	00	00	100	
I.	10	10	15	-04	14	03	-04	00	100

[a] Decimals omitted.

[b] Alphabetic factor designations are the same as those in Table 86.

of the orthogonal rotation of the nine significant components is given

in Table 85. Many of these factors are heterogeneous with respect to

the a priori structure of this section of the questionnaire. Primary

loadings on Factor A are items mainly from the Morality and Sociality

subscales. Factor B shows four items from four different subscales.

Factor C has four items from the same subscale (Government); but they

are also all reverse-stated, so this may be a response set factor.

Again -- as in the prior two sections -- it appears that interpreta-

tion of the factors may depend more upon an individual's readings of

single items than on the structural design of subscales. There is one

interesting possible interpretation of Factor A here: sequence. The

seven items which load on this factor come from the eleven items on

page 11 of the questionnaire (see Appendix A). This implies that re-

spondents tended to answer all (or most) of the items on that page

somewhat similarly; this again jeopardizes construct validity, since

items were ordered at random. Similar sequence interpretations can be

cast upon other factors in this set.

The oblique rotation of the components of the Social attitudes

section are summarized in Table 86. Interpretation problems are quite

similar to those of the orthogonal analysis. The corresponding factor

intercorrelations (Table 87) include some high entries which indicate

the possibility of at least one second-order factor which would combine

Factors A, B, and C.

COMPARISONS TO TEST HYPOTHESES

In this section a variety of sub-group comparisons are made;
these comparisons are functions of the general hypotheses of the study.
Within the limits which typify questionnaire studies, these comparisons
are tests of specific counterparts of the more general hypotheses as
they have been given in Chapter II'.

Hypothesis tests -- in the form of sub-group comparisons --
are based on two distinctly different types of dependent variables. The
first set of comparisons is made using scores which are derived by add-
ing each individual's responses to items which comprise a subscale of
the questionnaire. All items on a subscale are thus equally weighted.
For the second set of comparisons, factor scores are used as dependent
variables. The factor scores are taken from tho four factors yielded by
the image analysis summarized in Table 78, page 279.

To perform tests directly relevant to the hypotheses of Chap-
ter III, comparison groups were formed in several ways. Comparing black
with white respondents was, of course, the primary test. But several of
the hypotheses implied that more detailed breakdowns should be performed.
Therefore, each race has been divided by sex for further comparisons.
Also, all respondents were dichotomously portioned into high-skill and
low-skill with respect to their most recent jobs. This enabled two-factor
comparisons involving race and job skill level.

Comparisons whi.h simultaneously involve two or more factors
are typically made by means of the analysis of variance. The authors of
this report felt that the limitations of the raw data (described earlier
in this chapter) prohibited the use of analysis of variance methods. Two

important factors contributed to the decision not to use ANOVA. First,
when the two factor breakdowns had been made, cell frequencies were
neither orthogonal nor proportional to marginal totals. Thus, most ANOVA
computational routines would have been invalid. Non-orthogonal routines
were available, but their results can make interpretation problematic at
best. It was judged that to compound the limitations of that analytic
technique with the pre-existing limitations of the data at hand would be
to cross from the rationality of social science over the threshold of
mysticism. The second factor was the rate of return of the questionnaires.
Although any inferential statistical process may invite inappropriate
generalizations given such a high probability of sampling error, it was
felt that this danger becomes more critical as the inferential technique
becomes more complex.

     Statistical procedures used in the comparisons were therefore
kept relatively simple. They are of two kinds. The central tendencies
and variabilities of sub-groups are compared by means of t-tests; rela-
tionships between subscales (or factor score distributions) are indexed
by first-order Pearson correlation coefficients.

     During the data analysis, the possibility became clear that the
results of the comparisons involving attitudes toward school and work
might be moderated by social attitudes. For example, Blacks in high-skill
jobs may be no different from whites in high-skill jobs regarding feel-
ings of powerlessness; but perhaps Blacks in high-skill jobs, who also
have extreme social attitudes, are different from both whites and more
moderate Blacks. The possibility of significant qualification of racial
differences according to social attitudes was directly relevant to the

motivation of this study. Therefore, the frequency distributions of

all six social subscales were plotted for both races. This was done to

determine whether there were groups with extreme social attitudes within

either race. If such groups could be identified, then the possibility

could be examined of related differences in school and work attitudes.

The remainder of this chapter is a concise report of the sub-

group comparisons described above. These results appear in three sec-

tions: tests using a priori subscales as dependent variables, tests

using image factor score distributions as dependent variables, and the

investigation of possible extreme social attitudes within races.

Questionnaire Subscales as Dependent Variables. Twenty-four

distinct subscales were derived for the purpose of making comparisons

in this section. Their definitions, meanings, and scale value limits

are given in Table 88. The lower limit for a subscale is the number of

items on the subscale; the upper limit is five (the largest value on the

Likert-type item) times the number of items.

Questionnaire items which are included in each of these sub-

scales may be reviewed in Tables 57 through 74, which appear on pages

250-273. A major point to be considered is that in the present section

General and Particular subscales are kept separate. In compiling a sub-

scale score, any item which was asterisked in Tables 57 through 74 (i.e.,

any negatively worded item) was reverse-loaded. Thus, if a respondent

answered "5" to such a question, he was given a "1" in compositing his

total subscale score; if he answered "4" he was given "2"; and vice

versa. After the scales had been reversed on the appropriate items, a

total composite score was derived for each respondent on every subscale

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TABLE 88

MEANINGS AND SCALE RANGES OF QUESTIONNAIRE SUBSCALES

SECTION	SUBSCALE	LEVEL	LOW SCORE MEANS	SCALE RANGE
SCHOOL				
1. Meaninglessness		General	Meaningless	3 to 15
2. Meaninglessness		Particular	Meaningless	3 to 15
3. Boredom		General	Boring	3 to 15
4. Boredom		Particular	Boring	3 to 15
5. Powerlessness		General	Powerless	3 to 15
6. Powerlessness		Particular	Powerless	3 to 15
7. Reaction to Authority		---	Favorable Reaction	6 to 30
8. Reaction to Peers		---	Favorable Reaction	, to 30
9. Reaction to Work		---	Favorable Reaction	6 to 30
EMPLOYMENT				
10. Meaninglessness		General	Meaningless	3 to 15
11. Meaninglessness		Particular	Meaningless	3 to 15
12. Boredom		General	Boring	3 to 15
13. Boredom		Particular	Boring	3 to 15
14. Powerlessness		General	Powerless	3 to 15
15. Powerlessness		Particular	Powerless	3 to 15
16. Reaction to Authority		---	Favorable Reaction	6 to 30
17. Reaction to Peers		---	Favorable Reaction	6 to 30
18. Reaction to Work		---	Favorable Reaction	6 to 30
SOCIAL				
19. Government		---	Agree with constitutional principles	10 to 50
20. Equality		---	Agrees that social equality is desirable	4 to 20
21. Morality		---	Subscribes to "conventional" morality	4 to 20
22. Change		---	Perceives social change as desirable	4 to 20
23. Success		---	Desires success	4 to 20
24. Sociality		---	Tends to be gregarious	4 to 20

by summing the numerical values of his responses to all items on the
subscale.

Using these 24 dependent variables, sub-group comparisons were
made according to race, sex, job skill level, high school attended, re-
cency of graduation, and selected interactions of these factors. Al-
though simple effects of factors such as sex and job skill level are
not closely related to the hypotheses, they will be noted as they occur.
Much more relevant are the interactions of these factors with race. In
general, only statistically significant results will be elaborated --
with a few exceptions which shall be identified.*

The first general hypothesis to be examined is the hypothesis
concerning 'particularization' in Meaninglessness, Boredom, and Power-
lessness. The results concerning this hypothesized phenomenon within
School attitudes are shown graphically in Figures 1, 2, and 3. A hori-
zontal line appears on each of these (and on following) graphs to indi-
cate the psychological midpoint which corresponds with the response
"undecided" - of the composite scale.

The dominant result of these three figures is that in no case
is there a difference between Black and white respondents. (The Ns for
all race comparisons were 131 whites and 93 Blacks.) On the Boredom
and Powerlessness subscales, respondents of both races indicated that
their school life had been more boring and powerless when asked with
particular questions than when asked with general questions. Particu-
larization is most marked on the Powerlessness subscale, where the

*Means and standard deviations on these 24 subscales for selected
groups are given in Appendix A-1 and A-2.

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FIG. 1
SCHOOL-MEANINGLESSNESS, GENERAL
VS. PARTICULAR, BY RACE (SUB-
SCALES 1 AND 2)

White   Negro
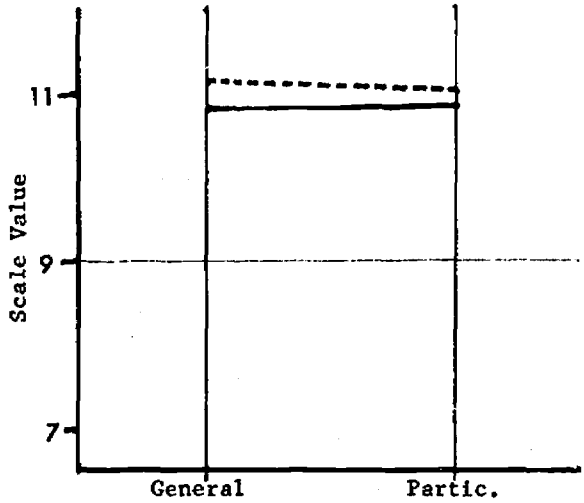
FIG. 2
SCHOOL-BOREDOM, GENERAL VS.
PARTICULAR, BY RACE (SUB-
SCALES 3 AND 4)

White   Negro
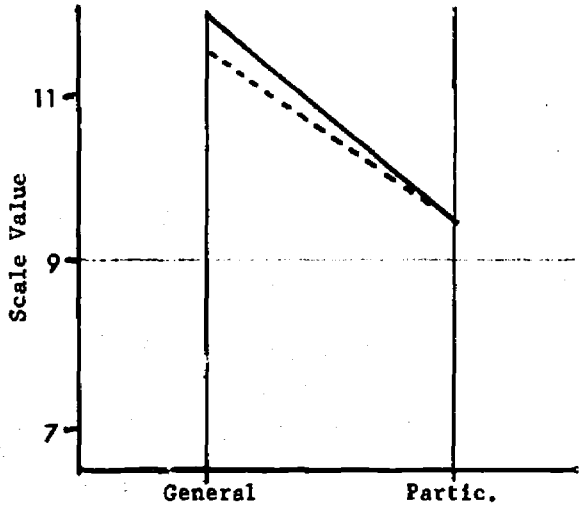
FIG. 3
SCHOOL-POWERLESSNESS, GENERAL
VS. PARTICULAR, BY RACE (SUB-
SCALES 5 AND 6)

White   Negro
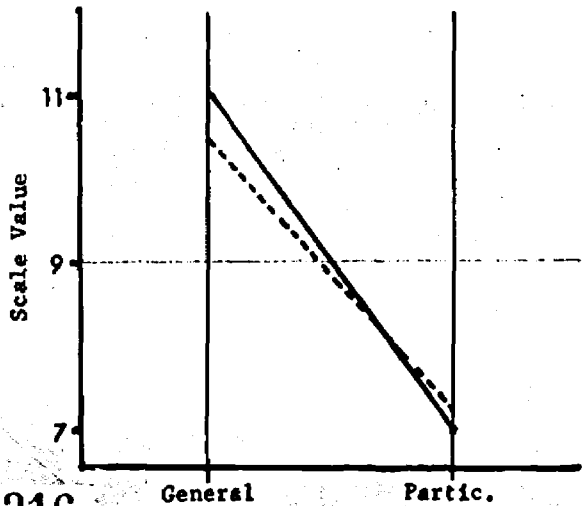
General and Particular values lie on opposite sides of the 'undecided'
scale equivalent. When respondents of the two races are pooled, the
mean difference between General and Particular values are highly sig-
nificant for both the Boredom ($t = 8.06, \alpha < .001$) and Powerlessness
($t = 14.30, \alpha < .001$) scales.

Corresponding results for the Employment section of the ques-
tionnaire are given in Figures 4, 5, and 6. Again it is clear that
there are no first-order race differences. Again there are significant
differences between General and Particular if the respondents are pooled,
but the pattern in the case of the Employment scales is quite different
from that of the School scales. On the Meaninglessness and Powerlessness
scales, respondents of both races find their job situations more mean-
ingless and more powerless in General than in Particular (Meaningless-
ness: $t = 4.51, \alpha < .001$; Powerlessness: $t = 3.77, \alpha < .001$). Only on the
Boredom scale ($t = 5.70, \alpha < .001$) is the difference between General and
Particular in the same direction as the counterpart among the School
scales.

Taken together, Figure 1 through 6 appear to substantiate fur-
ther the observation, made earlier in this chapter, that the same set
of conceptual dimensions cannot be used to describe both attitudes toward
School (or towards school as it is recalled) and attitudes toward work.

Four of the 24 subscales showed statistically significant dif-
ferences between Negro and Caucasian respondents. Two of these were
School subscales: Reaction to Peers and Reaction to Work, both six-item
scales with composite midpoint equivalents of 18. Blacks had signifi-
cantly more favorable reactions on both of these scales. On Reaction

FIG. 4
EMPLOYMENT-MEANINGLESSNESS,
GENERAL VS. PARTICULAR, BY
RACE (SUBSCALES 10 AND 11)
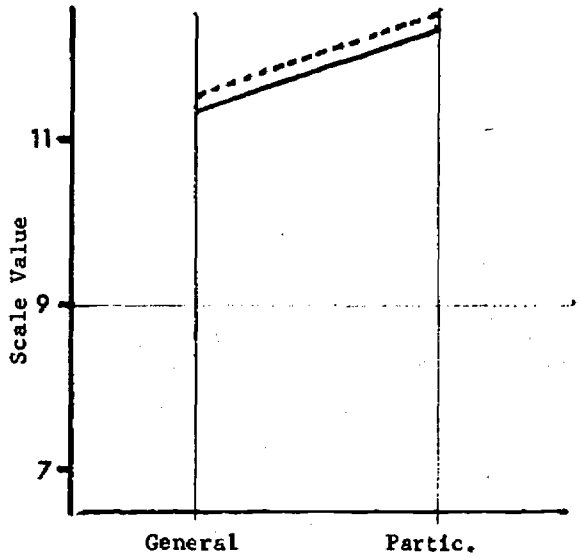
FIG. 5
EMPLOYMENT-BOREDOM, GENERAL
VS. PARTICULAR, BY RACE (SUB-
SCALES 12 AND 13)
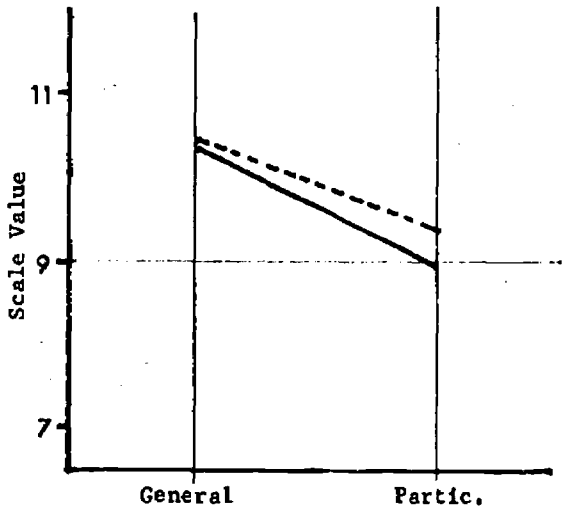
FIG. 6
EMPLOYMENT-POWERLESSNESS, GENERAL
VS. PARTICULAR, BY RACE (SUB-
SCALES 14 AND 15)
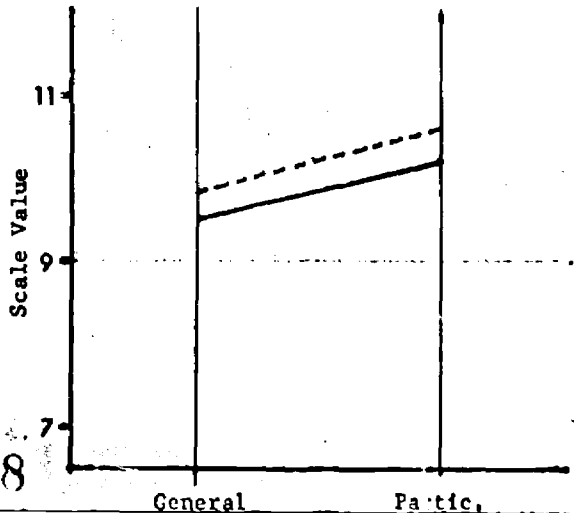
to Peers, the Black mean was 13.67 and the white mean was 15.47 (t = 4.12, α <.001); on Reaction to Work, the Black mean was 13.80 and the white mean 14.79 (t = 2.20, α <.02). All four of these means are distinctly on the "favorable" side of the "undecided" equivalent of 18.00.

The other two subscales which exhibited a significant race difference were both of the Social section: they were the Government and Sociality scales. On the former, Black respondents tended to be somewhat more in line with constitutional principles; their mean was 24.71, compared with the white mean of 27.63 (t = 3.80, α <.001). (This scale has a maximum score of 50, and the "undecided" equivalent is 30.) On the Sociality scale, whites ($\overline{X}$ = 9.26) tended to provide slightly more "gregarious" responses than Blacks ($\overline{X}$ = 10.03). This scale has a maximum score of 20 and a midpoint equivalent of 12; the difference was significant at α <.02 (t = 2.48).

Analysis of the matrix of intercorrelations of the 24 subscales yielded no reliable trends of differences between Black and white respondents. On one pair of variables there appeared to be a difference: School-Reaction to Work and Social-Morality were correlated +.46 for Blacks but only +.16 for whites. For both races, Reaction to Authority and Reaction to Work are more strongly correlated for School (Black r = +.60, white r = +.52) than for Employment (Black r = +.31, white r = +.37). Perhaps in school, reaction to work is a <u>function</u> of reaction to authority, more so than in employment settings.

The next factor to be used in defining subgroups was sex. This made it possible to attempt to identify interactions between race and sex, as they might affect the 24 variables under scrutiny. There

were 35 Negro males, 57 white males, 58 Negro females, and 74 white

females.

There appeared to be significant interactions between the

race and sex factors on three of the 24 subscales: School-Reaction to

Work, Employment-Boredom/Particular, and Social-Sociality. Figures 7,

8, and 9 graph these findings.

As Figure 7 shows, there is a significant difference between

Black and white males on subscale 9: School-Reaction to Work. White

males had more unfavorable reactions than did Black males. No such

difference existed for females. Thus, the significant overall race

difference (discussed above) on this variable is apparently due essen-

tially to the difference between males ($t = 3.24, \alpha < .001$).

In Figure 8, it is seen that extremity of Black male opinion

has generated an apparent interaction on the Employment-Boredom/

Particular subscale. Black males say their jobs are boring (in parti-

cular) significantly more than do other groups. The difference between

Black males and white males on this variable is significant at $\alpha < .01$

($t = 2.65$), and the difference between Black males and Black females

is also significant at $\alpha < .01$ ($t = 2.79$).

Figure 9 illustrates the apparent interaction between race

and sex on subscale 24: Sociality. There is a significant difference

between Black and white females ($t = 2.67, \alpha < .01$), but no such differ-

ence between males. Black females tended to give more "gregarious"

responses to items on this subscale than did white females.

General sex differences -- less interesting to this study's

hypotheses than race-by-sex interactions -- were noted on three sub-

FIG. 7
SCHOOL-REACTION TO WORK (SUB-
SCALE 9), BY RACE AND SEX
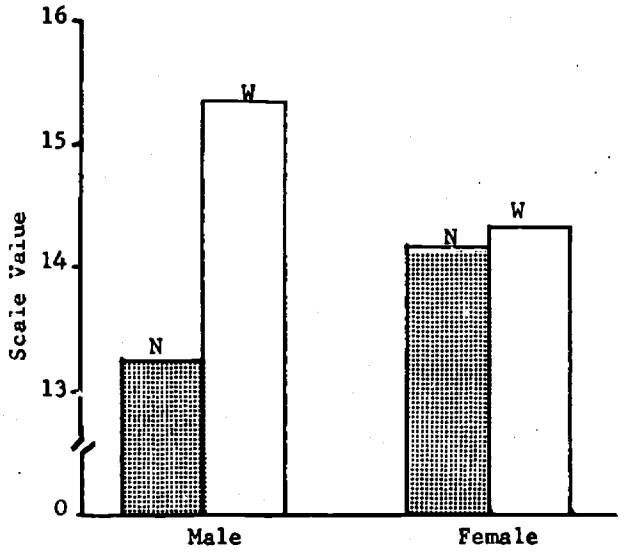
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 8
EMPLOYMENT-BOREDOM PARTICULAR
(SUBSCALE 13), BY RACE AND SEX
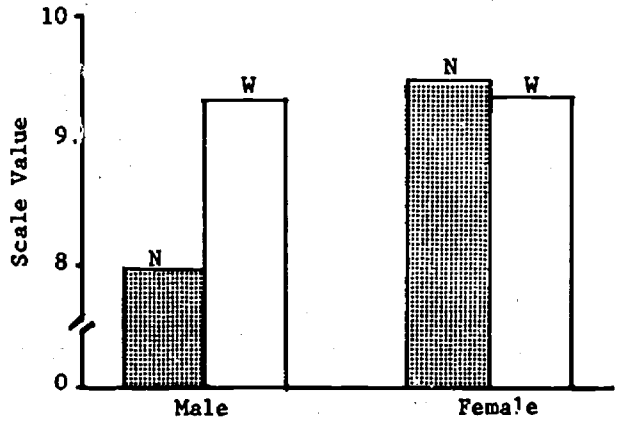
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 9
SOCIAL VALUES-SOCIALITY
(SUBSCALE 24), BY RACE
AND SEX
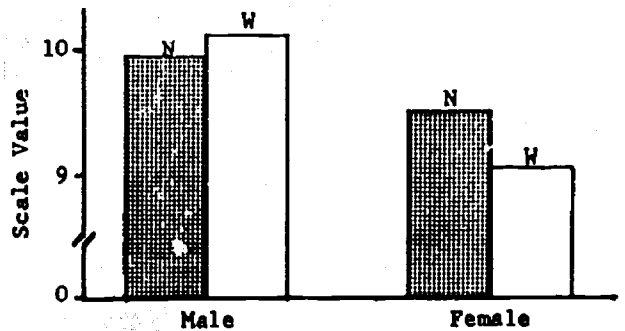
N = Negro
W = White

scales, all from the Employment section. They were: Scale 11 (Mean-inglessness-Particular), where males of both races said their jobs were meaningless more frequently than did females; Scale 12 (Boredom-General), where males felt their jobs to be more boring than did fe-males; and Scale 18 (Reaction to Work), where females had more favor-able reactions to work than males.

Table 89 gives the subscale intercorrelations which help to illuminate overall sex differences and race-by-sex interactions. In this table, it may be concluded from the first block of correlations that, in general, reaction to authority and reaction to work are only moderately related. However, they are highly correlated for females of both races when the context is School. Thus, when they were in school the girls' reactions to work and to authority were closely allied. On the job, though, the two reactions are more differentiated. For males, there is no close relationship in either situation.

In the next row in Table 89, it is seen that for males -- and especially Black males -- feelings of Boredom and Powerlessness were highly related in the School setting. This was not so pronounced for females. In the following row, the relationship between general power-lessness and the reaction to work (in School) is illustrated. This relationship is stronger among whites -- especially white males than among Blacks. The following row shows a somewhat similar result for particular powerlessness and the reaction to authority at work. The final row gives the relationship between particular Meaninglessness (in employment) and Sociality. They are strongly and negatively related among Black males, and much less strongly related among the other three sub-groups.

TABLE 89

SELECTED SUBSCALE CORRELATIONS BY RACE AND SEX

SUBSCALES	BLACK		WHITE	
	M	F	M	F
School				
Reaction to Authority	.38	.72	.39	.60
Reaction to Work				
Employment				
Reaction to Authority	.36	.25	.34	.37
Reaction to Work				
School				
Boredom - Particular	.61	.30	.41	.16
Powerlessness - General				
School				
Powerlessness - General	-.27	-.26	-.68	-.47
Reaction to Work				
Employment				
Powerlessness - Particular	-.34	-.42	-.61	-.56
Reaction to Authority				
Employment				
Meaninglessness - Particular	-.52	-.27	-.29	-.01
Social				
Socislity				

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Skill level of the respondent's most recent job is the next factor introduced into the analysis. The general objective in this segment of the analysis was to determine whether responses within races depended upon the level of skill attained on the job. The operational definitions of skill levels were obtained by trichotomizing the 40 categories used by the Survey Research Laboratory to code responses to question 12 on page three of the questionnaire. Only the final response to this question -- that is, the respondent's descripti∴ of his current or most recent job -- was used in this analysis. Table 90 presents the job code descriptions as they were dichotomized into "High" and "Low" skills for purposes of this analysis.

In a few cases, the most recent job of the respondent was not ascertained. Such cases were omitted from the analysis. Included in the following analyses were 41 high-skill and 43 low-skill Blacks, and 52 high-skill and 67 low-skill whites. Thus, nine of the total 93 Black respondents and twelve of the total '31 whites were not included because of incomplete information.

Again, the interactions of job skill level with race are of primary hypothetical interest. Such interactions appear to occur on six of the 24 subscales; five of these were on Employment scales. The only School scale which showed an interaction was scale 8, Reaction to Peers, and the result is graphed in Figure 10.

Among high-skill workers, there is no significant difference between races in Reaction to Peers, as the School experience is recollected. There is a substantial difference, though, between races within low-skill workers. Black low-skill workers report more favorable Reac-

TABLE 90

DICHOTOMY OF JOB DESCRIPTIONS
INTO "HIGH" AND "LOW" SKILL LEVELS

"HIGH" SKILLS	"LOW" SKILLS
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL	CLERICAL
Accountant, Auditor	File Clerk
Architect	Other Clerical (except Book-
Dentist	keeper and Recer ionist)
Engineer	OPERATIVES
Lawyer, Judge	Truck Driver
Clergyman, Minister	Taxi Driver, Chauffer
Doctor, Physician, Surgeon	Bus Driver
Nurse	Factory Operative
Teacher	Laborer
Farm Owner, Renter, or Manager	HOUSEHOLD WORK
MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, PROPRIETORS	Private Household Worker
Owner/Part Owner of Small Business	
Manager or Official in Small Business	SERVICES
Manager or Official in Large Business	Waiter, Waitress
CLERICAL AND SALES	Delivery
Bookkeeper	Gas Station Attendant
Receptionist	
Salesman or Saleswoman	
CRASTSMEN AND FOREMEN	
Artisan (Self-Employed)	
Foreman	
Armed Services Officer	
PUBLIC SERVICES	
Fireman	
Policeman	
Practical Nurse	

FIG. 10
SCHOOL-REACTION TO PEERS
(SUBSCALE 8), BY RACE AND
JOB SKILL LEVEL
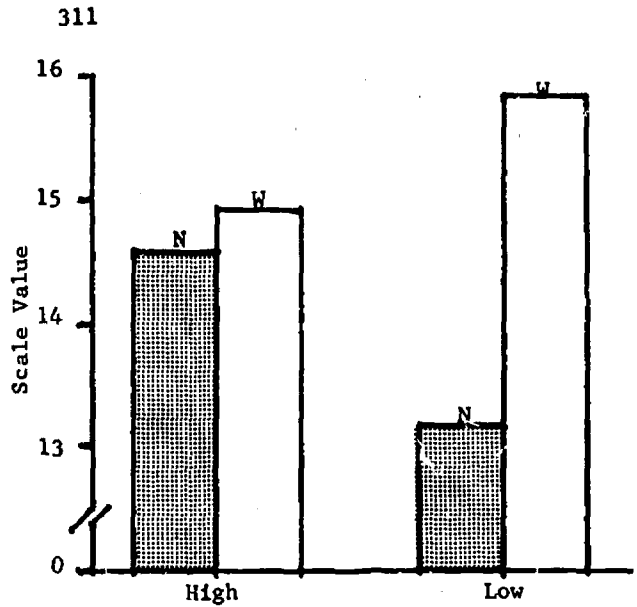
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 11
EMPLOYMENT-MEANINGLESSNESS
PARTICULAR (SUBSCALE 11),
BY RACE AND JOB SKILL LEVEL
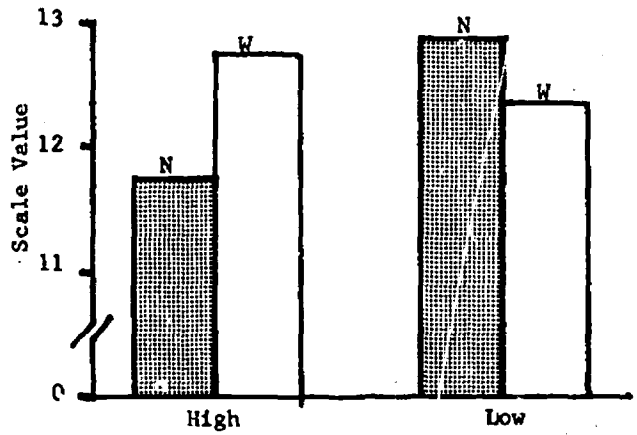
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 12
EMPLOYMENT-BOREDOM GENERAL
(SUBSCALE 12), BY RACE AND
JOB SKILL LEVEL

N = Negro
W = White
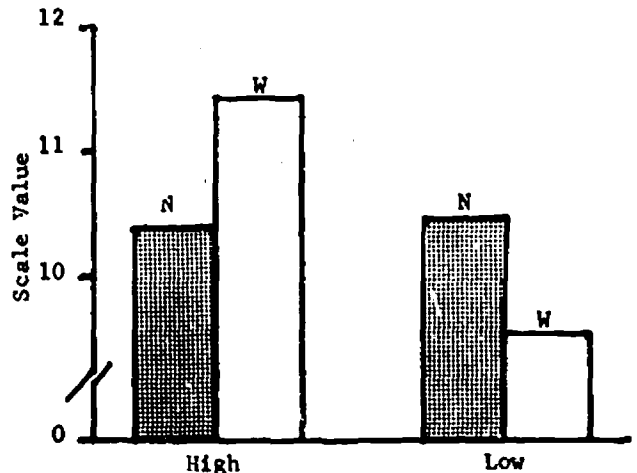
tions to Peers than do white low-skill workers (t = 4.32, α <.001).
Also, Black low-skill workers had more favorable Reactions to Peers
than did Black high-skill workers (t = 2.46, α <.02). Differences be-
tween Black and white high-skill workers were negligible.

In Figure 11, it may be seen that, on the Employment-Mean-
inglessness/Particular scale, there is a difference between Black and
white high-skill workers that has no parallel between low-skill workers.
The Black high-skill workers report their jobs to be somewhat more
meaningless than their white counterparts (t = 2.04, α <.05). Interest-
ingly, neither Black nor white low-skill workers rated their jobs as
meaningless in particular, compared with either high-skill workers or
the psychological "uncertain" point of the scale (which is 9.0 for
this subscale).

For subscale 12 -- Employment-Boredom/General, Figure 12 --
the result appears to be more complex, but only one comparison yields
a significant effect. White low-skill workers find their jobs more
boring in general than do white high-skill workers (t = 3.51, α <.001).
The graph indicates the possibility of a complex interaction: Black high-
skill workers report their jobs to be more boring than white high-skill
workers, while the reverse race difference is true among low-skill wor-
kers. Neither of these differences reach statistical significance
with these data, however.

Figure 13 supports the same interpretation for scale 13: Em-
ployment-Boredom/Particular. There again, white low-skill workers re-
port their jobs to be more boring than do white high-skill workers
(t = 2.54, α <.02). In this case, however, the difference between Black

and white high-skill workers <u>is</u> significant (t = 2.21, α <.05).

Taken together, Figures 12 and 13 support the earlier state-
ment that there is no meaningful empirical distinction between general
and particular boredom, with respect to employment. They also suggest
that there may be a qualitative experiential difference between a
"high-skill" job held by a Black and the "same" job held by a white;
or that different frames of reference may be used by Black and white
high-skill workers to evaluate their feelings of boredom; or that both
of these phenomena may occur.

Figure 14 plots the apparent race by skill level interaction
for scale 16, Employment-Reaction to Authority. Black high-skill workers
have decidedly less favorable Reactions to Authority than either white
high-skill workers (t = 2.66, α <.01) or low-skill workers who are also
Black (t = 2.79, α <.01). Clearly, authority chafes on Black high-skill
workers more than any of the other three groups.

The last of this group of interactions, given in Figure 15,
involves scale 18, Employment-Reaction to Work. This is a relatively
complex interaction: there is a significant race difference among high-
skill workers but not among low-skill workers, and there is a signifi-
cant skill-level difference among whites but not among Blacks. Speci-
fically, white high-skill workers had the most favorable Reaction to
Work, while both the Black high-skill and white low-skill groups had
relatively unfavorable reactions (Black high-skill vs. white high-skill:
t = 2.05, α <.05; white high-skill vs. white low-skill: t = 2.63, α <.01).
Again, however, no group can be considered to have <u>radically</u> unfavor-
able reactions, because <u>all</u> group means are on the "favorable" side

FIG. 13
EMPLOYMENT-BOREDOM PARTICULAR
(SUBSCALE 13) BY RACE AND JOB
SKILL LEVEL
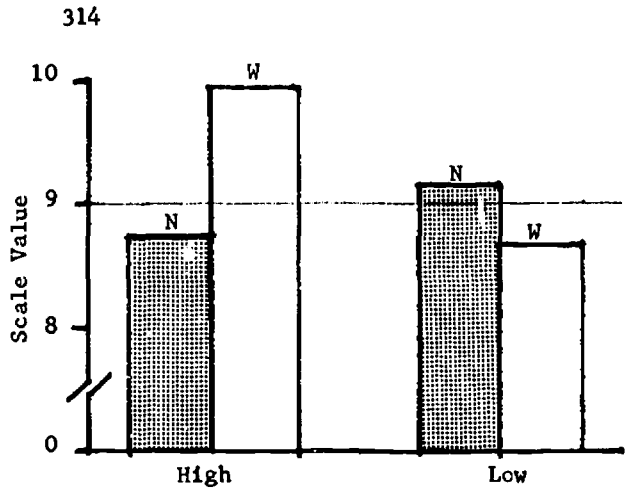
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 14
EMPLOYMENT-REACTION TO
AUTHORITY (SUBSCALE 16),
BY RACE AND JOB SKILL LEVEL
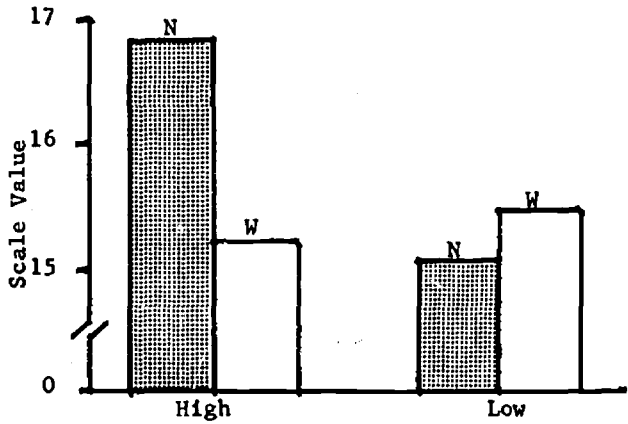
N = Negro
W = White

FIG. 15
EMPLOYMENT-REACTION TO WORK
(SUBSCALE 18), BY RACE AND
JOB SKILL LEVEL

N = Negro
W = White
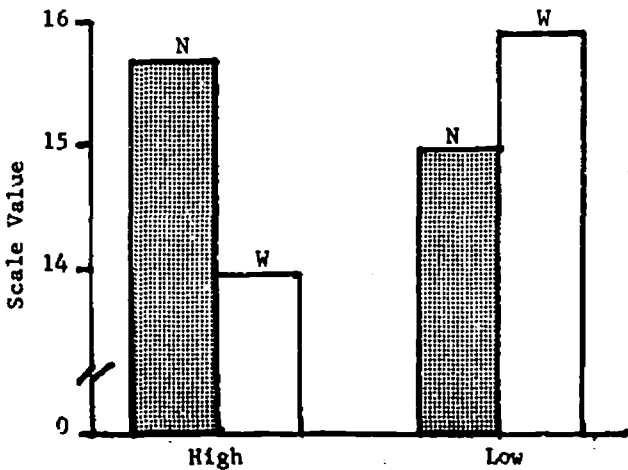
of the scale; a distinctly "unfavorable" response on this subscale
would be one exceeding 18 in magnitude.

Subscale intercorrelations which tend to illuminate the race
by job skill interaction hypothesis are given in Table 91.

The same differentiation between School and Employment, in
terms of the relationship between Reaction to Authority and Reaction
to Work, is evident here as was in Table 89.

Four pairs of scales -- where one of each pair is from the
School section and the other from the employment section -- tend to
differentiate these four groups. On School-Meaninglessness/Particular
and Employment-Boredom/Particular, there is a substantial difference
in correlation between high- and low-skill Black workers, but no cor-
responding difference between white workers. The two variables are
most strongly correlated for high-skill Blacks.

There is a difference of a similar pattern with the scales
School-Powerlessness/General and Employment-Meaninglessness/Particular.
These two are strongly correlated for Black high-skill workers, but not
for Blacks of the low-skill group. The reverse of this trend exists
among whites.

The following two rows in the table indicate general correla-
tions between variables which are higher for Blacks of both skill levels
than whites of either level. Reaction to Authority and Reaction to
Work in School are both strongly correlated with Reaction to Peers on
the job among Blacks; the corresponding correlations among whites are
weaker.

In the next row of Table 91, low-skill Black workers are shown

TABLE 91

SELECTED SUBSCALE CORRELATIONS BY RACE
AND SKILL LEVEL OF MOST RECENT JOB

SUBSCALES	BLACK		WHITE	
	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
School				
Reaction to Authority	.68	.54	.41	.57
Reaction to Work				
Employment				
Reaction to Authority	.20	.39	.30	.35
Reaction to Work				
School: Meaninglessness (Part.)	.29	.49	.39	.31
Employment: Boredom (Part.)				
School: Powerlessness (Gen.)	.10	.51	.39	.17
Employment: Meaninglessness (Part.)				
School: Reaction to Authority	.50	.44	.35	.22
Employment: Reaction to Peers				
School: Reaction to Work	.54	.48	.20	.28
Employment: Reaction to Peers				
School: Reaction to Work	.58	.32	.19	.14
Social: Morality				
Employment: Reaction to Work	-.28	-.08	-.04	.52
Social: Equality				
Social				
Morality	.39	.55	.28	.28
Sociality				

to exhibit a high positive correlation between Reaction to (School) Work and Social-Morality. Respondents of this group who have "conventional" moral beliefs also think well of their school days.

White high-skill workers appear to be unique with respect to the correlation between Employment-Reaction to Work and Social-Equality. Those who believe that equality is desirable also tend to have more favorable reactions to their work. The relationship is zero or small and negative for the other three groups.

Finally, the relationship between two social scales -- Morality and Sociality is presented. The two scales, are most strongly related for Black high-skill workers: people of this group who have "conventional" moral beliefs also tend to be gregarious. This relationship is less characteristic of Black low-skill respondents, and even less so of whites of both levels of job skill.

No other factors exhibited significant and interpretable interactions with race. Year of high school graduation, when taken as a single variable, yielded several trends. For example, the more recently a respondent had graduated, the more likely he was to say school had been boring, and the less favorable was his reaction to peers. Apparently, as the further in years a respondent was from school, so he was apt to make more benevolent judgments of it.

The length of a respondent's work experience is presumably a direct function of the length of time since his graduation. Another general trend was for respondents with relatively longer work experience to judge their recent jobs to be more meaningful and less boring than those with short work histories. Longer work experience was also asso-

ciated with more favorable Reactions to Work. Perhaps this is because,
with time, people tend to work their way into more satisfactory jobs.

There were no systematic trends in Social scale responses
which were associated with time since graduation. The trends sketched
above were general; they occurred among both Black and white respondents.

The school factor was also examined. Only one significant
difference could be located: respondents from the all-white school had
significantly less favorable reactions to peers (in school) than re-
spondents from any of the other five schools. Again, in the case of the
school factor, no meaningful interaction with race could be traced.

Factor Scores as Dependent Variables. Four distribu:ions
of factor scores, derived from the Image Analysis of Principal Compo-
nents, were used in this phase of the data analysis. A brief review
of the general interpretations of the factors is in order here. More
detailed descriptions are given in Table 78, page 279.

A person with a <u>high</u> score on Factor I is relatively <u>unhappy</u>
with and <u>pessimistic</u> about his employment situation.

Someone with a high score on Factor II is <u>dissatisfied</u> in
general with what he recalls of his school experience.

A high score on Factor III corresponds with <u>non-submissive</u>
perspectives of the role and function of the government; he subscribes
to principles embodied in the U. S. Constitution; he is <u>not</u> of a con-
ventional (i.e., Puritan) morality.

On Factor IV, high scores are obtained by persons who respect
the integrity of their own work.

No significant simple race differences existed on these four
factors. Also, there were no apparent race by sex interactions, if a
statistical decision level of $\alpha = .05$ is maintained. Figure 16 includes
plots of the four factors, with respect to the race by sex interaction
hypothesis. On Factor IV, there appears to be a tendency for Black males
to have less general respect for the integrity of their work than any
other group, but neither the comparison with white males nor the one with
Black females is significant. (If one-tailed significance tests had
been used, both of these comparisons would have been significant at
$\alpha = .05$.)

There were apparent race by job skill level interactions on
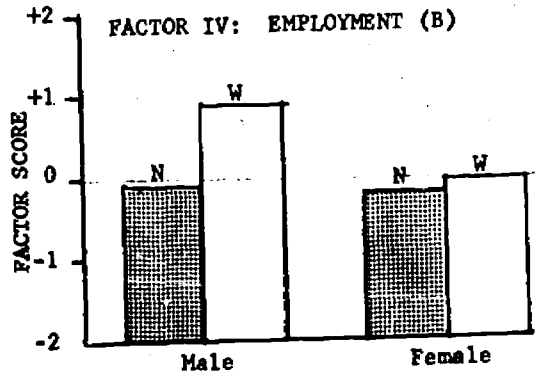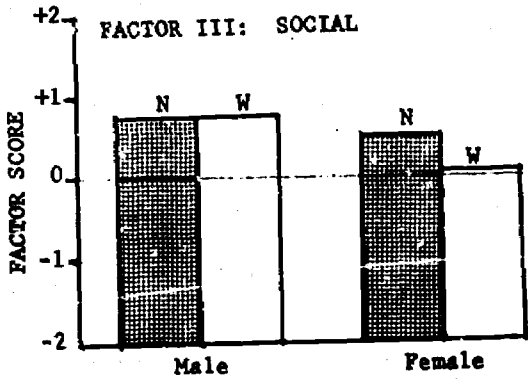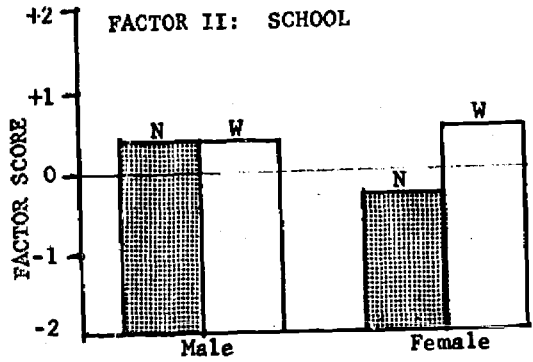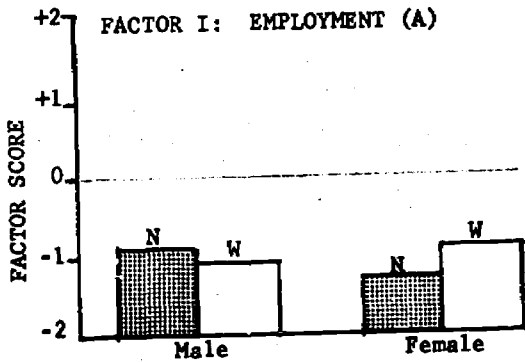
FIG. 16-VARIATIONS IN SECOND-ORDER FACTOR SCORES
AS INTERACTIONS OF RACE AND SEX

N = Negro
W = White

Factors II and IV, as illustrated in Figure 17. On Factor II, white low-skill workers look back on their school experience with less satisfaction than do Black low-skill workers (t = 2.06, α <.05). This difference does not obtain among high-skill workers. Although Black low-skill workers appear to be somewhat more satisfied than their more highly skilled counterparts, the obtained mean difference was not significant.

On Factor IV, high-skill white respondents have significantly higher respect for their jobs than either high-skill Blacks (t = 2.13, α <.05) or lesser skilled whites (t = 2.50, α <.01).

Table 92 gives the factor score intercorrelations within subgroups obtained when the respondents are categorized by race and sex, and when they are categorized by race and job skill level. Since the factor score distributions were obtained from an Image Analysis employing an orthogonal (varimax) rotation, the factor score intercorrelations are, of course, exactly zero when computed on the basis of the entire group.

Although 10 of the 48 coefficients included in Table 92 are significantly greater than zero, the only pattern of any force is found in the correlation(s) between Factors I and IV. There are strong negative correlations between these factors for Blacks of both skill levels: persons in these groups who are dissatisfied with their jobs have little respect for their integrity as employees. This relationship holds generally true for white high-skill workers, but not for white low-skill workers. Thus for this last group, general job satisfaction and respect for self as a worker of integrity are not related, whereas they
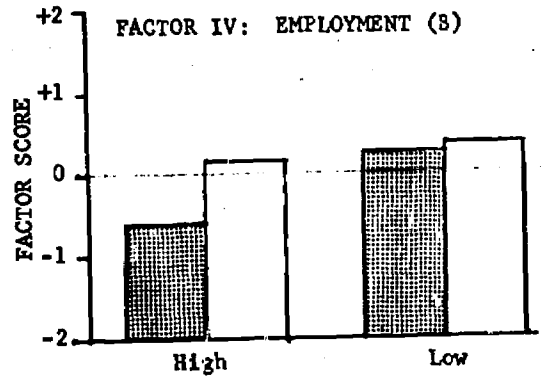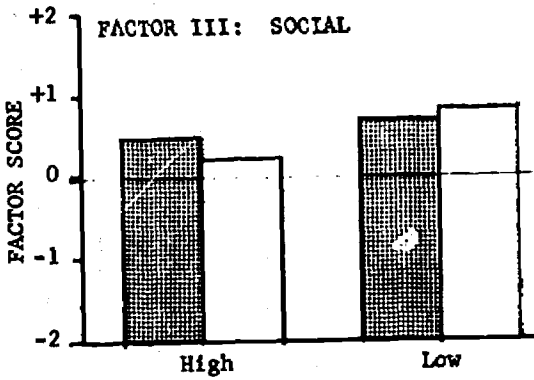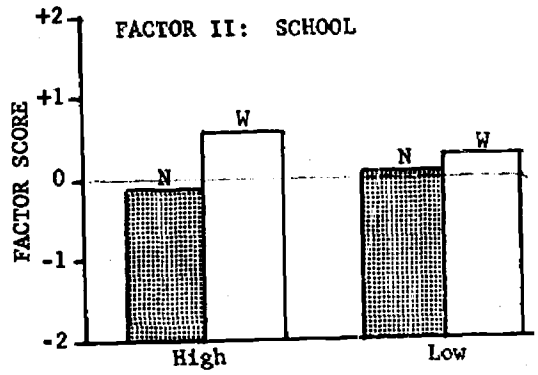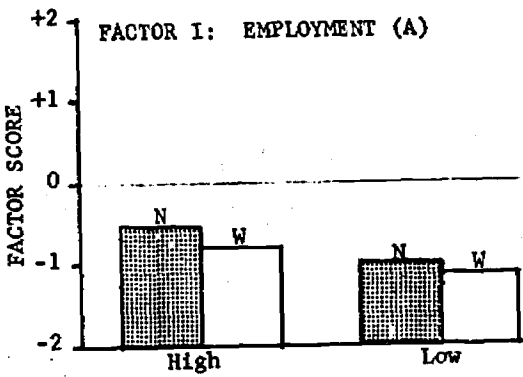
FIG.-17-VARIATIONS IN SECOND-ORDER FACTOR SCORES
AS INTERACTIONS OF RACE AND JOB SKILL LEVEL

N = Negro
W = White

TABLE 92

IMAGE FACTOR INTERCORRELATIONS[a] BY RACE AND SEX[b],
AND BY RACE AND SKILL LEVEL OF MOST RECENT JOB[c]

FACTOR	RACE	SEX	I	II	III	IV	SKILL	RACE
I	N	M		-02	19	-54[d]	Hi	N
		F		09	-18	-57[d]	Lo	
	W	M		-02	-02	-34[d]	Hi	W
		F		04	14	-02	Lo	
II	N	M	-15		14	08	Hi	N
		F	01		38[d]	11	Lo	
	W	M	-05		-15	21	Hi	W
		F	11		00	-16	Lo	
III	N	M	12	36[d]		08	Hi	N
		F	-22[d]	20		12	Lo	
	W	M	25[d]	24[d]		-11	Hi	W
		F	-06	-19		06	Lo	
IV	N	M	-32[d]	-14	05		Hi	N
		F	15	14	01		Lo	
	W	H	04	-04	-12		Hi	W
		F	-34[d]	-05	03		Lo	

[a]Decimals omitted

[b]Lower segment

[c]Upper segment

[d]Significantly greater than
R=0, where α=.05.

are related for the other three groups.

Factors II and III are correlated for Negro low-skill workers: the more socially independent a member of this group is, the less satisfied is he with his school experience. A similar but not significant trend is noted among Black high-skill workers, but not among whites of either skill level.

Factors I and III are modestly negatively related for Negro females, while they are modestly positively related for white males. For the former, satisfaction with the job tends to be associated with social independence; for the latter group, dissatisfaction with the job is associated with social independence.

Factors II and III are significantly correlated for males of both races. As social independence increases, so does dissatisfaction with school. The trend is in the same direction for Black females, but in the opposite direction for white females.

Identification and Characteristics of Socially Extreme Groups. As indicated earlier in this section, an intermediary hypothesis was stated regarding the possibility that extremity on the social scales may act as intervening variables in the examination of differences on School and Employment scales and on Image factors, and of the particularization phenomenon. Accordingly, the actual distributions of subscales 19 through 24 -- the Social scales of the questionnaire -- were separated by race of respondent and plotted. The resulting graphs are reproduced here as Figures 18 through 23.

On no one of these six variables could an "extreme" group of either race be unambiguously identified. In fact, there is remarkable

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FIG. 18 DISTRIBUTIONS BY RACE
OF SCALE SCORES ON
SOCIAL VALUES-
GOVERNMENT (SUBSCALE
19)

Negro   White
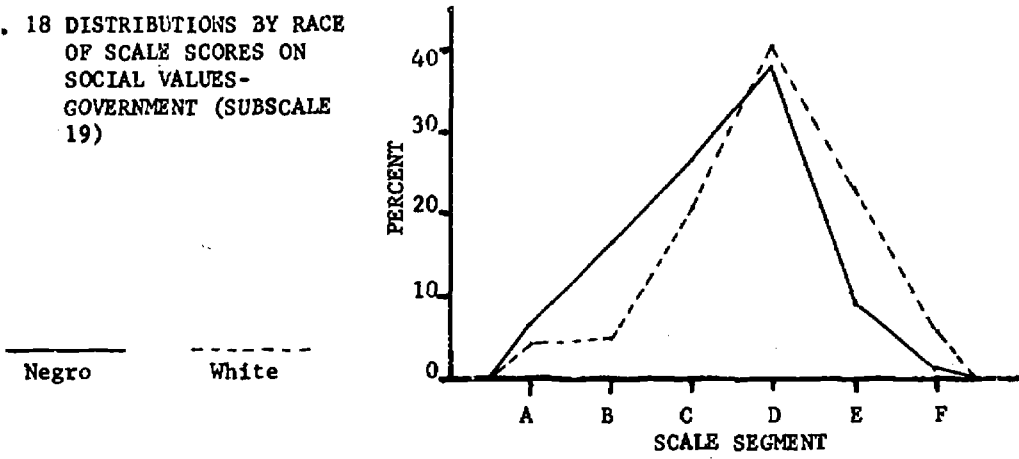
FIG. 19 DISTRIBUTIONS BY RACE
OF SCALE SCORES ON
SOCIAL VALUES-EQUALITY
(SUBSCALE 20)

Negro   White
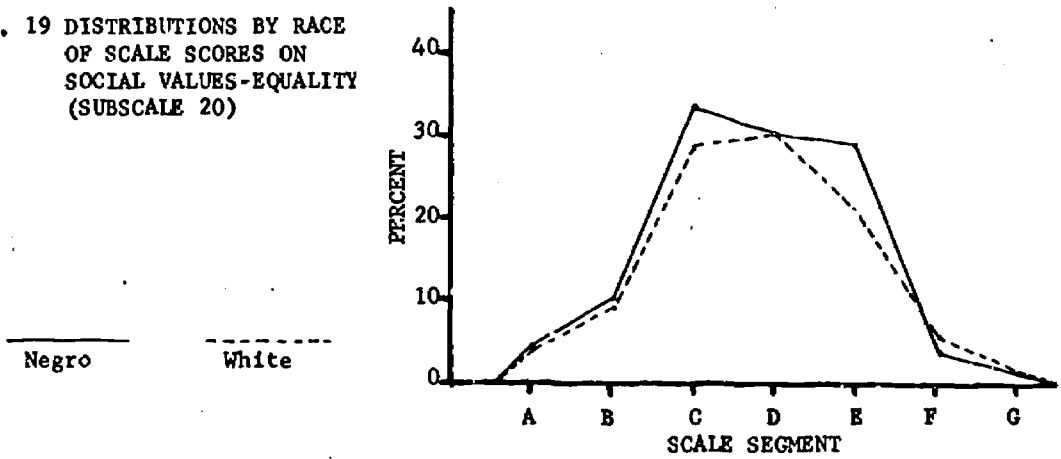
FIG. 20 DISTRIBUTIONS BY
RACE OF SCALE SCORES
ON SOCIAL VALUES-
MORALITY (SUBSCALE 21)

Negro   White
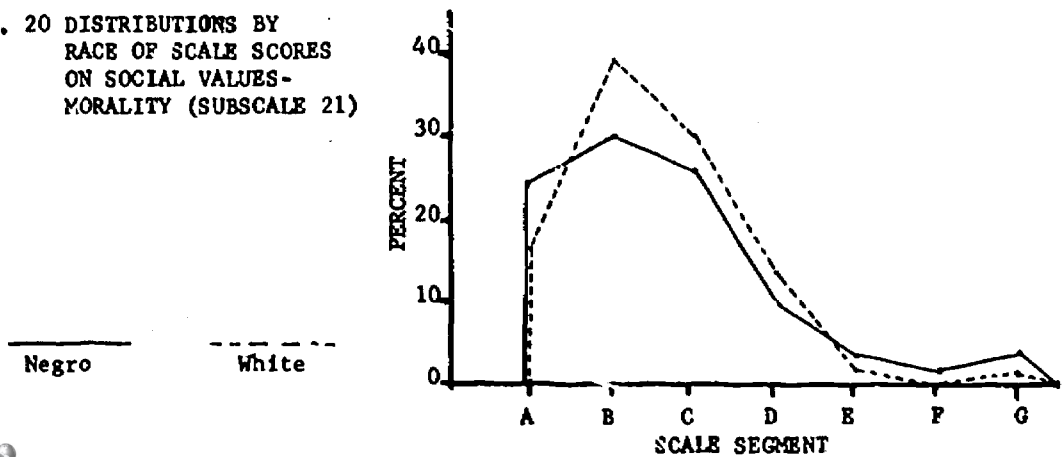
FIG. 21 DISTRIBUTIONS BY RACE OF
SCALE SCORES ON SOCIAL
VALUES-CHANGE (SUBSCALE
22)

Negro   White
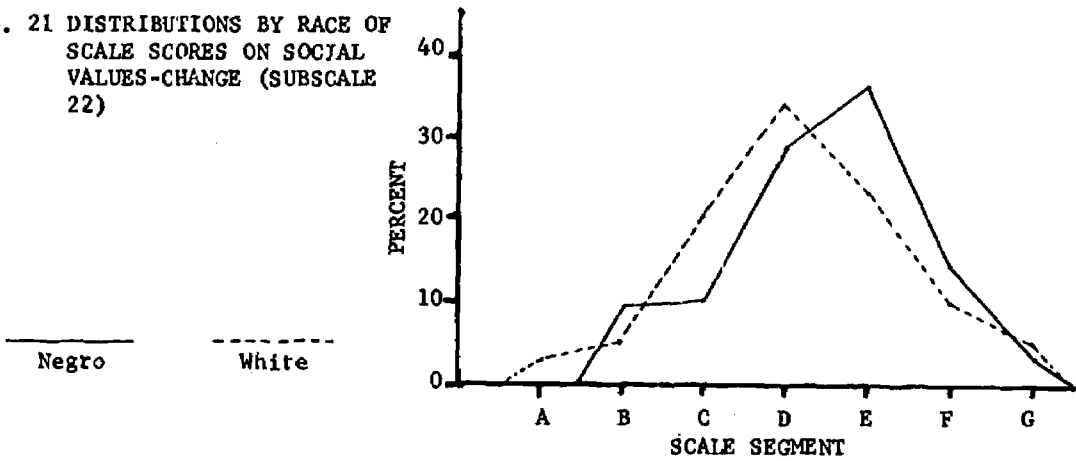
FIG. 22 DISTRIBUTIONS BY RACE OF
SCALE SCORES ON SOCIAL
VALUES-SUCCESS (SUBSCALE
23)

Negro   White
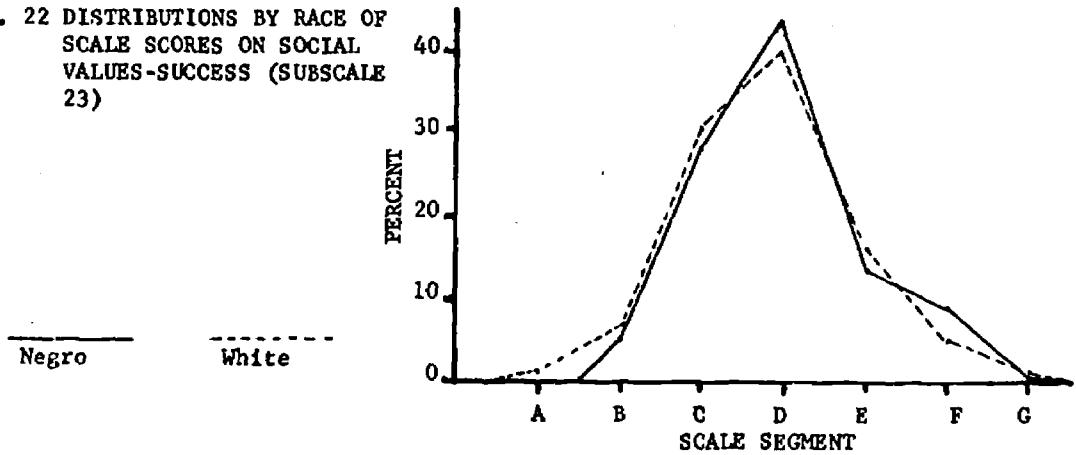
FIG. 23 DISTRIBUTIONS BY RACE OF
SCALE SCORES ON SOCIAL
VALUES-SOCIALITY (SUB-
SCALE 24)

Negro   White

341
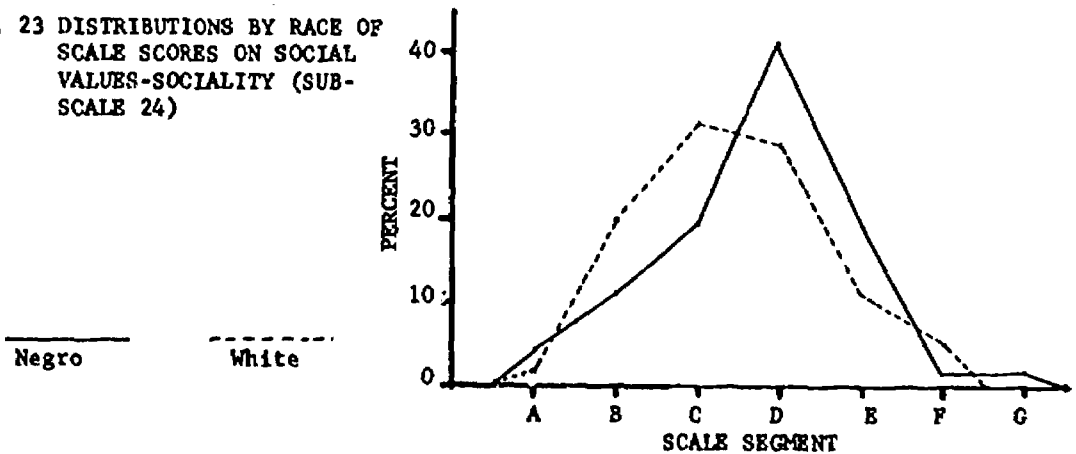
similarity of the two race distributions on all six variables, with

respect to both shape and locus. As described earlier, the mean dif-

ferences illustrated in Figures 18 through 23 are statistically sig-

nificant. However, these race distributions are more remarkable for

their similarity than for their differences. Certainly, neither Black

radicals nor white extremists can be located by using these data. It

follows, then, that they cannot be differentiated in terms of particu-

larization or in terms of attitudes toward school and work.

CHAPTER VII

DEMONSTRATION OF AN APPROACH TO EDUCATION

We have suggested that both schools and businesses in Milwaukee are failing to cope with the black-white dilemma of the city. Black children face increasing academic retardation as they move through the school system; when they reach the world of work, they are offered only the poorest paying, lowest-status jobs.

This failure may be in part attributable to the ways that blacks and whites think and talk about each other. Whites view Negroes as "culturally deprived" or "disadvantaged." Whether this leads to a well-meaning desire to help blacks "come up to our level," or to hatred and fear of blacks, the premise is the same: that blacks have a different culture from whites, and that this culture is inferior. We have postulated that, in a city such as Milwaukee, the opposite is in fact the case: blacks and whites share a common culture.

We have further postulated that blacks, particularly blacks in a small black town which is surrounded by and dependent upon white society, tend to accept the white viewpoint and legitimatize their inferior social condition. Blacks accept the white man's values and the white man's view of the black man; as a result they passively accept their roles as second-class citizens, and they blame their plight on the bigotry of the white man.

Thus, the first goal of our demonstration project was to provide students with the means for understanding the ways in which the culture shapes their lives. We wished to acquaint participants with some of the conceptual terms which facilitate the examination of human

interactions, and, more importantly, we wanted our students to learn the methods employed in this kind of scholarship. With these tools, participants could begin by reading about other cultures, and eventually come to study their own.

Our examination of the words and actions of white people involved with the schooling of blacks in Milwaukee has led us to believe that whites in their educational efforts for black children are functioning to preserve the status quo. White educators refuse to examine the structure of schools and the kinds of experiences children have in schools. Instead they place the responsibility for failure on the pathology of black culture. The result is a series of programs that are not alternatives to current educational practices, but extensions of them. Compensatory education programs, for example, do not provide a different kind of education for black children; rather, they provide more of the same kinds of programs that have already failed in regular classes.

A second goal in our demonstration project, then, was to provide an example of an alternative approach to schooling. In our program, three specific objectives were related to this goal:

(1) Help students to formulate and study problems that are of interest to them. If we examine the techniques of social scientists, we find that they are quite different from what students do when learning a subject in school. We hoped to develop a program that would lead students to engage in the craft of study as it has been developed and illustrated by the work of social scientists. We did not want our students to learn about social science, we wanted them to learn how to do social science.

(2) Change the structure of relationships between adults and children that is usually found in schools. We hoped that our teachers and students would engage in a dialogue concerned with their experiences as students of serious problems; the role of the teacher in this setting would

be to guide students to relevant sources, raise questions
about the students' experiences and their interpretations
of their experiences, and investigate with them the social
phenomena they were observing.

(3) Develop reading selections for students that are both rel-
evant and helpful. Even the best textbooks are not useful
tools in helping students learn to engage in study. We
hoped to develop a literature for students that dealt with
the ways people have sought to examine and describe cul-
tures, groups, or organizations, either as a social scien-
tist or as a member of a particular group.

When blacks leave school and confront the world of work, they

encounter organizations which stress a willingness to hire all qualified

applicants, but which do not develop training programs or reorganize their

businesses in any way to facilitate the success of black employees. Ex-

isting training programs provided by the public and vocational schools are

outdated and ineffective. Too often, blacks find themselves in dead-end,

low-paying, low-status work situations. Our postulate is that whites, in

their efforts to resolve the employment problems of blacks, are function-

ing to preserve the status quo.

We suggest that blacks are unqualified to succeed in the world

of work in two ways. First, the school system has not provided them with

either academic skills or work skills. Second, they are unskilled in the

behaviors needed to get and hold a job.

Our third goal was to provide training that would lead to open-

ended job opportunities. Vocational training, perhaps more than any

other area of education, must be continually reevaluated in light of

predictions about future employment opportunities. We hoped to help our

students learn skills in areas which see the demand for workers increasing

rather than diminishing, and which would open avenues of promotion and

mobility.

Finally, we wanted to give students the skills to get and hold
the jobs they wanted. MVEEOC and other organizatio.is have approached
this problem by stressing superficial issues such as dress, language,
and manners. Our experiences with black high school students has led
us to feel that such an approach is based on the false assumption that
blacks and whites do not share a common culture. We believe that the
difficulty that blacks often experience in getting and holding jobs is
not due to a cultural difference, but a result of the failure of black
youth to understand the ways in which organizations actually work.

Our goals led us to develop a course with two quite different
but highly related parts. Anthropology seemed the most appropriate of
the social sciences to help students understand how social systems af-
fect the lives of those who live in them. Since we were also interested
in having our students develop an understanding of the world of work,
we planned to engage our students first in an examination of anthropo-
logical work and thought, and then in the study of some of the organi-
zations that comprise the world of work.

We also wanted our students to develop specific job skills
that would lead to open-ended job opportunities. An examination of some
of the jobs in which demand for workers ia increasing led us to choose
two fields: data processing and metallurgy. We arranged for students
to receive both in-class and on-the-job training in both areas. The
students, during their on-the-job training, were to have two roles. One
role would be that of a young worker participating in an on-the-job
training program; the other would be that of an anthropologist. In the
second role, participants could develop the social distance to view the

roles of the workers and the customs and mores of the organization, and come to understand how the organization functioned.

A program that combines work and school can be considered an alternative to present programs only if the roles of the participants are substantially different from what they would be in regular circumstances. Most programs that have combined work and school are of one of two types:

> (1) The student-worker's tasks in one institution are unrelated to his tasks in the other. In this situation, the student-worker's time is split between going to school and working at some kind of job, but there is no connection between the two.

> (2) The student-worker learns a specific skill in school which he then uses in his job. This type of program can be illustrated by an auto mechanics course given by a high school in cooperation with car manufacturers or garages, in which the student-worker spends some of his school time learning about cars, and spends his work time applying this knowledge.

In both cases, the student-worker is performing as a student for part of his time and a worker for the rest of his time. Thus, neither can be considered a real alternative to existing practices.

In the present program, the participants would learn the body of knowledge and the methods of scholarship that comprise the field of cultural anthroplogy. They would also receive training and on-the-job experience in a specific type of work. But the craft of anthropology would be brought to the world of work, and the experiences in that world would provide the basis for anthropological dialogue. Primarily, the participants would be learning a way of looking at themselves and others that would enable them to no longer be victims of either the white world or the black.

Participants. A total of twelve students were selected for
the program. Eight of these students were chosen from North Division
High School, an all-black high school in Milwaukee; two other black
students came from Upward Bound programs in other nearby schools. Two
white students were included in the group; both were from upper-middle
class environments. All students were either June graduates or would
graduate in January following the program. All students planned to go
to college, although a large number of the black students did not meet
the requirements for college entrance. Students were selected primarily
on the basis of their interest in participating in an experimental
anthropology-work program.

The students were paid $1.50 an hour during the first weeks
of the program. The rate was increased to $1.85 when students began to
work on a full-time basis. Further increases were negotiated with the
firms when students began to participate as regular workers.

Two departments at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee were
directly involved with the program. Dr. Robert Block of the Department
of Anthropology defined much of the basic anthropological material that
was to be presented. Terry Moore, a graduate student in Anthropology,
taught the anthropology section of the program, and designed many of the
day-to-day anthropological experiences of the students. The programmed
instruction course, Basic Computer Systems Principles, was supervised by
David Lundean, of the Department of Computer Sciences. He met with
students in this segment of the program every day for the first five
weeks of the course, and provided an orientation to data processing and
helped students complete the 40-hour programmed instruction course in
data processing.

Mrs. Barbara King, of the Department of Human Relations, acted
as liaison between the students and the staff of the project.

Schedule of the Program. The activities of the program were
as follows:

Week 0 (June 12-16): Met two hours daily, 4:00 to 6:00 for
    Introduction to Anthropology.

Weeks 1 and 2 (June 19-30):
    8:00 - 10:00 A.M.   Course in Anthropology
    10:00 - 11:00 A.M.   Course in Programmed Instruction
    Afternoons   Study and Assignments

Week 3 (July 3-7): Two days spent in regular schedule, two
    days spent in orientation to firms.

Weeks 4 and 5 (July 10-21):
    8:00 - 10:00 A.M.   Course in Anthropology
    10:00 - 11:00 A.M.   Course in Programmed Instruction
    11:00 - 12:00 Noon   Study and Assignments
    1:00 - 5:00 P.M.   On-the-job Training at Firms

Weeks 6 and 7 (July 24 - August 4): Students spent full time
    at firm.

Week 8 (August 7-11): Students spent half time at work, and
    other half preparing and discussing evaluations of
    their work experience in terms of their anthropo-
    logical perspective.

Anthropology Course. As stated earlier, we hoped to change
the status of students and teachers in school settings, and to provide
students with an understanding of how anthropologists do anthropology.
We found that these objectives were quite difficult to accomplish, but
our experiences convinced us of the validity of the goal. When we were
able to utilize student experiences and provide students with means for
active participation, they responded eagerly, intelligently, and with a
growing understanding of themselves and others; when students sat and
listened to others talk, they quickly lost interest.

The first two weeks of the anthropology course (Weeks 0 and 1)
were planned to provide students with a background in anthropological
language and point of view. The readings during this period were fairly
standard anthropological studies. Student response was generally nega-
tive. They felt that the "lectures" were boring and over their heads,
and that much of the reading was dull and uninteresting. Despite these
criticisms, they felt the course was worthwhile, but "just another course."
It should be noted that at least some of the "lectures" were not planned
as lectures -- they were meant to be discussions. However, since students
did not respond, the lectures were the result. Ideally, as soon as those
involved found that students were not participating, the material of the
course should have been revised; unfortunately, two weeks passed before
necessary changes were made.

During the third week of the course, the direction changed from
general anthropological studies, to the study of the culture of the stu-
dents at school, at home, and at work, and a comparison of this culture
to those of other groups, presented through films and records. The em-
phasis of the readings also changed, and focused on the black experience
in America.

Students were given numerous observation assignments, designed
to develop the skill of objective observation and to enable them to use
anthropological language in describing daily occurrences. Initial assign-
ments involved observing groups eating in the University cafeteria,
observing the behavior of the class while it was in session, and analyzing
the friendship patterns in the class. Observations were then widened to
include the home and neighborhood of the students. Frank Samuala, a
graduate student in sociology at the Institute of Human Relations, de-

veloped an inventory which students used to facilitate the study of their
environment. Eventually, six students spent a weekend in Madison, visit-
ing members of the Barriers staff; both white and black students were
involved in this trip, and the students themselves decided to use the
occasion to study the reactions of outsiders to interracial couples.
The students, upon their return, wrote remarkably insightful and detailed
reports of their experience.

Class time was used to discuss the observations of the students;
material on other cultures was related to their own through these discus-
sions, and through role-playing, which proved extremely successful.
During role-playing sessions, even students who were usually quiet, be-
came vocal and involved.

Students were asked to write brief reviews of all the reading
assignments. We found that students were most interested in readings
that dealt with personalized accounts of individuals or groups, rather
than overviews. Students lost interest when, as one girl wrote, "there
were too many numbers." In Appendix B, a list of all readings is given,
with those considered most successful marked with asterisks.

Work Experience. In terms of career training, data processing
proved considerably more successful than metallurgy. However, in terms
of anthropological experience, both were highly successful.

Students in the data processing section of the program had
already completed most of their training before they began work at the
various firms. Thus, it was not difficult for them to become quickly
assimilated into the work patterns of the firms. The students involved
in metallurgy, however, while they had some prework orientation, were

primarily learning the job skills in the foundries. Black men ir found-
ries hold only low-level jobs; since our students were untrained, they
were immediately put into such low-level jobs. In order for students to
have other kinds of experiences, it became necessary to tell the foremen
in the foundries that these were not "regular" black people, but part of
a University project. The workers quickly learned this, and interpreted
it to mean that the students were there to "study" them, rather than to
do the job. This brought about increased hostility and resentment toward
the students, and resulted in a work experience of little value.

However, the situation that produced a poor work experience
simultaneously produced an excellent chance for the students involved to
analyze their reactions and the reactions of others. They were forced
to examine the situation in a way that would not permit easy, standard
answers: as a result, they gained considerable insight into some of the
barriers in the world of work that exist for black people, and into
possible methods of coping with these barriers.

The students placed in data processing positions faced a simi-
lar problem after the "riots" at the beginning of August. During the
first part of the experience, they had been accepted, although not with-
out hesitation, by the previous all-white staffs. Much of this tenuous
relationship disappeared after the "riots." The isolation that resulted
from white fear and prejudice seemed to be the most difficult barrier
faced by these students. Again, through discussions of their experiences,
they were at least in a better position to understand and cope with the
problems they faced.

One of the most promising results of the program was the degree to which the students were able to observe and describe the group interactionj at their places of work. Although they tended to employ nonanthropological terms in their descriptions, they developed their ability to observe and analyze situations.

SUMMARY

In this program we have sought to invent an alternative in education that might prove helpful to black students. We tried to do four basic things:

1. Provide the students with an honest experience of scholarship.

2. Change the status and role of both students and teachers.

3. Engage students in a study of the culture of work.

4. Engage students in work experiences that may prove to have career possibilities.

In our efforts we achieved some success and encountered some difficulties. We were not fully successful in providing honest experiences of scholarship or in fundamentally changing the status and roles of students and teachers. We achieved a measure of success in involving students in successful work experiences and in describing and analyzing some aspects of their experiences.

We found both students and teachers were inflexibly adapted to the standard roles that they play in education settings. The students tended to cling to the dependent status to which they are accustomed, and the instructor often lapsed back into the traditional expository mode of instruction that we were seeking to avoid.

But when the students were active and confronting real problems and when the instructor could play his role as consultant and associate, the work of the group was exciting and provided a dramatic illustration of the intellectual and emotional possibilities associated with the effort to engage the student in the action of scholarship that is associated with anthropology.

All of the students achieved a measure of success in objectifying, describing, and analyzing the social dynamics of various work situations.

If we were again to seek to develop an alternative in education based on our experiences with this pilot summer program we would make the following modifications:

1. Recruit a staff that was open to the possibilities of seeking to teach students how to work in the style or manner of social scientists.

2. Provide sufficient time for planning sessions, so the staff can think through the various skills and activities that they will seek to teach their students how to do.

3. Provide sufficient time to develop materials and business connections that will facilitate the kinds of inquiry that would be encouraged.

4. Provide sufficient planning time to develop methods or procedures of evaluating the kinds of accomplishments that we are trying to encourage. How does one evaluate a student's ability to interpret and interview? to interpret participant observation experiences? to interpret his own emotional reactions to his experiences?

We were convinced--by both our successes and our failures--that one key to improving the quality of education for black youth is to seek to guarantee that educational programs provide honest experiences of scholarship. Another related innovation that would improve the quality of education for black students is to alter the status

relationshipsbetween students and teachers. If a teacher is the dis-
penser of information and students are the receivers of information,
then, ironically, students never learn what it means to study anything.
Study (thought of as inquiry as illustrated by social science and hu-
manistic scholarship) is a purposive activity that arises out of the
formulation and confrontation of problems. The chief business of a
student is to learn to study. Our pilot program tried to do this; the
Milwaukee schools never try to do it.

We think that engaging students in the action of scholarship
and focusing attention upon the culture of work is a plausible way to
help black youth to confront the social barriers that impede the eco-
nomic progress of black youth. If it is the social system that is
victimizing black youth, then not until they begin to study and think
about social systems will they be free and competent to cope effectively
with their constraints.

CHAPTER VIII

Gestalt psychologists, in their investigation of perceptual organization, focused attention on what they called _figure ground_ phenomena. The question they posed was this: Why do we see _things_ and not the holes between them? If an extended hand with fingers spread were examined, it would appear to be a _figure_, a thing and the various other objects in a field of vision would become a featureless mass that gestalt psychologists would call the _ground_. What a person may see as _figure_ and what may appear as _ground_, depends upon who a person is, what his experience may be, and what the objects are that he is selectively noticing and ignoring.

There is a figure-ground phenomena in the perception of the troubles of urban communities. The difficulties of non-whites are often perceived as _figures_ on the featureless unconsidered ground of organized community life. Black youth, black families, non-white communities are discordant elements, prominent figures on the ground of urban experience.

When urban problems are studied, figures rather than ground are noticed and investigated. Research into urban troubles usually focuses attention upon powerless individuals, victims of organized community life, non-whites, and it is hardly aware of the ground of political social, and business realities that structure the ways that we live together in cities.

The intention of this study was to call attention to the _ground_ as well as the _figures_ in the drama and conflict in the community life of the city of Milwaukee. An effort has been made to study the strong as they have acted upon the weak, the responsible as they have planned

for the vulnerable, the deliberately created institutions that process

the chance _figures_ of non-white homes, families and communities.

There were five basic tasks in this investigation:

1. Determine concretely what school and work experiences of
   black youth in Milwaukee are.

2. Test hypotheses logically related to the postulate that
   blacks and whites share a common culture.

3. Test hypotheses logically connected with the postulate
   that blacks tend to legitimatize their inferior status
   and condition of life.

4. Test hypotheses logically connected with the postulate
   that whites legitimatize their superior status and
   condition of life.

5. Explore an educational alternative.

In this chapter the results of pursuing these tasks will be reported and

ways of confronting problems of employment and education in cities will

be proposed.

Some Limitations of the Findings of this Study

The questionnaire that was developed, tested, and used in this

study to explore the perceptions of black and white high school graduates

has some limitations that the authors considered in their analysis of the

data. The limitations essentially are two:

1. There was a 45% response to the questionnaire. Somewhat
   more women than men responded. These facts may influence
   the results of the study in unknown ways. In Chapter VI
   there is a discussion of the implications of the 45% re-
   sponse for this investigation.

2. The structure of the questionnaire has limited construct
   validity. The _a priori_ scales were not well confirmed by
   factor analysis. Further refinement of the scales will
   be necessary before highly theoretical interpretations of
   the questionnaire results are possible. There is a de-
   tailed discussion in Chapter VI of the problems of the
   construct validity of the questionnaire.

In spite of these limitations, the questionnaire does provide a variety
of ways:

1. of comparing the perceptions of black and white high school
   graduates.

2. of determining the degree to which blacks and whites legit-
   imatize their school and work experiences.

The data relating to these matters appear to be fairly clear and reliable
considering the general limitation of a 45% response.

PART I: FIGURES IN THE FIGURE GROUND ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE

School and Work Experiences of Non-White
Youth in Milwaukee

Employers, through MVEEOC, through statements reported in the
press, and through personal interview seemed to be saying that they did
not discriminate, that non-whites could find satisfactory employment, that
there was equal opportunity for all in the city of Milwaukee.

Milwaukee schoolmen, in the press, in official publications,
and in personal conversations affirmed that every child in Milwaukee re-
ceived a quality educational experience, that the schools did not segre-
gate black teachers or children, and that only irresponsible militants
or outside agitators could question the wisdom of the policies of the
Milwaukee Schools.

According to the testimony of leaders in business and industry,
equal opportunity and quality education are what is to be found in the
city of Milwaukee for non-white residents. What was found when the prac-
tice of schooling and employment was examined?

The basic findings relating to the Milwaukee Schools reported
in Chapter II were these:

1. Both teachers and children are highly segregated in
   Milwaukee schools and this segregation appears to be
   increasing.

2. Non-white children tend to encounter minimally qualified
   or unqualified teachers, minimum curriculum alternatives
   and school routines that are intellectually and emotion-
   ally sterile.

3. The Milwaukee schools have been unable to provide an ef-
   fective school experience for non-white youth.

4. The Milwaukee Schools have adamantly imposed routines
   that historically have failed non-white children, were
   failing at the time of this study, and are likely to fail
   as long as they continue to be imposed.

The disparity between the testimony of Milwaukee schoolmen and

the realities of schooling in the black community suggest a dissonance,

a conflict worthy of serious thought. How can one account for the chronic

failure of the black schools? How can one account for the segregated

teachers? Apparently, the testimony of school officials is not a useful

guide to what can be observed in the schools.

If what school officials say provides no useful guide to under-

standing what the schools are doing, then perhaps what the schools are

doing may provide a useful guide to understanding what school officials

are thinking and believing. If one assumes that Milwaukee schools are

accomplishing what their officials intend to accomplish, then certain

statements about their success suggest themselves:

1. Milwaukee school officials seek deliberately and effec-
   tively to segregate black and white students and teachers.

2. Milwaukee school officials seek to create inferior settings
   in which black children are to live and to learn.

3. Milwaukee school officials seek to maintain school routines
   in black communities that produce chronic academic failure.

4. Milwaukee school officials seek to speak compassionately
   of their concern for the unfortunate children of the black
   community.

5. Milwaukee school officials seek to attribute their own
   failures of initiative, responsibility, and imagination
   to the difficulty of the task they have taken up: their
   charge is to serve effectively the children of the non-
   white community.

If Milwaukee school officials were dramatically seeking to rethink the

structure of school procedures, if school officials were seeking to re-

consider failing school routines and customs, then the above statements

would not be a plausible account of what Milwaukee schoolmen think and

believe. But since there is no such effort, and since one can find in-

stead a passionate defense of failing procedures as quality educational

programs, it is reasonable to conclude that the above statements are the

regulating policies of the Milwaukee school system.

The basic findings relating to employment in the city of Mil-

waukee reported in Chapter II are these:

1. The structure of employment practice assigns to blacks
   employment in service, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.
   Under-employment as well as unemployment is an important -
   and may be the most important - problem in Milwaukee.

2. The tight labor market has alleviated the massive black
   unemployment found in some other American cities.

3. Employers have resisted government sponsored training
   programs for blacks.

4. Employers have been unwilling to establish special train-
   ing programs or recruitment programs that would bring
   blacks into all levels of employment in Milwaukee.

5. MVEEOC firms have the same percentage of black employees
   as do employers in the city as a whole.

6. The statistics regarding unemployment of blacks may
   seriously underestimate the degree of black unemployment,
   particularly the unemployment of black youth.

What policies of employers would explain the structure of
opportunity to be found in Milwaukee? Milwaukee employers tend to say
that discrimination is no longer an issue. MVEEOC firms appear to
guarantee equality of opportunity to all, regardless of race, color, or
creed.

What does equal opportunity mean in the City of Milwaukee?
It apparently means:

1. Black workers are to be freely employed in low-status and
    low-paying work.

2. No programs should be developed that would facilitate the
    rapid involvement of black workers in high levels of
    responsibility.

3. No efforts should be made to recruit black workers for
    management responsibilities.

The above statements appear to be the policy of non-discrimination in
employment that employers in Milwaukee are following.

The data on schools and the data on employment suggest that
there are two fundamental barriers to employment opportunity for blacks
in Milwaukee. They are:

1. The Milwaukee schools: these schools are not an effective
    means for blacks to prepare for participation in business,
    industry, or the professions.

2. The structure of employment opportunity: non-whites are
    condemned to low-skill, low-paying, and low-status employ-
    ment.

Statements of goodwill, equal opportunity and human concern that do not
face these problems are likely to do little to redress the social in-
equity of black underemployment and unemployment.

Testing Hypotheses Logically Related to the Postulate
That Blacks and Whites Share a Common Culture

Do blacks and whites share a common culture? This question
is important to consider because the notion of cultural differences has
provided white schoolmen and white employers with a powerful explanation
of why black children, rather than white school officials, fail and of
why black workers, rather than white employers, are unready for the
challenge of equal opportunity.

The myth of cultural difference can be seriously questioned if
it can be shown that blacks and whites share cultural values that are
fundamental to American society.

Milwaukee white school officials faced at the time of this
study a conflictful situation:

1. Chronic failure of their school programs in black commu-
   nities.

2. Criticism by many members of the black community.

3. Criticism by many white community groups and some govern-
   mental organizations.

The Milwaukee school officials were under enormous pressure and they
desperately needed an ideology that:

1. legitimatized what they did, and

2. comforted them in their distress.

The notion of cultural differences performs this function admirably. It
explains why the school officials chronically fail. It affords opportu-
nities for failing school officials to express human concern for the
troubles of children for whom they can do nothing -- black children are
culturally different and for some reason cannot learn.

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If it can be shown that blacks and whites share fundamental
social attitudes, then perhaps the Myth of Cultural Differences may
lose some of its appeal.

The findings reported in Chapter VI are unambiguous. The black
and white high school graduates in our sample share a common system of
beliefs. The general findings reported in Chapter VI are these:

1. Black and white high school graduates in Milwaukee share
    in common a basic American value system.

2. Black and white high school graduates in Milwaukee share
    a belief in and support of American liberties as expressed
    in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights.

3. Black and white high school graduates react in almost
    identical ways to both school and work experiences.

Chapter IV reports in considerable detail the approach to exploring
fundamental American attitudes and Chapter VI reports in great detail
the results of comparing black and white social attitudes and perceptions
of school and work.

The results of this aspect of the Barriers Study are clear if
not overwhelming. Hypotheses related to the postulate that blacks and
whites share a common culture were confirmed. There is in these results
at least a small amount of firm data that suggests that school officials
in Milwaukee and elsewhere might profit from fundamentally questioning
the premises of their beliefs about black children and the customary
routine of their educational practice.

Testing Hypotheses Logically Related to the
Postulate that Blacks Tend to Legitimatize
their Social Status and Conditions of Life

How do black high school graduates perceive their school and
work experiences? The schools are in a chronic state of failure and have

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been for a long time. A graduate of a Milwaukee high school has on!y a
remote possibility of succeeding in college, the professions, or in
business. His most likely employment will be in low-skill, low-paying
work. How is this school and work opportunity perceived? According to
the perspective of this study, just as one can expect white officials
to legitimatize what they do no matter what disaster it may create in
the lives of others, one can also expect that black youth will tend to
legitimatize their school and work experience no matter how unsatisfac-
tory it may be.

All of us can be expected to seek to make the accidents of our
circumstances appear to be rational and attractive: if we administer a
school program, we must justify to ourselves and cthers what we do; if
we are compelled by law to attend school, we must justify what we are
forced to do in order to make our participation endurable.

Schools officials, if they are to deal with the challenges
they are paid to confront, and black youth if they are to improve the
conditions of their lives, must deal with the circumstances of life
within which they find themselves and not seek comfort and escape in
illusion, in ideology, in the legitimations of the accidents of living.

According to the hypotheses of this study, black high school
graduates should:

    1. Perceive their school experiences as positive (no matter
        how destructive they may have been).

    2. But also express dissonant views about their recollections
        of school experiences.

    AND

3. Perceive their work experiences as positi·e (no matter how unfulfilling they may be).

4. But also express dissonant views about them.

In Chapters III and IV there is a lengthy discussion of the logic of these expectations and in Chapter VI there can be found a detailed statement of findings relating to legitimations.

The data reported in Chapter VI permit several forms of analysis:

1. Component factor analysis to determine the reliability of the various scales and the perceptionsthey reveal.

2. Analysis of particularizations in order to determine the extent to which perceptions of school and work are dissonant.

3. Sub-scale analysis by race, sex, and skill level.

4. Image analysis of Principal Components in order to determine differentiated perceptions of high-skill and low-skill, male and female, black and white respondents.

The results of each of these analyses will be reported separately.

Component Analysis. According to the hypotheses of this investigation, three ways of legitimatizing school and work experiences are:

1. To affirm strongly the benevolence and concern of school and employment authorities.

OR

2. To affirm the attractiveness of peer relationships that justify by themselves school and employment experiences.

OR

3. To affirm that the work they are called upon to do is inherently attractive and justifying.

If one or more of these responses is characteristic of the non-white high school graduates in our sample, then it can be argued that they are legitimatizing their school and work experiences.

The results reported in Chapter VI of the Component Analysis

of the school experiences are these:

1. Component Analysis of Reactions to Authority. The anal-
    ysis indicates that this is a reliable factor and that the
    respondents were favorable to school authorities. The
    hypothesis of legitimation was confirmed.

2. Component Analysis of Reactions to Peers. This factor was
    considered sufficiently unreliable not to merit interpre-
    tation.

3. The Component Analysis of Reaction to Work. This was a
    reliable factor that revealed that the work they were called
    upon to do in school was perceived as worthy of their time
    and efforts. The hypothesis of legitimation was confirmed.

The results reported in Chapter VI of the Component Analysis

for employment experiences are these:

1. Component Analysis of Reactions to Authority. The analysis
    indicates that this is a reliable factor and that the re-
    spondents endorsed or were favorably disposed towards
    employment authorities. The hypothesis of legitimation
    was confirmed.

2. Component Analysis of Reaction to Peers. The analysis
    indicates that this factor is not readily interpretable.

3. Component Analysis of Reactions to Work. The analysis
    indicates that this is a reliable factor and the respon-
    dents generally found that the work they were called upon
    to do was appropriate and worthy of their time. The
    hypothesis of legitimation was confirmed.

The results of the Component Analysis indicates that hypotheses related

to the postulate that blacks will legitimatize their social status and

conditions of life were confirmed.

Analysis of Particularization. The purpose of this analysis

is to explore the extent to which the respondents hold conflicting views

about their school and work experience. The conflict is an index of the

problem that the respondents have in dealing with their experience. If

their school and work experiences were simply satisfactory they would

have no conflict, no dissonance, no need to handle it through some form

of particularization. If the school and work experiences were simply

bad and could be acknowledged as such, there would be no conflict and,

again, no need to engage particularization in order to obscure experi-

ence.

If school and work experience are seen in positive terms and

the respondents particularize, then it can be argued that it is likely

that the respondents are legitimatizing their experience for their own

comfort and revealing their conflict about this legitimation through

particularization.

The results of the Analysis of Particularization of the School

Experience reported in Chapter VI are these:

1. Meaninglessness, General versus Particular. If the respon-
    dents particularized, they would endorse some statements
    that affirmed that school experience was meaningless and
    others that affirmed that it was not meaningless. The re-
    sults indicate that there was no evidence of particulariza-
    tion on the dimension of meaninglessness.

2. Boredom, General versus Particular. If the respondents
    particularized, they would endorse some statements that
    affirmed that the school experience was boring and they
    would also endorse others that affirmed that schooling
    was not boring. The expectation is that respondents would
    affirm that the schools were boring in particular but would
    deny the general statement that schools are boring places.
    The results indicate that the respondents particularized.
    There was substantial tension in their view of schools as
    boring places to be.

3. Powerlessness, General versus Particular. If the respon-
    dents particularized, they would endorse some statements
    that affirmed that they were powerless in school and also
    endorse others that denied that they were powerless. The
    results indicate that there was enormous particularization,
    that there was tremendous tension about the condition of
    power or powerlessness that they experienced in school.

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The results of the Analysis of Particularization of Employment

Experience reported in Chapter VI are these:

1. Meaninglessness, General versus Particular. If the respon-
   dents particularized, they would endorse specific statements
   that affirmed that their work experience was meaningless
   and at the same time affirm general statements that denied
   that work was meaningless. The results indicate that the
   reverse of particularization occurred: the respondents
   affirmed general statements that asserted that their work
   experience was meaningless and denied that specific aspects
   of their experience were meaningless. Perhaps the distinc-
   tion between general and specific in the wording of the
   questions was inappropriate for the work situation or per-
   haps the work situations themselves elicit different ten-
   sions than school situations seem to. In any case the re-
   sults are clear: the respondents were in conflict about
   the character of their experience in work situations.

2. Boredom, General versus Particular. If the respondents
   particularized, they would endorse specific aspects of their
   experience as boring and reject general statements that
   their work experiences were boring. The results indicate
   that the respondents particularized.

3. Powerlessness, General versus Particular. If the respon-
   dents particularized, they would endorse specific statements
   about their powerlessness but would deny general statements
   about their conditions of powerlessness. The results in-
   dicate that the respondents engaged in reverse particulariza-
   tion. They affirmed general statements of their powerless-
   ness but denied specific statements of powerlessness. As
   with the meaninglessness scale it is difficult to know why
   the process was reversed, but in any case, the result is
   clear: the respondents experienced tension relating to
   their sense of power on the job by affirming contradictory
   atatements about their experience.

In both the perceptions of school and work there were tensions, conflicts

that resolved themselves by the affirmation of contradictory statements

about their experience of school and employment.

The evidence of particularization coupled with data concerning

reactions to authorities, peers, and work suggest that the respondents

are actively engaged in legitimatizing, in rendering acceptable really

quite unacceptable experiences. Hypotheses relating to the postulate

that blacks legitimatize their inferior social status were confirmed.

Sub-Scale Analysis by Sex, Race, and Skill Level

The purpose of this analysis was to determine to what extent

perceptions school and employment experience are influenced by race,

sex, and job level of respondents.

The basic questions that motivated this analysis are:

1. Are low-skill blacks more accepting of school and employ-
    ment experiences than high-skill blacks and whites gener-
    ally?

    The lower the status of the respondent the more need for
    legitimation. The higher the status of the respondent
    the less need of legitimation.

2. Are black females more accepting of school and employment
    experiences than black males and whites generally?

    Are women more prone to legitimatizing their experiences
    than men? Black women are both black and women and belong
    to subgroups of our society that traditionally have in-
    ferior roles: unequal pay for equal work; differential
    treatment of many kinds.

3. Are blacks more accepting of their school and employment
    experiences than whites?

Racial, sexual, and skill level comparisons discussed in Chapter VI will

provide data relevant to these questions.

Four of the twenty-four scales analyzed proved to be statis-

tically significant when comparing black and white respondents:

1. School: Reaction to Peers. Blacks were significantly
    more favorable to school peers than whites.

2. School: Reaction to Work. Blacks were significantly
    more favorable than whites.

3. Government: Constitutional Commitment. Black respondents
    tended to be somewhat more in support of constitutional
    principles than whites.

4. Whites tended to be somewhat more sociable than blacks.

Two of these results tend to confirm hypotheses related to the postulate

that blacks tend to legitimatize their school experiences. The other

two results are interesting but not central to this study.

When sex and race were considered, out of the twenty-four sub-

scales, three were statistically significant:

1. School: Reaction to Work. Black males are more negative
   in their reactions to work in school settings than white
   males and black and white females.

2. Employment-Boredom-Particular. Black males affirm that
   their jobs are boring significantly more than all other
   groups.

3. Sociality. Black females tend to be more gregarious than
   white females.

Two of these results are of interest in this study: Black males tend

to be more critical and females more accepting of their experiences in

school and employment.

When skill level and race were considered, five subscales were

statistically significant:

1. School: Reaction to Peers. Black low-skill workers report
   more favorable reactions to peers than white low-skill
   workers and black and white high-skill workers.

2. Employment: Meaninglessness-Particular. Black high-skill
   workers report their employment to be more meaningless
   than their white counterparts.

3. Employment: Boredom-General. White low-skill workers
   find their employment to be more boring than do white high-
   skill workers.

   Black high-skill workers find their employment more boring
   than white high-skill workers.

4. Employment: Reaction to Authority. Black low skill workers
   have more favorable attitudes towards authority than black
   high-skill workers.

Black high-skill workers have less favorable attitudes
towards authority than do white high-skill workers.

5. Employment: Reaction to Work. White high-skill workers
   had more favorable reactions to work than black high-skill
   workers.

   Black low-skill workers had more favorable reaction to
   work than black high-skill workers.

The results of this analysis indicate that low-skill black workers were

accepting and probably legitimatizing their school and work experiences.

Black high-skill workers were conflictful: they both accepted and re-

jected aspects of their school and work experience. Low-skill workers

were less able to express tensions about their social condition; high

skill workers were more able to express tension or conflict about the

condition of their lives.

Image Analysis of Principal Components

Four distributions of factor scores were derived from the

Image Analysis of Principal Components. Brief descriptions of these

factors can be presented in this way:

1. Factor I: A person with a high score on this factor is
   relatively unhappy with and pessimistic with what he re-
   calls of his employment situation.

2. Factor II: A person with a high score on this factor is
   dissatisfied in general with what he recalls of his school
   experience.

3. Factor III: A person with a high score on this factor has
   non-submissive perspectives of the role and function of
   government; he subscribes to principles embodied in the
   U.S. Constitution; he is not of a conventional (i.e.,
   Puritan) morality.

4. Factor IV: A person with a high score respects the in-
   tegrity of his own work.

If correlations between these factors (reported in Chapter VI) are
examined, the following results can be observed:

1. There are no simple race differences on these four factors.

2. There are no sex by race interactions.

3. White low-skill workers appear to be more unhappy about
   their school experiences than do black low-skill workers.

4. High-skill white respondents have higher respect for their
   jobs thaneither high-skill blacks or lesser skilled blacks.

5. Blacks and high-skilled whites who are dissatisfied with
   their jobs have little respect for their integrity as work-
   ers.

6. Low-skill white worker job satisfaction and respect for self
   as a worker of integrity are unrelated.

These results confirm the postulate that blacks and whites share

a common culture and react in similar ways to school and employment expe-

riences. There are interesting differences when job skill is taken into

consideration. Low-skill black workers, those most in need of legitima-

tion, if they are to maintain their self-regard, interpret their school

experiences more positively than do white low-skill workers. Black high-

skill workers, those in less need of legitimations to maintain their

self-regard, are more critical of their employment experience.

The results of this study that have so far been reported have

given attention to _figures_ in the _figure-ground_ aspect of urban life.

The data substantially sustain or support the first two postulates of

this investigation:

Blacks and whites share a common culture.

Blacks tend to legitimatize their inferior
status and condition of life.

The data supporting the postulate of a common culture is overwhelming.
It seriously challenges fundamental attitudes of the business and educa-
tional elite. The data supporting the postulate that blacks tend to
legitimatize their inferior status is substantial. The data relating
to Particularization, Component Analysis, Subscale Analysis, and the
Image Analysis of Principal Components support the postulate that blacks
tend to legitimatize their school and work experiences. There appears
to be less conflict about this legitimation among low-skill workers
compared with high-skill workers, and less conflict among women compared
with men.

PART II: GROUND IN THE FIGURE-GROUND ASPECT OF URBAN LIFE

The data that will be reported now deals with the ground of
the figure-ground aspect of urban life. It explores the views and
activities of men of power in employment and education.

Testing Hypotheses Logically Related to the
Postulate that Whites Legitimatize their
Superior Status and Conditions of Life

Two restatements of the above postulate focused the attention
of this investigation on the practice of men of power in business and
education:

WHITES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE
EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF BLACK AMERICANS
ARE ACTUALLY FUNCTIONING TO PRESERVE
THE STATUS QUO IN EMPLOYMENT.

WHITES IN THEIR EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS
FOR BLACK CHILDREN ARE FUNCTIONING TO
PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO IN EDUCATION.

Each of these postulates and hypotheses related to them were tested by
observing the activities, publications, decisions, and discourse of
schoolmen and employers in Milwaukee.

Examining the Management of Employment for Blacks

The postulate that directed the study of employment was this:

> Whites in their efforts to resolve the
> employment problems of black Americans
> actually function to preserve the
> status quo.

The hypotheses related to this postulate form an argument that suggests

that in Milwaukee efforts to resolve the employment problems of black

Milwaukeeans will serve to preserve a benign self-image for Milwaukee

business leaders without calling upon them to think seriously about or

to confront in anyway the barriers to employment that blacks face.

The hypotheses are:

1. Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm their good in-
   tentions and human concern for the employment difficulties
   that black Milwaukeeans face.

2. Milwaukee business spokesmen will stress that they will
   hire any qualified candidate.

3. Milwaukee business spokesmen will affirm that the reason
   blacks don't have better jobs is that they are not
   qualified.

4. Milwaukee businessmen will be unwilling to examine the
   formal organization of the firms they manage.

5. Milwaukee businessmen will not deliberately foster changes
   in the formal organization of their business which might
   facilitate the employment of blacks in their firms.

6. Milwaukee businessmen will not encourage the development
   of new institutions that may deal with the special prob-
   lems of the black community.

In general, these hypotheses affirm that businessmen in Milwaukee are

not serious in their efforts to deal with the problems of employment of

black people in Milwaukee. But they do find it essential to affirm a

rhetoric of concern so that they can avoid troubles of conscience that

might arise in the face of their actual indifference to employment problems of blacks in Milwaukee.

The social function of their activities, it is hypothesized, is to preserve the status quo in employment and to provide the illusion of dealing with the crisis of employment that blacks face.

The questions that guided our observations of business practice are these:

1. How do Milwaukee employers talk about their hopes and intentions regarding the employment of black workers?

2. How do they explain and interpret the difficulties black workers experience in Milwaukee?

3. Are they involved with studies of the social pathology of the black community?

4. Are they willing to re-examine, re-think, or study the workings of Milwaukee business and employment practices and are they willing to consider alternative approaches to business practice?

5. What were the work experiences of new employees in MVEEOC firms?

Answers to these questions were developed on the basis of interviews with management, press reports, the MVEEOC Bulletin, and participant observation in MVEEOC firms.

How do Milwaukee employers talk about their hopes and intentions regarding the employment problems of black workers?

As reported in Chapter V, the evidence suggests that the employers propose to hire qualified black applicants whenever they seek employment. They suggest that this policy will resolve the real, the tragic problems of unemployment in urban communities.

This finding is more poignant in what it does not say than in what it says, as the following analysis indicates.

How do employers explain and interpret the difficulties
black workers experience in Milwaukee?

The evidence from interviews, the MVEEOC Bulletin, and the

press is substantial: Milwaukee employers regard the employment diffi-

culties of non-whites as the result of their lack of qualifications for

readily available jobs.

No evidence was found to suggest that Milwaukee employers re-

garded the employment problems of blacks as being in any way a substantive

result of the structure of business practice.

Are Milwaukee employers involved or concerned with studying
the social pathology of the black community?

Are Milwaukee employers involved or concerned with studying
the workings of business practice? Are they willing to
consider changes in the structure of business procedures?

These questions were explored jointly. They are related to

the following hypotheses:

MVEEOC and its member firms will not make detailed reports of
their own progress in offering equal opportunity.

MVEEOC and its member firms will not engage in detailed self-
study of their equal opportunity policies.

MVEEOC firms will not alter the structure of their customary
business procedures in order to facilitate the recruitment
and retention of members of the non-white community.

In effect, these hypotheses sugge. that MVEEOC and its member firms

will avoid accountability 1) in their employment practices, and 2) in

their effect on the employment difficulties of the black community.

Our hypotheses suggest that rather than study the workings of white

institutions,

MVEEOC and Milwaukee businessmen will give considerable
attention to detailed aspects of the housing, health, family,
and other problems of the non-white community.

As more attention is given to the variety and complexity and extent of the problems of poverty in the black community, less attention will be given to the workings of white business institution and their effect on the efforts and experience of the Milwaukee black community. By focusing attention upon the problems of poverty, MVEEOC employers, it is hypothesized, legitimatize their own customary procedures and immunize themselves from scrutiny.

The evidence of interviews with management indicate that:

1. Detailed studies of the implementation of the policy of equal opportunity would not be conducted.

2. Employers would not consider altering the structure of customary business procedures.

The MVEEOC view of the employment problem is this:

1. The employment difficulties of non-whites constitute a manageable problem.

2. The present educational facilities in Milwaukee are more than satisfactory.

3. The solution to non-white employment difficulties lies in efforts to get non-whites to take and keep low-level entry positions that call for minimum qualifications.

As long as MVEEOC employers maintain this ideology, they can preserve their self-image of goodwill and avoid dealing seriously with the employment problems of non-whites in Milwaukee.

The evidence of the MVEEOC Bulletin indicates that:

1. MVEEOC did not propose as its objectives

a. status studies of the non-white employment situation in Milwaukee.

b. self-study of the implementation of the policy of equal opportunity.

c. innovations or alternatives in hiring procedures.

2. MVEEOC proposed objectives that, if achieved, would have
    an unknown effect on employment difficulties of the non-
    white community. They include:

    a. expansion of membership in MVEEOC

    b. participation in projects of the Milwaukee schools

    c. maintaining continuing relationships with leaders of
        the non-white community in Milwaukee.

MVEEOC proposes to solve the employment problems of the non-white commu-

nity without determining the character and extent of the problem, without

establishing procedures for assessing the degree to which policies of

MVEEOC firms have an effect on the hiring and promotion practices of

member firms, without determining the impact of MVEEOC programs on the

employment experiences of non-white members of the Milwaukee community.

In spite of this, MVEEOC officials and the MVEEOC bulletin does report

extensively on many aspects of the "pathology" of the non-white community.

No disconfirming literature, interviews, or press reports were

found. The Milwaukee business community:

    1. avoids accountability in its equal opportunity efforts,

    2. resists innovations in its employment procedures, and

    3. gives considerable attention to the pathology of the black
        community.

MVEEOC appears to sustain the status quo in employment opportunities for

non-whites in Milwaukee while enjoying the public and private benefits

of expressing goodwill and human concern for the problems of poverty.

What are the work experiences of new employees in MVEEOC firms?

MVEEOC has devoted its energies to recruiting firms to endorse

the principal of equal opportunity in employment. In effect, it has

proposed to the city and to the black community that equality of oppor-

tunity in hiring will resolve the employment difficulties of all members

of the black community who are willing to work. The new employment

opportunity that MVEEOC is seeking to make available to the black com-

munity is white-collar work. Is this a viable economic opportunity for

non-whites in Milwaukee?

Observations were made over a period of a year by three par-

ticipant-observers and additional observations of MVEEOC firms were made

by a group of high school students in the summer of 1967. These two

groups provided a range of age, experience, and racial background from

which the workings of MVEEOC firms might be viewed.

The following questions directed the observations and reports

on white-collar work in MVEEOC firms:

1. Are blacks working at all levels of responsibility in the
    organization?

2. What sort of work are entry-level white-collar workers
    called upon to do?

3. What are the physical arrangements in which white-collar
    work is done?

4. What are the social conditions in which white-collar work
    is done?

5. Who engages in white-collar work?

6. How did the participant-observers personally feel about
    their white-collar work?

7. What is the human meaning of white-collar work?

8. Is white-collar work a viable avenue of opportunity for
    blacks in Milwaukee?

Each participant-observer answered these questions in his own way. The

answers were explored in interviews with the researchers. The results

reported here represent a consensus of observers and a consensus of

observations about MVEEOC firms. It deals with white-collar work as it
is to be found in seven firms, and to the extent that these firms repre-
sent white-collar work in Milwaukee, the report deals with white-collar
work in Milwaukee.

> Are blacks working at all levels of responsibility in the
> organization?

The uniform answer of all observers was no. This observation
is consistent with the data that developed from the interviews with MVEEOC
employers:

1. They were uninterested in developing university programs
   to train middle level management.

2. They were uninterested in developing their own incentive
   programs for recruitment and training of non-whites for
   management roles.

3. They were primarily interested in offering entry level
   white-collar jobs to non-whites who were presumed to be
   marginally qualified.

It is plausible to conclude that equal opportunity employment is offer-
ing to non-whites the white-collar equivalent of the traditional employ-
ment for blacks: low skill work in industry and service.

> What sort of work are entry level white-collar workers called
> upon to do?

According to our observers, the tasks in much of white-collar
work are routine, consisting mainly of manipulating paper. The same
procedure is followed day after day. Most individual workers are re-
sponsible for only one limited aspect of a work process that few under-
stood in its entirety.

Entry level white-collar jobs appear to have minimum skill
requirements and to call for little in the way of vocational training.

In light of this finding, it is difficult to understand the insistence
by management that non-whites would be hired if only they had the neces-
sary skills. A substantial portion of white-collar work could be per-
formed by individuals with the most rudimentary vocational skills.

**What are the physical arrangements in which white-collar work
is done?**

Although white-collar work generally occurs in pleasant sur-
roundings, the settings for entry-level workers was found to be uniformly
unattractive. The reports suggested that the place in which white-collar
work is done usually is:

1. Anonymous,

2. Inconvenient,

3. Lacking in facilities,

4. Unclean, and

5. Indifferent to the human needs of workers.

The message of the place in which entry level white-collar work was done
suggested that entry level workers are low status, interchangeable, and
without human qualities.

Each firm had its own approach to formulating this message but
all of the participant-observers appeared to receive it clearly.

**What are the social conditions in which white-collar work is
done?**

Words such as "futile" and "boring" reflected the perceptions
of the participant-observers. They worked with paper. This paper seldom
seemed connected with vital living concerns.

As probing interviews with the participant-observers continued,
it became possible to evaluate their report of their experiences. What
they seemed to say was that white-collar work has:

1. No past,

2. No present, and

3. No future.

It has no past because it does not produce anything in which one can take pride, and it pays so little that even the money can hardly justify the work. It has no future because one cannot look forward to the development of new skills and the growth of ability. It has no present because there is little challenge in the task itself and no opportunity to exercise control of the conduct of day-to-day activities. White-collar work is brutalizing. It is destructive of an individual's capacity to be human and to exercise essential human qualities.

Based on reports of the participant-observers, "success" in entry level white-collar work requires that a new employee:

1. accept a system of differential privileges

2. exhibit a happy demeanor

3. defer to the prevailing use of symbols.

In order to succeed, a white-collar worker must learn a <u>caste</u> position and then affirm and reaffirm it in all of her relationships. She must become a "happy nigger," content with her caste, pleased with her task, place, and social role.

Who engages in white-collar work?

White-collar work is being presented by MVEBOC as a new avenue of opportunity for non-whites in Milwaukee. Who is presently occupying these positions?

Based on the reports of participant observers, four groups of white-collar workers may be identified:

1. young women,

2. middle-aged women,

3. older women, and

4. men of various ages all of whom are part of management.

Typically, white-collar workers are women who have graduated from high school. Many have had aspirations that have been thwarted and now find themselves in white-collar work.

How did the participant-observers feel about their white-collar employment?

Many of the participant-observers found the experience of working quite interesting. It was an experience that was useful to have had. But none of the observers saw white-collar work as a career possibility for a number of reasons:

1. The task of white-collar work was uniformly rejected as meaningless.

2. The expected demeanor of white-collar work was often difficult and degrading.

3. The symbols of caste were often experienced as a humiliation.

The participant-observers found the caste position of white-collar work unacceptable in terms of their aspirations and views of their own human worth. For some, the white-collar caste posed a threat to their self-regard that was traumatic. In order to become a successful white-collar worker, an individual must undergo an almost total reorganization of personality, or from the start be adjusted to the caste role that white-collar work assigns to entry level workers.

What is the human meaning of white-collar work?

The reports of the participant-observers suggest that to engage
in white-collar work means that an individual must accept an evaluation
of himself that is so destructive that it can be endured only if it is
obscured by modes of adjustment that diminish awareness of reality.

Is white-collar work a viable avenue of opportunity for blacks in Milwaukee?

It is evident from the reports of the observers in this study
that the answer is no. Entry level work may provide temporary work
experiences for women that can be educationally or financially rewarding.
But white-collar work offers a future of unfilled aspirations fo most
women who, through indecision or lack of alternatives, remain.

It seems unlikely that young, vigorous, newly self-aware,
self-reliant, and challenging black men are going to adapt to the caste
system of white-collar work. It is a conclusion of this study that the
caste arrangements of white-collar work constitute a major barrier for
individuals who have been deeply affected by their experience in the
black ghetto and who are involved in a renaissance of initiative and
challenge to the inequities of American racist society.

Examining the Management of Education for Blacks

The postulate that directed the study of education was this:

> Whites in their educational efforts for
> black children are functioning to preserve
> the status quo.

Four basic hypotheses were derived from this postulate. They formed
the basis of the examination of the management of education in Milwaukee
schools:

1. Educational leaders in Milwaukee will affirm their humanistic concern for poor unfortunate black children who attend Milwaukee schools.

   (This will help legitimatize their lack of accountability)

2. Educational leaders in Milwaukee will not accept responsibility for the failure of black students to perform well in school.

   (By making themselves victims and by making the powerless responsible, professionals deny their own responsibility)

3. Milwaukee educators will devote much of their time and effort to describing the social pathology of the black community.

   (By directing attention to the problems of the black community, they preserve white institutions from critical study)

4. Milwaukee educators will systematically avoid the scrutiny of the formal organization of schools and the likely consequences of that organization.

   (By preserving the existing white institutions from scrutiny, they maintain the status quo in education. Research is expression of power: the weak, the victims, the helpless are studied; children, prostitutes, delinquents and sometimes teachers. The strong, the powerful, the relevant establishment are immune from study, and thus they maintain their privileges)

As these hypotheses became the focus of attention and ways of studying them were being considered, two other hypotheses almost forced themselves into consideration. Not only educational leaders in Milwaukee but researchers in education generally will:

1. Explore the qualities of victims, and

2. Preserve existing institutions and power relations from scrutiny by engaging professionals in harmless activities.

On the basis of these considerations, it appeared likely that much of the professional literature dealing with urban problems will protect the privileges of the educational establishment.

Two additional hypotheses affirm that an analysis of a sample
of the professional literature dealing with urban problems will disclose
that:

1. Research into urban problems will focus attention upon the
   pathology of black people and the powerless.

2. There will be little if any research into formal organiza-
   tion of public schools and much attention to non-institu-
   tional aspects of schooling.

The postulate about the social meaning of white educational
efforts was investigated by posing four simple questions and then seeking
their answers in the multitude of publications of the Milwaukee schools,
and in interviews and informal conversations with Milwaukee school offi-
cials. These are the questions that directed this aspect of the Barriers
Study:

1. How do Milwaukee school people talk about their hopes and
   intentions in black schools?

2. How do they explain and interpret the difficulties that
   black children experience?

3. Do they give a great deal of attention to the presumed
   pathology of the black community?

4. Are they willing to re-examine the workings of the formal
   organization of the Milwaukee schools?

Hundreds of pages of publication were carefully studied, records of con-
versations and interviews were examined in detail. The result of this
study will be discussed in relationship to each question.

How do Milwaukee school people talk about their hopes and
intentions?

The hopes and intentions of Milwaukee schoolmen can be stated
as follows:

1. Milwaukee school people do not expect to be effective with
    black children. They are not expected to read at grade
    level; they are expected to follow non-academic school
    careers.

2. Milwaukee school people are quite content with their own
    ineffective performance. It is regarded as normal that
    black children should do badly in school. There is nothing
    in their inferior performance that should worry anyone.
    The cure of time, of generations, is the only viable solu-
    tion to the educational difficulties of the black community.

3. Milwaukee school people express extraordinary concern for
    the difficulties of black children. The school people
    want to be kind, personally helpful and compassionate but
    no evidence was found that this compassion called for
    initiative inventiveness, or the exercise of responsibility
    by school people. The compassion was an expression of
    despair and not a direction to exercise professional abil-
    ities in new and appropriate ways.

The intention of the Milwaukee school people seemed to be to

keep the Milwaukee schools just as they are -- by inference almost per-

fect as such institutions go -- and to develop special programs that

might help certain children do better in standard schools and then com-

miserate with the overwhelming majority of black students who do very

badly indeed.

The hopes and intentions of the Milwaukee school people seem

to be to be kind to children who cannot be expected to learn and for

whom one can only have compassion for their troubles and limitations.

How do they explain and interpret the difficulties that black children experience?

Every publication, record, and public statement affirms the

same simple message: The schools are doing well! Unfortunately, sadly,

helplessly, the children are failing. No one is accountable. No one is

responsible. The adult, white educational establishment is a helpless

victim and there is nothing it can do. The situation is beyond its con-

trol. The unkempt, powerless, troubled children of the black community

are adamant in their will not to learn.

> Do the schools give a great deal of attention to the presumed
> pathology of the black community?

> Are they willing to re-examine the workings of the formal
> organization of the Milwaukee schools?

These questions were considered together because they are

logically related.

The position of the Milwaukee schoolmen is quite clear; the

data are overwhelming:

1. The focus of attention on the educational difficulties of
   the children of the black community is specifically dir-
   ected towards the pathology of the black community.

2. There is an absolute unwillingness to reconsider, re-eval-
   uate, or render problematic the operations of the Milwaukee
   schools.

These views were clear in the interviews, in publications of the Milwaukee

schools, and in statements in the press.

Exploring the Social Function of
Research in Urban Education

Two hypotheses were formulated in order to direct the analysis

of a sample of professional writing about urban problems. The hypotheses

affirm:

1. Research into urban problems that are reported in the pro-
   fessional literature will focus attention upon the pathology
   of black people and the powerless.

2. Research into urban problems that are reported in the
   literature will give little if any attention to the formal
   organization of public schools and will devote attention
   to non-institutional aspects of schooling.

These hypotheses were tested by reading the contributions to four recent

publications dealing with urban problems. As reported in Chapter V, 90%

of the contributions to the four books ignored the study of institutions,
the study of the powerful, and the privileged in the conduct of urban
schooling.

This study of the _ground_ in the figure-ground aspect of urban
problems suggests that the barriers to employment lie to some degree in
the figures, but mostly in the ground, the organization, the institution-
al character of life in cities.

If the problems of blacks are to begin to be solved, it will
take initiative on the parts of blacks to confront their circumstances
and it will take initiative on the part of white-power figures to ac-
knowledge and deal with the institutional barriers to employment that
schools and business pose.

We need a profound effort to rethink the structure of insti-
tutional practice.

In our investigation of an alternative in schooling, we sought
to initiate this kind of thinking and activity.

In programs reported in Chapter VII, we have sought to invent
an alternative in education that might prove helpful to black students.
We tried to do four basic things:

1. Provide the students with an honest experience of schol-
   arship.

2. Change the status and role of both students and teachers.

3. Engage students in a study of the culture of work.

4. Engage students in work experiences that may prove to have
   career possibilities.

In our efforts we achieved some success and encountered some
difficulties. We were not fully successful in providing honest experi-

ences of scholarship or in fundamentally changing the status and roles
of students and teachers. We achieved a measure of success in involving
students in successful work experiences and in describing and analyzing
some aspects of their experiences.

We found both students and teachers were inflexibly adapted
to the standard roles that they play in education settings. The students
tended to cling to the dependent status to which they are accustomed, and
the instructor often lapsed back into the traditional expository mode of
instruction that we were seeking to avoid.

But when the students were active and confronting real problems
and when the instructor could play his role as consultant and associate,
the work of the group was exciting and provided a dramatic illustration
of the intellectual and emotional possibilities associated with the ef-
fort to engage the student in the action of scholarship that is associated
with anthropology.

All of the students achieved a measure of success in objecti-
fying, describing, and analyzing the social dynamics of various work
situations.

If we were again to seek to develop an alternative in education
based on our experiences with this pilot summer program, we would make
the following modifications:

1. Recruit a staff that was open to the possibilities of
   seeking to teach students how to work in the style or
   manner of social scientists.

2. Provide sufficient time for planning sessions, so the
   staff can think through the various skills and activi-
   ties that they will seek to teach their students how
   to do.

3. Provide sufficient time to develop materials and business
    connections that will facilitate the kinds of inquiry
    that would be encouraged.

4. Provide sufficient planning time to develop methods or
    procedures of evaluating the kinds of accomplishments
    that we are trying to encourage. How does one evaluate
    a student's ability to interpret and interview? to inter-
    pret participant observation experiences? to interpret
    his own emotional reactions to his experiences?

We were convinced -- by both our successes and our failures --

that one key to improving the quality of education for black youth is to

seek to guarantee that educational programs provide honest experiences

of scholarship. Another related innovation that would improve the qual-

ity of education for black students is to alter the status relationships

between students and teachers. If a teacher is the dispenser of informa-

tion and students are the receivers of information, then, ironically,

students never learn what it means to study anything. Study (thought of

as inquiry as illustrated by social science and humanistic scholarship)

is a purposive activity that arises out of the formulation and confronta-

tion of problems. The chief business of a student is to learn to study.

Our pilot program tried to do this; the Milwaukee schools never try to do

it.

We think that engaging students in the action of scholarship

and focusing attention upon the culture of work is a plausible way to

help black youth to confront the social barriers that impede the economic

progress of black youth. If it is the social system that is victimizing

black youth, then not until they begin to study and think about social

systems will they be free and competent to cope effectively with their

constraints.

PART III: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The three postulates of this investigation received substan-
tial support.   Blacks and whites seem to share much more in common in
their cultural views than employers and educators ordinarily seem to
believe.   The Myth of Cultural Differences appears to serve ideological
functions that significantly limit the capacity of employees to provide
genuine equality of opportunity and the capacity of schoolmen to be
accountable for the programs they impose upon black communities.

There are implications in these findings for employers,
schoolmen, and researchers.   All three seem to be victims of ideology
when they seek to deal or think about urban problems.

Employers.   If employers are to deal significantly with prob-
lems of underemployment of black workers, they must do much more than
offer equal opportunity for low status positions.

Employers must acknowledge that the structure of employment
opportunity for many generations has been designed to exclude black
workers.   Employers must confront their own complicity in black exclusion
and develop accountable procedures for reversing this policy that up until
now has successfully excluded non-white workers.   The challenge of white
employers involves:

1.   Confronting ideology.   Abandom the "blacks are defective"
      posture and look to themselves, their practices, their
      customs, their privileges as a major contribution to
      black exclusion.

2.   Innovating employment procedures.   This might involve dir-
      ecting personnel officers to recruit and retain non-white
      workers at all levels of responsibility.   Give substantial
      bonuses for performance.   Replace officers who cannot per-
      form.   Another possibility is to hire "coaches" to help
      keep black employees.   Develop programs for training non-
      whites for management responsibilities.   Initiate relation-

ships with universities for the development of specialized
abilities.

3. <u>Becoming Accountable</u>. Accept responsibility for building
non-whites into the business organization. Engage in status
studies of the present situation and then initiate contin-
uous self-study of the policy of building non-whites into
the structure of business life.

4. <u>Rethinking the Meaning of Work</u>. The segmentation of white-
collar work is probably its most debasing characteristic.
Can employers build people into their work? The more com-
pletely a person can give himself to a task, the greater
opportunity there is to act as a whole man. Can employers
seek to offer fulfilling work?

Non-whites are seeking employment that affirms their dignity
as human beings. If the tasks and social conditions of work do not sus-
tain human dignity, challenge powers of judgment, and exercise human
abilities, they are not likely to be avenues of opportunity for blacks.

Ideological men are lost in illusions and cannot deal effec-
tively with society. If we do not learn to deal effectively with the
problems of non-white society, we may come to have no society at all.

Schoolmen. If schoolmen are to fulfill their obligations, they
must become responsible for what they do. The Myth of Cultural Differ-
ence has rendered professional educators incapable of serious thought.
We have in the Milwaukee schools a known set of routines and customs that
simply do not work for non-white children. The job of professionals in
education is to question every premise of educational practice and then
develop and evaluate alternatives. Possible alternatives worthy of
consideration are such things as these:

1. <u>Milieux</u>. Should there be school buildings? Would it be
better to rent space in office buildings and integrate
the life of learning into the business and professional
community? Rethink fundamentally the place and social
conditions where children are to study and learn.

2. <u>Work</u>. What work should children be called upon to do?
    What is honest history? Science? Art? How should chil-
    dren spend their time in school? In what activities should
    they be engaged? What is an ethical use of a child's time?
    We know that black children in Milwaukee are not engaged
    in productive work. What work would be productive with
    them? The responsibility of the educational profession is
    to find out what this work might be or resign and let some-
    one else at least seek to cope with the problem.

As long as schoolmen blame their failures on others and take no respon-

sibility for thinking, innovating, dealing with the problems they have

been formally assigned, there will be no hope for the schooling of non-

white children.

Researchers. Researchers more than any other groups must con-

front problems of ideology or they will remain merely apologists for the

white system of privileged interests. Researchers should at least try

to:

1. Confront the ideology that vitiates much of their work
    in education.

2. Study institutions and the powerful rather than dissipate
    their energies on the study of the weak and the vulnerable.

3. Study the legitimation of men in business and education.

4. Study researchers themselves. What are their tribal views?
    To what extent are researchers blindly acting out uncon-
    sidered cultural prejudices?

Researchers, more than any other, should be challenged to consider the

barriers to employment for blacks which appear to be essentially the

customs and privileges of white society. If this is not done, we have

only to wait for the fire.

FOOTNOTES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX   A

QUESTIONNAIRE USED

IN SURVEY OF

MILWAUKEE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

APPENDIX A

<u>Office Number</u>
Project 315
Summer, 1967

<u>University Extension</u>
The University of Wisconsin
Survey Research Laboratory

SURVEY OF MILWAUKEE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

1. Name:_____
     FIRST   INITIAL   LAST

    Address:_____

    _____

2. Sex: ___Male   ___Female   3. Age:_____

4. Name of high school from which you graduated:

    _____

5. Are you now married?   ___Yes   ___No
                                               (TO Q 6)

    5a. How many children--if any--do you have?
               _____None, or _____ #

6. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces?

               ___Yes   ___No
                               (TO Q 7)

    6a. What branch of the service were you in?

    _____

    6b. How many years were you in?   _____ # YEARS

7. Are you currently working full time?

               ___Yes   ___No
    (TO Q 8, NEXT PAGE)

    7a. Are you currently working part time?

               ___Yes   ___No

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

8. Since leaving high school, has there ever been a week or more when you were looking for work but couldn't find a job?
___Yes   ___No (TO Q 9)

8a. How many different times has this happened? _____#

8b. What was the largest number of weeks that you were looking for work? _____# WEEKS

8c. Have you ever received unemployment insurance?
___Yes   ___No

9. Since leaving high school, have you attended a vocational or technical school?
___Yes   ___No (TO Q 10)

9a. What job or occupation were you being trained for?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9b. How many months did you receive this training? _____# MONTHS

10. Are you currently in school?
___Yes   ___No (TO Q 11, NEXT COLUMN)

10a. What is the name of this school?

_____

_____

QUESTION 11, TOP, NEXT COLUMN)

11. Have you attended a college or university?
___Yes   ___No (TO Q 12, NEXT PG)

11a. Which colleges or universities have you attended?

_____ _____

11b. What was the last semester in which you attended college?
___Fall   ___Spring   19___

11c. In what major field have you done most of your college work?

_____

11d. Have you completed a college degree?
___Yes   ___No

11e. How many--if any--semesters have you been a full-time college student? ___None, or _____# (TO Q 11h)

11f. How many--if any--of these full-time semesters have you also been employed full-time?
___None, or _____#

11g. How many--if any--of these full-time semesters have you also been employed part-time?
___None, or _____#

11h. How many--if any--semesters have you been a part-time college student?
___None, or _____# (TO Q 12, NEXT PG)

11i. How many--if any--of these part-time semesters have you also been employed full-time?
___None, or _____#

11j. How many--if any--of these part-time semesters have you also been employed part-time?
___None, or _____#

(GO TO QUESTION 12, NEXT PAGE)

12. Please list below, those jobs you have had since leaving high school. Taking the jobs in the order you had them after finishing high school, describe—in a few words—what you did on your first, second, etc. job, and for each job indicate: (1) whether it was a full-time or part-time job, and (2) how many months you were working at this job. (Do not include jobs you may have had in the Armed Forces.) PLEASE DESCRIBE WHAT YOU DID ON EACH JOB, BUT DO NOT RECORD THE NAME OF THE FIRM THAT EMPLOYED YOU.

JOB DESCRIPTION	WAS JOB... FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	NUMBER OF MONTHS ON JOB
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			
6)			
7)			
8)			
9)			
10)			
11)			
12)			

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4

The next questions are in the form of statements which you might hear someone make about school. We would like to know how much you agree with each statement, or how much you disagree with it. After each statement, write the number from the scale below which best represents how much you agree or disagree. For example, if you "strongly agree" with statement number 13, you would put a number 1 on the answer space which follows it. If you "strongly disagree" with this statement, you would put a number 5 on this line.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

13. There was nothing the students could do to
    change things in my school . . . . _____

14. Generally speaking, classroom discussion in my high
    school was phony. It always ended up with what the
    teacher had in mind . . . . _____

15. When I had to write something in school, my teachers
    usually gave me a chance to think about things
    and express myself . . . . _____

16. The subjects I studied in high school haven't done me
    any good since I got out . . . . _____

17. In order to do well at my high school, you had to do
    what everybody else did . . . . _____

18. On a test, I would give the answer a teacher wanted,
    even if I thought the answer was wrong . . . . _____

19. The main reason for going to high school is to get
    the diploma, which is a passport to a good job
    or college . . . . _____

20. Only the "rah-rah" students in my high school
    joined clubs . . . . _____

21. Students who joined clubs usually had better
    personalities than those who didn't join . . . . _____

22. A person could find friends at my high school
    if he wanted to . . . . _____

5

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

23. Students were treat₁ ₁ too much like little
    kids in my school . . . . _____

24. It is hard to work in high school because the
    courses are so boring . . . . _____

25. If I thought the only way to pass a course was to cheat,
    I would cheat--if I thought I could get away with it . . _____

26. High school deals mainly with unimportant and
    boring things . . . . _____

27. The best time of the school day was lunch, because
    that's when things happened . . . . _____

28. In my math classes, we spent most of the time
    going over homework assignments . . . . _____

29. One of the biggest problems in my high school
    was troublemakers who gave tne school a bad name . . . . _____

30. In general, teachers enjoy teaching and
    helping their students . . . . _____

31. There was one gang in my high school that ran things.
    If you didn't belong to that group you didn't count . . _____

32. In high school work, we did the same things
    over and over again . . . . _____

33. I was challenged by my work in high school and I
    thought what I did was important . . . . _____

34. My high school was very democratic, and grades were
    based on what you knew, not who you were . . . . _____

35. In my high school, a kid usually deserved
    his punishment . . . . _____

6

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

36. Students in my high school could walk in the halls
during class without a pass . . . . _____

37. The only way to get a good grade in high school was
to memorize what was in the book . . . . _____

38. Much of the work we did in high school was "busy work"
with no particular point to it . . . . _____

39. I broke some school rules like the ones about smoking,
eating, and dress . . . . _____

40. The student government in my high school was responsible
for making rules about dress, smoking, and cutting class . _____

41. People worried too much about grades in my high school . . _____

42. Personality and bluff can get you through school . . . . . _____

43. My classes usually went like this: you read a book,
went over the material in class, studied your notes,
took a test on the material, then started reading
the book again . . . . _____

44. The students helped decide how time would be
spent in classes . . . . _____

45. If a student wanted to work hard in my school, he
could get a good education . . . . _____

46. The authorities in my school knew what I should study
better than I did . . . . _____

47. The teachers and principal in my high school
were working to help me . . . . _____

48. Compared with other schools, my high school gave
a good education . . . . _____

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The next questions are statements which you might hear someone make about their jobs and work. We would like to know how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. Please use the same rating scale for indicating your agreement.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

49. Employees should be sufficiently supervised, so their mistakes aren't too serious . . . . _____

50. In my job, it's not important what you know, just look alert and give the right answers . . . . _____

51. A small group of people run this organization, and you can't do much unless you're in with them . . . . _____

52. In my job, it's more important to _act_ like you know what you're doing than to really know what you're doing . . _____

53. At the place where I work, each guy has his own friends, and the people in a group don't have much to do with anybody else . . . . _____

54. I get satisfaction from knowing that my job is important to the organization I work for . . . . _____

55. I have met many interesting people in the places I have worked . . . . _____

56. Sometimes I think I would like to change jobs just to do something different for a while . . . . _____

57. What I do in my job doesn't have much co do with the important problems of living . . . . _____

58. I often feel that anyone could do my job. It is only a repetition of the same thing over and over again . . . . _____

59. Many of the regular workers would be better supervisors than the people who are supervisors now . . . . _____

60. I sometimes feel that my job is so unimportant that it doesn't matter whether or not I do it . . . . _____

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

61. My work is interesting most of the time . . . . _____

62. I am proud to do my job . . . . _____

63. I usually know what to do in my job, but I usually
    don't know why I'm supposed to do it . . . . _____

64. I often think about other things while I'm working--what
    I'm going to do after work, something that happened at
    home, and so on. . . . . _____

65. Most of my superiors are interested in the problems
    of the employees . . . . _____

66. If the employees where I work don't like a particular
    foreman or supervisor, he usually gets transferred . . . . _____

67. I prefer my job to other lines of work . . . . _____

68. There is no point in working too hard at my job,
    because I'm not expected to do too much . . . . _____

69. I think it is a good idea if employees say "Sir" when
    addressing a superior. It shows respect . . . . _____

70. The work I do is very challenging . . . . _____

71. Other workers are more important in making a job
    enjoyable than the work itself . . . . _____

72. Where I work, supervisors listen to the ideas of
    the workers before they make a big change in policy . . . . _____

73. The only thing I'd like to change about my job is the pay . _____

74. After you learn the basic tasks in a job like mine, you
    don't need to learn anything new or different . . . . _____

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

75. Promotions and raises where I work are fair. There
    are no "favorites." . . . . _____

76. The place I work is too formal and unfriendly . . . . _____

77. There aren't many rules and regulations where I work.
    We decide how to behave and how to do our own work . . . . _____

78. I usually don't see the people I work with
    after working hours . . . . _____

79. In my job employees don't have enough responsibility
    for their own work . . . . _____

80. Usually, my supervisors give me very clear directions
    so I know exactly what to do and how to do it . . . . _____

81. My job doesn't give me a chance to do my best work . . . . _____

82. Supervisors make all the important decisions. Anyone
    who thinks the workers can change things is just
    kidding himself . . . . _____

83. In my job, you have to be on your toes all the time.
    If you don't work hard, you don't last long . . . . _____

84. When the bosses make a policy change, there are
    usually good reasons for it. We should do our
    best to follow their decisions . . . . _____

This final group of questions contains statements which someone might
make about several social situations. Please indicate your agreement
or disagreement with these statements by using the same scale you used
for the last statements.

85. You can usually judge how successful a person is by
    where he lives and what kind of car he drives . . . . _____

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

86. The F.B.I. should be allowed special privileges like
    wire-tapping, because they are fighting to protect
    our country . . . . _____

87. Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print
    anything they want, except military secrets . . . . _____

88. Since the Supreme Court says that segregation is
    unconstitutional, everything possible should be
    done to integrate . . . . _____

89. Many civil rights groups don't recognize that these
    problems will work themselves out in time . . . . _____

90. Ordinary, hard-working people give a lot more
    to our society than artists and writers . . . . _____

91. Once in a while, police are right to hold someone in jail
    without telling him about the charges against him . . . . . _____

92. Some criticism of our government is helpful. But
    remarks which make our country look bad should be stopped . _____

93. I enjoy spending a lot of time by myself . . . . _____

94. Hard work can overcome most social or economic handicaps . ._____

95. If someone refuses to testify against himself in
    court, he should be punished . . . . ._____

96. In some cases, the police should be allowed to search
    a person even if they do not have a search warrant . . . . _____

97. For me, getting along with people is more important
    than making a lot of money . . . . _____

98. It is more fair for a committee to make an important
    decision than to leave it to one guy . . . . _____

11

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

99. A person who works hard and tries to do his best should be given the same rewards as a person who is so smart that he doesn't have to work so hard . . . . _____

100. Some of the petitions which have been circulated should not be allowed by the government . . . . _____

101. There are some groups which should not be allowed to hold public meetings even though they gather peacefully and only make speeches . . . . _____

102. Someone who isn't willing to take a few chances will never be a success . . . . _____

103. It's a good idea to start early in life to save money, because you are going to need it later on . . . . _____

104. Welfare is a good method of helping people who are unable or too old to work, but a lot of people who are on welfare could support themselves if they tried . . . _____

105. I like to belong to a team or group . . . . _____

106. People may talk a lot about sexual freedom, but most men still want to marry a girl who is a virgin . . . . . . _____

107. In order to get along you have to realize that you can't dress and act in some ways . . . . _____

108. Several people working together as a group can make better decisions than any one of the same people can make by himself . . . . _____

109. It is usually better to trade a car in for a new one after a few years, than to spend the money to keep the old one in good shape . . . . _____

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree

110. Some people are ignorant or sick, and they just can't
     vote sensibly. They should not be allowed to vote . . . . _____

111. Most old people don't realize that the world isn't the
     same as it was when they were young . . . . _____

112. Even if you like your present job, you should never
     stop trying to improve . . . . _____

113. Sometimes you have to be tough to get what you want . . . . _____

114. Even if you don't like what you are doing, it's
     good to know that you work hard and do your share . . . . . _____

APPENDIX A-1

MEANS OF SUBSCALES BY RACE, SEX AND SKILL LEVEL.

MEANS OF SUBSCALES BY RACE, SEX AND SKILL LEVEL

SUBSCALE[A]	BLACK					WHITE				
	M (n=35)	F (n=58)	HI (n=41)	LO (n=43)	TOTAL (N=93)	M (n=57)	F (n=74)	HI (n=52)	LO (n=67)	TOTAL (N=131)
SCHOOL										
1. M-G	11.03	10.62	10.90	10.63	10.77	11.04	11.12	11.25	11.03	11.08
2. M-P	10.34	11.02	10.39	11.26	10.76	10.93	11.01	11.19	10.87	10.98
3. B-G	11.94	11.83	11.83	11.86	11.90	11.32	11.57	11.56	11.52	11.46
4. B-P	9.00	9.67	9.20	9.77	9.42	9.47	9.42	9.62	9.28	9.44
5. P-G	10.83	11.14	10.98	11.16	11.02	10.37	10.47	10.50	10.25	10.43
6. P-P	7.20	6.71	7.24	6.49	6.89	6.86	6.38	6.60	6.48	6.59
7. R/A	14.14	14.24	15.07	13.74	14.20	13.95	13.66	13.81	13.90	13.79
8. R/P	13.31	13.88	14.56	13.12	13.67	15.16	15.72	14.94	16.12	15.47
9. R/W	13.23	14.16	14.22	13.65	13.81	15.30	14.39	15.17	14.63	14.79
EMPLOYMENT										
10. M-G	10.94	11.45	11.34	11.30	11.26	11.47	11.50	11.96	11.04	11.49
11. M-P	11.71	12.55	11.78	12.84	12.24	11.82	12.96	12.77	12.31	12.47
12. B-G	9.51	10.83	10.37	10.42	10.33	9.98	10.76	11.40	9.58	10.42
13. B-P	7.97	9.47	8.76	9.19	8.90	9.35	9.31	9.94	8.73	9.33
14. P-G	9.00	9.74	9.41	9.67	9.46	9.98	9.59	10.23	9.42	9.76
15. P-P	9.97	10.36	10.17	10.56	10.22	10.67	10.58	10.69	10.61	10.62
16. R/A	16.37	15.62	16.80	15.09	15.90	15.79	14.73	15.19	15.45	15.31
17. R/P	14.34	14.50	14.51	14.37	14.44	13.91	13.54	13.17	13.97	13.70
18. R/W	16.14	14.66	15.61	14.93	15.22	15.88	14.41	13.87	15.85	15.05
SOCIAL										
19. Gov.	25.34	24.38	23.85	25.16	24.74	27.89	27.42	27.42	27.73	27.63
20. Equ.	9.86	9.81	9.63	10.02	9.83	10.42	9.77	10.37	9.66	10.05
21. Mor.	7.91	7.79	8.32	7.37	7.84	7.98	7.09	7.69	7.34	7.48
22. Cha.	10.97	11.62	11.49	11.35	11.38	10.89	10.97	11.35	10.66	10.94
23. Suc.	10.06	10.47	10.27	10.26	10.31	9.84	10.34	10.15	10.06	10.12
24. Soc.	9.91	10.10	10.24	9.98	10.03	9.51	9.07	9.04	9.42	9.26

[A] For full subscale titles, see p. 299.

A P P E N D I X   A-2

STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SUBSCALES BY RACE, SEX, & SKILL LEVEL

STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SUBSCALES BY RACE, SEX, & SKILL LEVEL

SUBSCALE[A]	M (n=35)	F (n=58)	BLACK HI (n=41)	LO (n=43)	TOTAL (N=93)	M (n=57)	F (n=74)	WHITE HI (n=52)	LO (n=67)	TOTAL (N=131)
SCHOOL										
1. M-G	1.76	2.11	2.07	2.07	2.00	1.84	1.95	1.92	1.78	1.91
2. M-P	2.80	2.03	2.60	2.02	2.37	2.26	2.36	2.10	2.44	2.32
3. B-G	2.04	2.27	2.12	2.33	2.19	2.26	2.27	2.25	2.22	2.27
4. B-P	2.18	2.09	2.18	2.03	2.15	2.25	2.31	2.24	2.31	2.29
5. P-G	2.52	2.54	2.41	2.44	2.54	2.57	2.45	2.30	2.72	2.50
6. P-P	2.15	1.83	1.90	2.05	1.97	1.83	1.94	1.83	1.99	1.91
7. R/A	3.86	3.91	4.10	3.42	3.89	2.99	2.91	2.88	2.77	2.94
8. R/W	3.17	3.26	2.98	3.47	3.24	2.76	3.96	3.25	3.69	3.50
9. R/P	2.72	3.64	2.96	3.81	3.35	3.09	3.99	3.90	3.47	3.65
EMPLOYMENT										
10. M-G	2.57	2.48	2.67	2.47	2.53	2.02	2.45	1.85	2.48	2.27
11. M-P	2.44	2.00	2.62	1.64	2.22	2.19	2.04	1.92	2.37	2.18
12. B-G	2.41	2.76	3.05	2.44	2.71	2.87	3.04	2.55	3.08	2.99
13. B-P	2.46	2.59	2.62	2.86	2.64	2.38	2.83	2.49	2.70	2.65
14. P-G	2.28	2.08	2.08	2.37	2.19	1.98	1.99	1.95	1.95	2.00
15. P-P	1.87	1.89	1.86	1.91	1.89	1.98	2.09	1.96	2.09	2.04
16. R/A	2.89	2.88	2.74	2.88	2.91	3.80	3.32	3.09	3.75	3.56
17. R/W	3.14	3.87	3.64	3.62	3.61	2.95	3.00	2.77	3.03	2.99
18. R/P	3.91	3.38	4.17	3.27	3.66	4.33	4.02	3.97	4.24	4.22
SOCIAL										
19. Gov.	5.47	5.94	5.70	6.10	5.78	6.23	4.59	5.66	5.53	5.37
20. Equ.	2.47	2.20	2.39	2.24	2.31	2.68	2.21	2.30	2.57	2.44
21. Mor.	2.93	3.13	2.65	3.21	3.06	2.34	1.84	1.78	2.40	2.12
22. Cha.	2.47	2.09	2.23	2.39	2.26	3.05	2.30	2.74	2.59	2.66
23. Suc.	2.01	2.04	2.30	1.82	2.04	1.71	2.37	1.87	2.26	2.13
24. Soc.	2.77	2.07	2.36	2.43	2.36	2.16	2.15	1.83	2.19	2.16

[A]For full subscale titles, see p. 299.

( )

APPENDIX   B

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

RELATING TO THE

INTEGRATED LANGUAGE SKILL CENTERS

WAITING FOR THE FIRE

Much of the data of this report was collected in 196f
and 1967. While the data were being analyzed and this report
was being written, the problems of the Milwaukee non-white com-
munity continued.

As suggested by the following documentation of the
deposition of leadership in the United Community Action Groups,
community initiative in Milwaukee has been undermined, and edu-
cational management has once more affirmed its own power and
privileges. In the name of kindness and human concern, it de-
mands powerlessness of the black community.

RELATING TO THE INTEGRATED LANGUAGE SKILL CENTERS

1. Milwaukee civil disturbance - July 30-31, 1967.

2. Special grant by federal government to State of Wisconsin: $4-3/4
   million for education, $1 million for community service program.

3. Community meetings to discuss community participation in the use
   of the money. October-November, 1967.

4. Meeting with state officials at Inner City Development office
   (December 7, 1967, Journal article).

5. State law passed, end of December, 1967, raising teachers' salaries,
   raising taxing limit on city of Milwaukee for school purposes, and
   granting Milwaukee School Board authority to use $4-3/4 million for
   inner-core schools.

6. About this same time, December, 1967, parents in a group went to
   Gousha's office demanding representation and a voice in the programs
   for inner-city schools.

7. January, 1968. Principals set up meetings at all inner-core schools,
   north and south side. Some principals, especially south side, were
   antagonistic to the idea of parent involvement, and refused to con-
   sider any proposals from parents. Six committees were set up for
   the use of the funds, and representatives of each school were chosen
   to attend the six committees. Community meetings, both north and
   south sides, and sometimes joint, were held. (Journal, January 21,
   1968.)

8. BOGO responded to parents objections for guards in the schools and
   school for disrupters. (February 14, Journal, editorial February 16,
   February 15 Sentinel, commenting February 16 Journal)

9. Meetings at School Administration building of a rewriting advisory
   committee composed of community members, teachers, school administra-
   tion, university faculty. This group prepared about four revisions
   of the community proposal for the ILSC. The conclusion of this ad-
   visory committee's work was the meeting with Gousha in March, where
   he said the committee had no authority to choose personnel, sites
   for the program, curriculum, set salaries, or allocate special funds
   for lunches for children and fees for the Parents' Advisory Board.

10. Proposal as amended by Gousha passed School Board (Journal, March 27,
    1968) and BOGO.

11. James Hodge, the school administration representative on the rewrit-
    ing advisory committee, invited the committee to sit in on briefing
    sessions on progress of the ILSC. We understood that we would screen

the administrators, and we were invited to propose teaching and
specialist staff. We tried to involve other community members on
the screening committee which interviewed applicants for project
administrator. There were substitutes for community screening
committee members. Their judgment was not accepted when they re-
fused to OK the potential administrators.

12. The community appealed to the state BOGO, Senator Hollander, chair-
man, for help in resolving differences in the planned implementa-
tion of the ILSC, July 17 meeting. A representative was sent from
the state. Hollander wrote to us that it was a local matter, so
that any potential power of the state was denied us.

13. Picketing of the ILSC orientation sessions for teachers began
August 12. We had obtained a list of teachers from the school ad-
ministration, had contacted them for a joint meeting, and had the
teachers' verbal support for our position. Our boycott was effec-
tive for two days, although there were some arrests made.

14. Gousha lowered the boom (Courier, August 17, 1968). Boycott broken.
Teachers folded. Milwaukee Teachers' Union pulled out support, and
threatened their state organizer with dismissal. This later was made
official. Arrests made, and arrestees threatened with loss of jobs,
loss of welfare, and loss of children and homes. Journal editorial,
August 17, 1968, against UCAG, where a few days before, it had been
in favor. This is the reward for community participation.

15. The part of the UCAG who were still willing to fight the school sys-
tem requested an investigation by BOGO. (Journal, September 12, 1968).
Buchmiller was appointed.

16. UCAG "reorganized," Carol Malone, president, Laurie Wynn, vice-presi-
dent, and contacted Buchmiller, unknown to the "old UCAG" group, who
were responsible for the investigation in the first place. The "new
UCAG" asked for a delay so that they could organize.

17. The night before Buchmiller was to give his report to BOGO, Lauri
Wynn met with Buchmiller and school administration officials at the
School Board building, and gave in on all the former UCAG demands
but one. (December 12 Sentinel)

18. Buchmiller reported to BOGO that everything was fine. In his fat
document, he stated that he had never heard from the "old UCAG" in
response to his itemized listing of our complaints. However, in this
big volume, both our acknowledgement and our long reply were included.
Our reply was split up into many sections, so that you could not make
sense of it.

19. The Secretary of State's office returned our appliction for incor-
poration, because "another group with similar name had applied the
day before." They had investigated in October, and had not said

anything then, but waited until January 1, 1969.

20. Federal case filed (January 31, 1969, Journal) freedom of speech in picketing.

21. Little interest in continuing activities together other than legal action.

UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP

THE UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP CAME INTO BEING AS A COALITION OF INNER-CITY
GROUPS AND PARENTS TO INSURE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE USE OF FOUR AND THREE
QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS (SPECIAL STATE AIDS) GRANTED TO INNER-CITY SCHOOLS LAST NOV-
EMBER. WHEN THE COMMUNITY PEOPLE REALIZED THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS WERE PLANNING TO
USE THE MONEY FOR CONTROLLING OUR CHILDREN RATHER THAN EDUCATING THEM, WE BECAME
FULLY AWARE THAT THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS WOULD PREFER GUARDS AND A SCHOOL FOR DIS-
RUPTERS RATHER THAN LISTEN TO PARENTS ON HOW TO GIVE OUR CHILDREN A MEANINGFUL EDUCATION.

THE UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP SUBMITTED A PROPOSAL TO THE STATE BOARD OF
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS FOR AN INTERRELATED LANGUAGE SKILLS CENTER. BOGO (BOARD OF
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS) FUNDED OUR PROPOSAL IN PREFERENCE TO TWO PROPOSALS SUBMITTED
BY THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS FOR GUARDS IN THE SCHOOLS AND FOR A SCHOOL FOR DISRUP-
TERS. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP (UCAG) WERE INVOLVED IN
REVISING OUR PROPOSAL ALONG WITH MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION, TEACHERS, AND
UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL. THE CENTER'S PROGRAM WAS SUPPOSED TO BE IMPLEMENTED WITH AP-
PROVAL OF THE UCAG REPRESENTATIVES. THE UCAG IS NO. PROTESTING THE LOCATION AND
FRAGMENTATION OF THE CENTERS. WE ARE PROTESTING THE HIRING OF TWO SUPERVISORY PEOPLE
WHOM UCAG SCREENED OUT FOR GOOD REASON--THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNITY PROBLEMS.
WE ALSO OBJECT TO SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION USE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SALARY IN OUR SPECIAL
PROGRAM. WE DON'T FEEL THAT MILWAUKEE SCHOOL SYSTEM'S REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE THE
ONLY BASIS FOR THE SALARY THEY OFFER.

THE UCAG WAS TO WORK IN AN ADVISORY CAPACITY. WE FEEL AN ADVISORY CAPACITY
IS NOT ENOUGH IF OUR ADVICE IS IGNORED BY THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS. THE INTERRE-
LATED LANGUAGE SKILLS CENTER IS A NEW PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL STATE FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR
FORTY-THREE INNER-CITY SCHOOLS. WE ARE ASKING COMMUNITY SUPPORT IN FORCING THE
MILWAUKEE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION TO LISTEN AND DO AS THE COMMUNITY WISHES FOR THE
GOOD OF OUR COMMUNITY IN WHICH WE LIVE.

Core Residents Seek
Voice in School Fund

By FRANK A. AUKOFER
Of The Journal Staff

A group of inner core residents told high ranking state and school officials Wednesday night that they wanted a voice in spending the $5.75 million allocated by the legislature for special programs for schools and other inner core problems.

The residents—representing agencies, neighborhood organizations and block clubs in the inner core—met with the officials at the inner city development project office, 2903 N. Teutonia av.

State officials at the meeting were Douglas Welford, secretary of the state department of local affairs and development; Archie A. Buchmiller, deputy state superintendent of public instruction; Donald K. Dean, an assistant state superintendent of public instruction, and Jan Marfyak, executive budget officer for the state administration department.

Also among those at the meeting were Thomas M. Cheeks, community services co-ordinator for the Milwaukee public schools; Frederick P. Mett, a Milwaukee school board member, and a group of commandos of the Milwaukee NAACP youth council.

At issue was an emergency allocation by the legislature of $4.75 million in direct aid for inner core schools and another $1 million for other projects in the inner core.

How the money is spent will be determined by the state board of government operations, composed of seven state senators and assemblymen. Its next meeting is Dec. 18.

Welford's department is re-
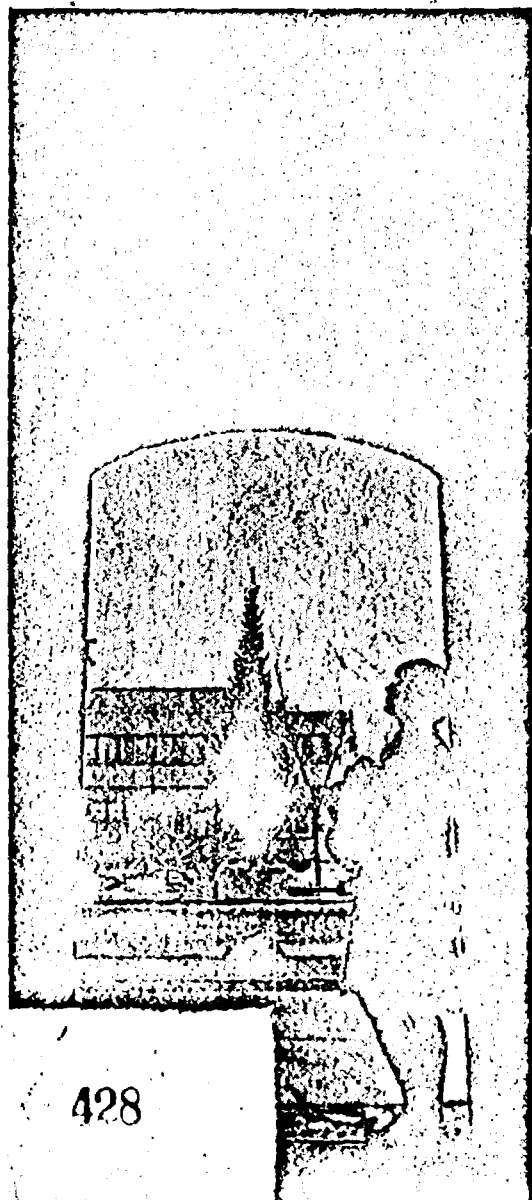
Funds

School Spending Voice Sought by Residents

sponsible for reviewing proposals for the $1 million and submitting them to the board. He told the 75 inner core residents at the meeting that the legislature required him to consult with the people who were affected on how the money was spent.

Welford said he was open to proposals and wanted to use the talent and brain power in the inner core. He termed the $1 million "a feeble sum."

"But the Wisconsin legislature has heard your voice and it is a beginning," he said.

Henry L. Walters, second in command of the youth council commandos, urged residents to form a committee to go before the state board to make sure their voice was heard.

"Everybody here has a program, more or less," he said. "We want a piece of this dust."

The residents at the meeting became indignant when Buchmiller and Cheeks explained that the Milwaukee school board was responsible for submitting proposals for the $4.75 million.

"The hysteria in this community is caused by the school board," said one woman.

Another woman said she wanted to help decide how the money was spent "so my child won't be in the seventh grade and can't read a third grade book."

The residents wanted to know if there was any way either to bypass the school board or to put strings on the money to insure that it was spent in accord with the wishes of people in the inner core.

Buchmiller said he had no authority in the matter. He said that, the way the law was set up, proposals to spend the money were the responsibility of the school board.

However, he agreed to convey the residents' desire to be in on the decision making to Gov. Knowles and William C. Kahl, state superintendent of public instruction. Marlyak said the governor had asked for a full report of the meeting.

Cheeks said that special committees of the school board would be considering proposals next Tuesday and Wednesday at the school administration building, 5225 W. Vliet st.

Walters asked if school

proposals from inner core residents. Cheeks said they would.

Several of those at the meeting said that if they had no part in deciding how the money was spent, they did not want the money. Others said they would take their children out of school.

At the end of the meeting, the residents formed two committees — one to work on proposals for the $1 million and the other to work on the $4.75 million program. They said representatives of the committees would, if necessary, appear personally before the government operations board.

"You got to go to the high authorities," Walters said. "The low man can't do a thing for you."

Draft Resisters Given Backing

The Young Democrats at the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee voted Wednesday to give "full support and endorsement" to American men who flee to Canada to escape the draft.

The unit, in a 9 to 6 vote, endorsed those who fled "through sincere moral conviction either in opposition to the war in Vietnam or the selective service system."

Last month the unit passed a resolution establishing a League for Sexual Freedom and advocated selling contraceptive devices in the university bookstore. Two weeks later the resolution was rescinded after Dennis J. Klazura, state Young Democrats chairman, resigned from the unit in protest.

It has about 100 members.

Ordinances

Suburban Housing Laws C

to process complaints unless a housing commission made necessary.

Brown Deer — No exemptions. Fine $10 to $200. Local municipal court enforcement of violations not covered by the state law.

Fox Point — Owner occupied duplexes and some homes with rental rooms exempted. Fine $1 to $200. Complaints processed by commission. If it fails to conciliate, cases go to the municipal court.

Shorewood — Rental of owner occupied duplexes, some apartments and homes with some roomers exempt. Fine $10 to $200. Enforcement by village attorney.

Whitefish Bay—Owner occupied duplexes and homes with roomers exempt. Fine $10 to $200. Complaints processed first by commission; then

require that equal opportunity commissions — to be appointed by the village president and confirmed by the village board — handle discrimination cases first. If they fail to reach an agreement, the court process begins. The commissions have the power to sign complaints.

All ordinances make it unlawful for persons to test the ordinances if they have no sincere intention to buy, rent or lease.

AT WI

We as a community rejected the proposal of security guards in our schools because we had no wish to make our schools a prison. The concession of security guards in schools protect the very teachers and administrators who have made a sizeable contribution to creating the present and prior chaotic state of affairs, which is foolhardy, stupid, and criminal. The use of security guards is a militaristic approach to a basically educational problem. This is the usual "white American's" answer to any problem, resulting from the apartheidt American social system.

We further reject the use of teacher aides as security personnel. The proposal is a clear indictment of our double-standard school system. In schools that address themselves to the educational welfare of students, there is no need for security aides. If a meaningful quality education were being given to black students in core schools, social frustrations of students would not be a physical threat to core schools and teachers. And if black students had not been physically and verbally abused by inept, racist teachers and administrators, there would be no need for these same teachers and administrators to ask for physical protection from students.

There is no concern for the black students of this community. And there is less than no concern for the parents and other adults in this community. This meeting, scheduled during the working day of most black parents is exactly the kind of insult added to injury that is responsible for what is said to be a lack of involvement on the part of black parents.

Police-community relations have deteriorated to the point of open warfare. Principals and teachers are aware of the brutality black children suffer from the police department. Yet instead of protecting students in their charge, the administrators call police with full awareness of the heads that will be opened, the limbs that will be broken, and the lives that may be lost. You know now that the community is anxious, angry as hell,

and aware of what is happening here. The black parents are not going to

stand by and watch their children being abused any longer. If a black

student is killed, all hell will break loose.

Our children have been called disruptive. B lack parents and other

community people are here today to inform KTEA, BOGO and everyone else

that our black children are not disruptive. They are the victims of a

disruptive racist society, and are only reacting to the criminal practices

of sick adults.

We agree that North Division should be closed until it can be staffed

with teachers who want to teach rather than control, and with administra-

tors and teachers who can respect and relate to the black student and the

black community.

Statement of the

MILWAUKEE UNITED SCHOOL INTEGRATION COMMITTEE
to the
BOARD OF GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS

Milwaukee United School Integration Committee considers
it bad governmental action for responsible members of a state board
to reconsider action taken after due consideration of that action.
MUSIC supported and continues to support the Concerned Parents'
statement before this board regarding the root of evils the public
now decries being segregated, unequal schools:

The worst kind of error that BOGO could make is failure
to recognize that the problems we are now facing are due to a policy
and practice of racial discrimination in education by an arm of
state government, the Milwaukee School Board. The state should
not compound this grievous wrong by giving money to further alien-
ate and discriminate against those already segregated.

If you continue to knuckle under to a bad educational
establishment in this community you will in effect further debili-
tate a city whose potential is dying.

BOGO is being asked to disavow its former stand and to
use state funds to insult black parents and black children. BOGO
is being asked once again to make bad schools worse by making them
prisons. Those asking for guards are bad teachers and administra-
tors and members of a reactionary teacher organization. MTEA has
been primarily concerned with getting more money for less work.
Furthermore, this organization has betrayed its profession by
secretly conspiring with the school board to get rid of teachers
who challenge students' potential. Now MTEA is publicly attempting
to intimidate those teachers. This function of fronting for a
fascist school board instead of facing up to it is traitorous and
un-American.

The Milwaukee school board is known nationally for its
adamant stand for bigotry and its policy of maintaining a double-
standard, segregated school system.

Its bad leadership, aided by superficial press coverage
is now inflaming an ignorant and emotional public. White racism,
exposed by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, is afire
in this city and Milwaukee's educational establishment is feeding
the flames.

Instead of working to stop what it calls student brutality,
MTEA should give professional direction to its members to cease
and desist causing student reaction to teachers' brutality and in-
sults.

By threatening to close schools, MTEA is taking on the
attitude of the police department. These threats lay bare to the
entire community conditions of miseducation long known to black
parents and students.

School administrators and MTEA have been dishonest in failing to report to BOGO that security guards already been hired for full-time surveillance at ghetto elementary as well as secondary schools, and this before the semester began. In addition to guards, uniformed and plain clothes policemen surround these schools and their paddy wagons are on hand.

Cowardly, weak administrators have used thise detested instruments of repression and brutality to attempt to bully students. The reactions of determined students have been normal reactions of determination smelling out a bully and refusing to turn tail.

Neither MTEA, nor the school board and school administrators have heeded warnings since 1963 of the inevitable effects of racial isolation. Nor have they heeded or rallied to the cry for integrated texts, a cry which has been raised repeatedly since 1963. No one should be surprised that five years later students are refusing to accept alibis.

In conclusion MUSIC strongly urges BOGO to disassociate itself from local myopia which seizes upon unsterilized bandaids to cover up effects instead of curing causes. We urge you to be farsighted in recognizing the state's responsibility for good education by allocating all remaining funds only to quality, integrated education programs.

Lloyd A. Barbee, Chairman
Milwaukee United School Integration
Committee

COMMUNITY POSITION PAPER

In planning for the use of the categorical aids to meet the most
critical emergency needs of the inner city schools, the following
processes and procedures were utilized, to obtain an administrative
control by the school board.

A. Many principals of eligible schools made no attempt
    to represent the community and the teacher interests.
    Some principals did not submit any parent names and sub-
    mitted a limited number of select teacher names.
    Parents and teachers, who had an interest and ques-
    tioned the procedure in developing the original propo-
    sals, were treated as agitating, abrasive personalities.

B. School Board officials, trained in education, did not
    notice this serious omission until it was pointed out
    by residents of the community. At this time they said
    it was "too late" to correct this error.

C. The five (5) categories suggested by legislature as
    general guidelines were adhered to by the school board
    as a rigid, unyielding, and inflexible framework.
    Principals and the school board gave no consideration to
    new proposals.

D. Principals were subjective in reporting parent reaction
    to the school board's proposals. General community
    reaction was negative to the school board plans for
    utilizing State Categorical aids. City wide parent
    reaction to the specific proposal for Security Guards

was negative and not ambiguous as one principal so
ineptly reported. The favorable report the board
sights in its final proposal is inadequate.

Therefore we agree with most of the objections stated in the U.A.C.
community position paper. However we also reject the TEACHER RETRAINING

proposal.

Inservice Education or teacher retraining is very necessary, this
we agree. The goals stated are sufficient, however you do not tell
us how you expect to accomplish these noble goals. Many things are
assumed, expected and hoped for in these stated goals. Our present
institutions are graduating teachers with the expectation and hope that
they are prepared for the job that faces them. They are not or we would
not begin to retrain them. Will it be these same ineffective institutions
that will retrain our teachers. Will we then retrain the retrained teachers?
Of what will this program consist? - Please be specific!

To accept this proposal it is necessary to assume that all teachers
have a "learning readiness" in the areas defined. This implies an
openness on the part of teachers to changing their attitudes. The very
wording of the proposal indicates that teacher attitudes remain the same.
The word retraining is intentionally avoided because of the negative
connotations it would suggest to teachers. The words "INSERVICE EDUCATION"
and the general description within the proposal would lead one to believe
that this is, in fact, an extension of the present inservice program for
teachers. This program extends credits to teachers for class attendance.
Such credits change only the teacher's classification on a salary schedule
and do not change her attitude. In plain English "it changes their income
not their understanding."

The teacher has already received increased salary and fringe benefits. Now must we provide aides to aide them, guards to guard them, tutors to complete the teaching job, special educators to teach the children who are a challenge, - and ▬▬ last of all we are asked to pay for the teachers education so they can increase their salary.

It is with no reservation that this group from the community rejects the school board proposals for Categorical Aids--as they are now written.

Once again we submit our porposal that 1) primary attention be given to an extensive reading program for slow and excellerated readers, 2) some linguistics centers be developed to deal with the multi-language problem that hinders learning in our classrooms. If consideration is given to these proposals we would gladly develop them in detail.

We also restate a need to implement programs in these areas as listed in the U.A.C. Community Position Paper.

1. Change school distict lines
2. Change feeder patterns
3. Screen and removal of teachers and administrators
4. After adequate testing, proper channeling of special C and special B Students.
5. More adequate playground facilites
6. Contributions of minority groups in all field of the curriculum.
7. Mandatory course in minority group history

JOURNAL

TV and Radio Programs
in Accent Section

FEB. 4, 68

The Republican state admin-istration has discriminated against city voters because it has refused to grant state aids for Milwaukee schools, Atty. Jay Schwartz, Democratic can-didate for attorney general, said Tuesday.

Schwartz, speaking at a meeting of campaign workers for Gerald D. Kleczak, Demo-cratic candidate for the 14th assembly district seat, said the administration had discrimi-nated "especially against Pol-ish and Mexican children who must attend unsafe South Divi-sion high school." He said the refusal of state aid has kept South Division from being re-placed.

"As a party spokesman and a lifelong member of the Dem-ocratic party, I am not built to tolerate such discrimination," he said at the meeting, held at Kleczak's home, 3268 S. 9th pl.

State Heeds Parents on School Fund Use

The state board of govern-ment operations Wednesday approved four emergency pro-grams for 44 of the city's schools, in line with sugges-tions made by parents' groups Tuesday night.

The vote was 6 to 1, with Assemblyman Russell A. Ol-son (R-Bassett) dissenting.

The programs, which would cost $4.5 million, are partly different from proposals made by the Milwaukee school board.

The programs would pro-vide:

Four hundred teacher aides this year and 600 more next year. Their salaries would to-tal $2.6 million and the train-ing would cost $200,000.

A $1,820,000 remedial read-ing program to be developed by the Milwaukee school ad-ministration and submitted to the state board for approval in March.

A $180,000 after school tu-torial and recreation program.

A $150,000 program to train teachers to work with the chil-dren of poor families.

The state board eliminated two programs proposed by the school board. They would have provided building attend-ants in certain schools and a special school for students who disrupt classes.

Richard P. Gousha, superin-tendent of schools, said build-ing attendants were needed, but agreed with board mem-bers' suggestions that teacher aides might be used for moni-toring hallways and keeping nonstudents out of schools.

Charles Holly, an employe of the state department of in-dustry, labor and human rela-tions, said he was 100% for

the program adopted. Holly is a Negro.

Negro and white residents of Milwaukee's central area Tuesday night criticized school board proposals for spending the emergency aid.

The criticisms were made during a three and a half hour hearing before the state board on government operations in the Teutonia center of the In-ner city development project, 2803 N. Teutonia av.

About 300 persons jammed the meeting.

Ronald D. Grace, 2335 N. 14th st., vice-chairman of the United Community group, an organization of Negro parents, said the school board propos-als seemed aimed at maintain-ing the status quo rather than providing a solution to com-munity problems.

Mrs. Josephine Smang, 814 S. 9th st., a member of the

Turn to School, page 2, col. 1

8-29-68 Sentinel

Reading Program Explained

A new program to improve the reading skills of students not measuring up to their read-ing capabilities was explained to teachers and parents of eli-gible students Wednesday night at the Parkman junior high school, 3620 N. 18th st.

Dwight Teel, deputy super-intendent of the interrelated language skills center said that students would be enrolled for a maximum of two years at one of three centers located on the north side.

While reading skills would be emphasized, he said, the centers would offer a full pro-gram of courses similar to those found in regular schools.

The centers will be staffed in such a way that there would be a 10-1 student-teacher ratio, Teel said, extolling the values of small group instruction.

The centers will be staffed with specialists to help teach-ers solve the students' reading and academic problems. These specialists — psychologists, social workers, and language experts — will augment the program, improving the overall service to the students.

Teel asked that parents co-operate with the teachers and specialists involved in the pro-

gram. He urged them to visit the centers, talk with the teachers, and become involved with what their children were doing.

Pride in their children's ac-complishments is an important motivating factor, Teel ex-plained.

Three project administrators — the equivalent of school principals — will head each center. Parkman, with 12 classrooms available, will house 7th and 8th graders. McDowell elementary school, utilizing 13 classrooms, will have 4th, 5th and 6th graders. Jefferson school, with 20 class-rooms, will have all 4th through 8th grades.

Jefferson school was the re-cent scene of protests over ad-ministration of the center. Some black parents wanted control of the $1.6 million pro-gram vested with the United Community Action group, which proposed the program to the state legislature.

The legislature has vested control of the program to the Milwaukee school board, as are all school programs.

Although a student may be enrolled for a maximum of two years, he will be returned to

his regular school when his reading skills reach that of his potential.

Grant Gordon, administra-tive specialist, said that al-though the program was only funded by the legislature for one year, he felt confident that additional funds would be granted for the second and ensuing years.

Several parents questioned the limited enrollment aspect of the program. Gordon said that students were chosen at random from tests taken ear-lier to determine reading abili-ty. As students are removed from the program because their efficiency has gone up or their time allotment has run out, others will be added.

If a student has not im-proved at the end of the two years, other efforts will be tak-en to try to help him, Gordon added.

4 Emergency Plans OK'd for 44 Schools

South Division High School Advancement association, said the proposals s h o u l d give primary attention to reading and helping children who do not speak English.

The school board's proposals would affect about 42,000 pupils and 2,000 teachers.

Both Grace and Mrs. Smanz criticized the lack of community involvement in the proposals. Gousha said he tried to involve parents as much as possible but that the actual programs were limited by state legislation, which had been supported by t h e Milwaukee Teachers Education association and the school system.

S e n. Walter G. Hollander (R-Rosendale), chairman of the state board, agreed with Gousha that the law was specific in how the funds could be used.

Decries Police Function

Grace said teacher retraining was the only proposal his group liked. He said other proposals emphasized what h e called the "police function" of schools or compensatory programs which were ineffective and unwanted.

The d e m a n d s made by Grace included nonwhite representatives at all levels of the school system, more adequate playgrounds and a mandatory course in black history.

Grace's group also suggested several steps aimed at integration, including changing school district lines, ending the separation of b u s s e d classes and stopping construction of new schools in Negro areas.

Mrs. Smanz said her group rejected Grace's teacher training proposal. She said ineffective teacher training programs now would not work in training teachers to w o r k with children from poor families.

Wants Minority Recognized

She said teachers had to be willing to change their attitudes toward poor children for the retraining programs to work.

Mrs. Smanz backed Grace's integration proposals. S h e also asked that the contributions of minority groups be a part of all courses and recommended a mandatory course in minority group history.

Donald O'Connell, the only school board member to speak at the hearing, said he did not have enough time to evaluate school system's proposals, said he favored more community involvement and in-

creased emphasis on reading programs.

Mrs. Lauri J. Wynn, 2516 W. Brown st., a teacher at the 21st Street school and a parent, asked the state board to give the parent groups a compromise.

"At this point, y o u have completely ignored us and you can't do this," she said.

Calls Reading Poor

Mrs. Jefferson T. Coomer, 2448 N. 4th st., suggested programs dealing with academic subjects because, she said: "In the central city, the kids can't read."

Before the hearing on the school proposals, t h e state board heard other community representatives describe five programs for spending about $400,000 of a $1 million state grant for inner city projects.

The programs and t h e i r costs include: Helping inner city residents find and hold jobs, $50,000; counseling b y NAACP commandos of school dropouts and youths released from correctional institutions, $47,000; staffing a credit union for inner city residents, $70,000; program of comprehensive services to unmarried mothers, $46,000, and special counseling and leadership training for school dropouts and other young persons on the south side, $122,000.

Earlier Tuesday, the state board and other government officials toured the inner core and three inner core schools.

A story on the use of books about Negroes in some Milwaukee high school libraries is in the Accent on the News Section.

Law

In general the minimum qualifications and training are either inadequate or n onexistent.

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Four School Pickets Sue Over Arrests

Four pickets arrested last August when they t r i e d to keep teachers from entering Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson st., Thursday filed suit seeking a $1,020,000 judgment.

The four claim they were deprived of their rights guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution.

Attorney Robert E. Sutton filed the civil suit in federal court for his clients. They are Mrs. Cynthia Pitts, 4659 N. Parkway av., wife of Ald. Orville Pitts; Walter H. and June J. Reeves, 1554 W. Walker st., and Miss Mary Gundrum.

Listed as defendants a r e Richard P. G o u s h a, school superintendent of the city of Milwaukee; J o h n F. Kitzke, chief negotiator for the Milwaukee school board; Carl F. Kinnel, assistant city attorney assigned to t h e Milwaukee school b o a r d; Paul Udvare, Wayne Roberts, a n d Jerome Grabowski, Milwaukee policemen, and the Milwaukee police department.

The f o u r were among 23 pickets arrested A u g. 15 as they tried to keep from t h e building 43 teachers who reported for an orientation program which w a s to prepare them to set up several reading centers when school started.

In their suit, they said they "w e r e peacefully picketing u p o n public school grounds . . . and were arrested by Patrolmen Udvare, Roberts and B r a b o w s k i as ordered by Gousha, Kitzke and Kinnel.

"The acts of Gousha, Kitzke and Kinnel . . . "were malicious and willful," the f o u r said. They further said they were subject to public humiliation, scorn and ridicule, were jailed, fingerprinted and treated as criminals, resulting in

Fine School Plan

The state board of government operations has produced a compromise plan for emergency programs in 44 Milwaukee central city schools. There may be reservations about the wisdom of a legislative group making educational policy decisions for Milwaukee, but its approach is constructive and thoughtful.

The Milwaukee school board had put forward its own package of five proposals for spending the $4.7 million earmarked by the legislature. The state board modified the package selectively and with good judgment.

It added $1,820,000 for a remedial reading program, an essential and timely step sought by many parents but not advanced by the school board. The ability to read with reasonable skill is increasing ly essential to competent citizenship in a complex society. It is crucial in qualifying young people for better jobs. Yet the reading level of many central city students is shockingly low. A soundly planned, imaginative program will narrow the reading gap.

Four hundred teacher aides will be added this year and 600 next. The step should bring a high ratio of many Milwaukee teaching jobs from many Milwaukee teachers and another to retrain teachers for work with poor children, both good suggestions of the Milwaukee school board.

There will be an after school tutoring and recreation program. Yet and problems of class supervision and frustrated by the unmet need of some children for special help.

The state board dropped two vigorously proposed Milwaukee changes by many parents. One would have hired building attendants to keep order in the corridors of certain schools. Another would have set up rehabilitation classes for students who disrupt classes. The board, under the thoughtful leadership of Sen. Walter G. Hollander (R-Rosendale), c h o s e to emphasize positive aids to education and bypass the restrictive approach. Its program should make a sound contribution to education in the central city.

R–p

OK Core School Fund Compromise

By BARBARA H. KUEHN

A compromise program for use of special state funds for inner city schools here was approved Wednesday by the state board on government operations (BOGO).

Meeting at the state office building here, BOGO voted, 6 to 1, to modify the Milwaukee school administration's package of five proposals after hearing strong parent protests at a hearing Tuesday night.

Assemblyman Russell A. Olson (R-Bassett) dissented.

BOGO killed two school administration proposals which the parents had most severely attacked — plans for employing building attendants in schools and for a special school for students who disrupt classes.

The board added a $1,620,000 remedial reading program the parents had requested.

A school administration proposal for 708 teacher aides was reduced to 400 this year and 600 next year. The budget for these was cut from a requested $3,694,000 to $2.8 million.

Two other administration proposals were approved in their original form. They were a $180,000 after school tutorial and recreation program and a $150,000 program to train teachers to work with children of poor families.

Until Tuesday night's hearing BOGO had been expected by some observers to pass the school administration proposals with little or no alteration.

Unified criticism by parents from both the near north and near south sides was apparently the key factor in bringing about the compromise.

"This is a compromise program," said Sen. Walter G. Hollander (R-Rosendale), "Let's have no one say we blackjacked one side or the other."

He and other board members said they had been told an "incendiary" situation exists in Milwaukee's inner city and said they wanted to spend the $4.75 million special state fund in the best way to alleviate problems there.

School Supt. Richard P. Gousha told BOGO that he agreed teacher aides might be used as building attendants. He said, however, that he had to supply attendant by some means because "I have to deal with the Milwaukee Teachers Education association (MTEA)."

The building attendant plan and the other four administration proposals to BOGO were part of the contract agreement the school system made with the MTEA last fall.

BOGO also approved financing of five other programs from a separate $1 million fund for inner city projects.

The five are:

● NAACP youth council's program of counseling parolees from state reformatories, $47,000 through September.

● Money Action Center, a credit union and financial counseling service, $70,000.

● A job training program run by the state employment service, $50,000 for three months.

● A program for unmarried mothers sponsored by the Our Concern committee of the Milwaukee Urban League, $26,000.

● A Christian center proposal to expand the Spot, a south side youth center, $122,000.

Children Join Pickets in Reading Dispute

Adults protesting the school administration's handling of reading improvement centers were joined on their picket line for the first time Monday by large numbers of children.

About 50 of the 75 pickets at Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson, were children, ranging from high school age to infancy. The baby was carried by one of the demonstrators.

Adults in the protest are members of United Community Action group, an organization of black and white parents living on the near north and south sides of the city.

One group of pickets marched slowly in a circle on the sidewalk along E. State st.

on the south side of the school. Others walked back and forth on the sidewalk along E. Juneau av., on the north side of the school.

Thirty-nine teachers in the program entered the school for orientation meetings without incident.

Last week police arrested 29 persons who demonstrated outside the school, where about 40 teachers began orientation sessions to prepare for jobs in the new centers.

In their recent protests, the parents demanded control of the centers, the right to hire and fire teachers, higher than regular Milwaukee salaries for the center teachers and a center on the south side.

The Milwaukee Teachers Education association, the bargaining unit for the city's 5,000 teachers, would not support the parents' protest. The MTEA's rival, the Milwaukee Federation of Teachers, and the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers also disavowed support.

Despite the lack of outside backing, the citizens' group said it had decided to continue its fight.

The original proposal for the centers was developed by the parents' group, which has contended that the program is theirs to run.

Interpreting the News

White and Negro Parents Unite on School Integration Proposals

By DAVID L. BEDNAREK
Of The Journal Staff

For probably the first time in Milwaukee, organizations of Negro and white parents from the near north and south sides have joined forces in support of school integration.

The statements by spokesmen for the United Community Group, an organization of Negroes, and the South Division High School Advancement association, a white group, were made at a hearing before the state board on government operations.

The unity shown by the organizations in opposing certain school board recommendations played a major role in the state board's decision to overturn some of the school board's recommendations.

Many Represented

Although neither the white nor the Negro organization can claim it represents all the people in its area, it is clear that each represents a sizable number.

The spokesman for the south side group, Mrs. Josephine Smanz, 814 S. 9th st., has been a leader in the parents' organization seeking a new building for South.

The spokesman for the north side group, Ronald D. Grace, 2335 N. 14th st., is vice-chairman of the group which has been attempting to develop plans for spending the $4.75 million state grant to central area schools, both Negro and white.

Papers Get Applause

The position papers of both persons were applauded by the 300 persons, both Negro and white, attending the hearing.

Both groups supported two moves which have been recommended in the past as steps toward increased racial integration of the schools.

The steps were changing school district lines and changing the feeder patterns of junior and senior high schools.

Some civil rights groups have said the present district lines and feeder patterns contribute to racial segregation by assigning pupils of one race to one school and by assigning the graduates of predominantly Negro or predominantly white elementary schools to predominantly white or Negro junior or senior high schools.

Both groups also supported screening and removal of teachers and administrators who have negative attitudes toward the children of poor families.

The south side group backed a mandatory course in minority group history, while the north side group backed a mandatory course in black history.

The south side group advocated more attention in school courses to the contributions of minority groups while the north side group backed more attention to the contributions of Negroes.

Based on the position paper, it was clear that the south side group intended to support the Negro group because it said just that in its paper.

Bussing Not Mentioned

There were, however, some differences in the positions of the two groups.

The south side group did not mention the recommendation to eliminate intact bussing or the transportation of classes to other schools as a self-contained unit without integrating them.

The south side group also did not mention the recommendation that nonwhites be represented at all levels in the school system or that the school system stop the building of new schools in segregated areas.

Both groups supported the proposed teacher retraining programs only if it could be designed actually to change teacher behavior.

Compromise Made Up

Faced with the united opposition to the school board's original plans, the board on government operations worked out a compromise package which — at least initially — was well received by both the Negro and white parent groups.

The package rejected two programs — building attendants and a special school for problem students — which the school board had backed. It recommended instead a massive remedial program, emphasizing but not limited to reading, costing $1,620,000.

The state board went along with the proposals for teacher aides, after school tutoring and in-service training of teachers, which were strongly supported by some of the parents and mildly opposed by a few parents.

Big Plan for Slow Readers

A $541,019 remedial reading center to help pupils two years or more behind in reading achievement was recommended Tuesday night by the school board's appointment and instruction committee.

Money for this center and other similar ones which may be developed would come from a special state grant of $1.6 million.

The school board and the state board on government operations are expected to approve the plans for the center.

Would Serve 200

The center would accommodate 200 children at an approximate cost of $2,700 each. Richard P. Gousha, superintendent of schools, said the high cost — about five times the regular cost per pupil in Milwaukee — was necessary because of the center's experimental nature.

He said the program would run 11 months instead of the usual 9 or 10 months and have a teacher-pupil ratio of 1 to 10 instead of 1 to 30.

Gousha said he also expected the program to provide additional insight into developing future reading instruction for the system.

School officials estimated that 4,000 to 5,000 pupils in the fourth through eighth grades were two years or more behind in reading achievement.

Prepared by Group

The proposal for the center, which would serve both Negroes and whites, was prepared by the United Community Action Group, a nearly all-Negro organization. The group was assisted by local university personnel, the Milwaukee Teachers Education association and school officials.

The program would include intensive reading instruction, using all possible mechanical and nonmechanical approaches.

The center will be called the interrelated language skills center and will also cover speaking, listening, spelling and writing, although reading will get the main emphasis. Pupils will be transported by bus to the center and will stay in it no more than two years.

A citizens' advisory committee, composed of inner city residents, will assist in planning, carrying out and evalu-

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Schools

Reading Aid Planned

she called its first chance to communicate with the black community. She said she liked the proposal.

As expected, the committee recommended approval of Gousha's plan to also seek principals and vice-principals from outside the school system. At present all principals are appointed from inside except in isolated cases.

Mrs. Adele Horbinski was the only committee member to vote against the proposal. She said she was opposed to what she called "all-out hiring from the outside."

Gousha said his plan did not mean that and said he was confident that the majority of school administrators would continue to come from Milwaukee.

Everett G. Kane, vice-principal of Elm school and president of the Elementary school vice-principals association, said the association supported Gousha's plan in general. He added, however, that he felt the present system had worked well and should be tested further.

Edward C. Wilkinson, former vice-principal of Fulton junior high school and Lincoln high school, said the proposal was necessary to bring in more Negro principals.

He said it was impossible for most whites to deal successfully with the leadership crisis in inner city schools. Wilkinson is now director of the central city teacher community project, a program designed to help prepare teachers for work in predominantly Negro schools.

REPORT ON IRLSC
by
Kathryn J. Conway

If educators establishing a center to teach Language Skills,
are unable to commence this effort except by cutting off communication
with a segment of the community, I believe those educators do not
possess the skills they hope to teach. Undoubtedly the School
Administration is convinced that they had no other recourse but
to cease communications with community protestors. But,*"... it
is already a shameful state of affairs when excess proves the only
way of attracting the attention of complacent administrators."

Does the School Administration perceive the essence of this
proposal which is Language Skills? Let the irony and absurdity of
the community protest answer this question.

Perhaps the intent of the community's proposal is too subtle
for our educators. Perhaps these educators are sincere but their
vision and perspective of each educational moment is blurred and
distorted. Perhaps the educators who have long decried archaic
education that is irrelevant to daily life do not have the sensitivity,
talent, and patience to make education relevant. Otherwise these
educators would have been sensitive to the problems that existed
in the planning stages of this proposal. These educators would have
patiently used their talents to resolve these problems. Above all,
Dr. Gousha and these educators would not formerly or now suggest
that the proposal involves only children. The implicit idea of such
a statement is that parent involvement is of minor consequence if
at all significant. Clearly these statements and ideas destructively
limit this proposal.

B-u

For School Administration to take this proposal written by
community people and apply their virtually exclusive interprecation
and implementation is an absurdity, not a reproach. What folly to
tell authors that they, the authors, do not understand what they,
the authors, have written. But this folly becomes an outrage when
these educators do not even *"...tolerate with the utmost latitude
the right of others to differ from...them...in opinion without
imputing to them criminality." Clearly such reasoning defies logic.
There can be no efficacy in such action.

Let me make it clear that I am one who helped write this
proposal. I am also an educator who works in the community. I
would have to be both blind and deaf to be convinced that prior
to, during, or after their dispute with the community people,
Dr. Gousha and our educators did anything to alleviate this situa-
tion. Rather they have attempted to amass facts and polarize opinion.
Whether through ignorance or intent they have not yet discovered the
real problem. They do not see and they do not hear the community.
They do not communicate with the community and that alone is the
problem.

To be specific, Dr. Gousha claims he "has bent over backwards
to accommodate the group's demands." We have not noticed his effort.
We have definitely not seen his concessions. Now let us consider
the demands in relation to concessions.

The first demand is that the Advisory Board be a policy making
body. Superintendent Gousha contends that an advisory capacity is
sufficient. The educators are unbending and will make no concessions
in this area. Originally, the UCAC who wrote the proposal, served

as an advisory group. But with time and EXPERIENCE the UCAG soon
learned there is no gain in advice which falls on deaf ears. Further,
if the educators really consider advisory capacity sufficient, why
do they not yield THEIR power and just advise the community group?
I do not share the educators belief that power is safe in their
hands but not safe in the hands of the people. Such judgement lacks
objectivity and is as dangerously extreme as anarchy and iconoclasm.
But the educators see no excess in THEIR total control of power. The
educators simply will not concede.

The second demand rejects two people interviewed by community
members. These two people had cultural deficiencies that made them
insensitive to sub-cultures and therefore unacceptable as personnel
for the project. Only extreme retaliation would allow me to report
all the petty facts involved in this single issue. Our intellectual
custodians did not run a routine interview and summarily discharge
people not acceptable. Rather they received our advice, reviewed
our advice and disregarded our advice. To community people it was
obvious the educators did not respect their JUDGEMENT. The educators
simply would not concede. Editorially the educators suggest that
teachers are not likely to cherish the idea of being hired and fired
by a group of parents. However, teachers supported the community
parents until they were told that the school board would fire them
if they didn't withdraw their support. It seems that the teachers
didn't cherish the idea of being fired by the school board and so
they succumbed to the power structure. The teachers decision clearly
illustrates the difference between advice or power.

Fragmentation of centers and three specific sites was the third
problem. Ultimately the School Administration offered a fragmented

center on the South Side. This alternative is no concession even
when my imagination is stretched to the limit. Also without venom,
but sadly I report that these educators attempted to introduce a
pseudo integration factor into this particular dispute. Platitudes
about integration no longer deceive the community people and must
not replace effective programs.

Our original budget has been altered twice at the request of
the School Administration. In the interim the educators requested
that we write some specifics of community involvement to justify the
increased salary demand for teachers. Community people were obliging
and presented ten (10) or eleven (11) specific duties. The educators'
response was that they could not accept these eleven (11) points
because they constituted a job description they said was not our
                                          Job descriptions
right. They once again made no concessions.

September 19, 1968, climaxed, I believe, questionable activi-
ties of our educators. While attempting to find placement for child-
ren who have been, for more than a year, and are still excluded from
school, I had a lengthy conversation with an administrator who re-
quested that I not associate his name with his honest opinion. He
agreed at that length exclusion is not a sound education theory. But
the intensifying factor is he admitted the excluded children were
remaining out of school because the total staff from intensive care
unit had been taken out and sent to IRLSC for testing. This is at
best poor planning.

Do the programs of traditional academic educators serve community
needs? I BID YOU LOOK. Look at the per cent of students who read at
least two years below their grade level. Look at the physical and

psychological drop outs in high school. Look at the number who
fail in collages and universities. Look at the number who graduate
without vocational or academic skills. Look at our unemployment
rate. Look at our tense nation. LOOK at our present failure!

In these times, in our cities, in our nation, there is urgency.
And it is imperative that each person with out threat or fear of
censure exert all his human resources to solve our national problems.
In these efforts, I call upon all educators to "realize how fragile
the membranes of civilization are, stretched so thin over a nation
so desperate in its composition, so tense in its interior relation-
ships, so cunningly enmeshed in underground fears and antagonisms."*
This is our challenge. These are our students. Do we have their
attention? I am frightened because we do not.

JC:mlr

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. - "Existential Politics and the Cult of Violence"
                    Phi Delta Kappan - September, 1968

THE UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP

Dont Let The School Board Steal Our Funds

The United Community Action Group consists of organizations, parents, and other concerned persons who have been fighting for quality education for inner city children and the kind of control by parents that will guarantee quality education, competent, human, imaginative   school staff, and adequate facilities and learning equipment.

The United Community Action Group tried to work with the School Administration by writing a proposal for Interrelated Language Skill Centers, and acquiring one million dollars for the operation of these centers. The School Administration has betrayed us.

1.   The   School Administration has failed to educate our children.
2.   The School Administration has changed our proposal.
3.   The School Administration is trying to steal our funds.
4.   They have always fought people power.

Now we know that the community cannot trust Superin— tendent Gousha or the School Board.

COMMUNITY UNITE!!!

the Sentinel
8-9-68

Reading Clinic Plan Fought

A group of parents objecting to plans for state supported language skills centers will picket the Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson st., at 7:30 a.m. Monday.

The group of Negro and white parents decided to picket at a meeting Thursday night in the Teutonia center of the inner city development project, 2803 N. Teutonia av.

The parents, whose organization is called the United Community Action group, developed their plans for the language skills centers after the school system received $1.6 million in state funds for them.

The centers were designed to help children two years or more behind in reading achievement.

The state board on govern-ment operations chose the parents' proposal for the reading centers over the school administration's proposal for building attendants and a special school for disruptive pupils. The state provided $1,620,000 for the centers.

Mrs. Flora Seefeldt, chairman of the parents' group, said members objected to the way the school system was carrying out plans for the three centers.

She said the centers should contain 20 classrooms and be set up at three schools — Jefferson and Parkman or MacDowell on the north side and Field on the south side.

She said the school administration planned to use 20 classrooms at Jefferson, 12 at Parkman and 13 at MacDowell. There would be no center on the south side, she said.

Mrs. Seefeldt said parents wanted to take part in running the centers because they had developed the proposal.

Two teachers opposed by the parents were hired by the school administration, she said. She said the parents felt the teachers did not understand the poor community.

The parents also objected to the lower than expected salaries of the teachers in the centers and the restrictions on teachers' time which would keep them from working more with parents.

Dwight Teel, deputy superintendent of schools, and Grant Gordon, principal of the Garfield Avenue school, who have been working with parents, were on vacation Friday and could not be reached for comment.

8-9-68
the Journal

8-9-68

New Reading Plan Sparks Picket Threat

An integrated group of white and black parents voted Thursday to picket Monday at the Jefferson school, where orientation sessions will begin for teachers in a new reading program.

The decision was made by the United Community Action group, which developed plans for interrelated language skill centers for elementary school children two or more years behind in reading ability.

In April, the school board received an appropriation of $1.6 million for the centers from the state board of governmental operations.

At the meeting Thursday in the Inner City Development office, 2803 N. Teutonia av., Mrs. Flora Seefeldt, chairman of the parents group, complained that the reading program was not being set up as the parents wanted it.

Mrs. Seefeldt said the group wanted three centers of 20 rooms each at Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson st., at Field, 1226 S. 7th st. and at either MacDowell, 1706 W. Highland, or at the new Parkman junior high school, 3620 N. 18th st.

Instead, she said, the school administration was providing no center for the south side and was splitting the centers between 12 rooms at Parkman and 13 at MacDowell. Only Jefferson will have 20 rooms, she said.

Mrs. Seefeldt also said the group wanted the parents to "set policy" for the prog through a policy making b with authority to hire or fire staff. She complained that two people were hired for the program which the group had "screened out" as "unacceptable."

"We are not willing to see the centers run under the same system that the public schools are," said Mrs. Seefeldt.

If the centers fail, she said, "it will not be our failure because it is not our program."

About 40 persons attended the meeting at which suggestions were made "to block the doorways" of Jefferson school and to urge parents whose children will attend the centers to keep their children at home.

Official Named to Probe
Reading Program Charges

A state education official was named Wednesday to investigate complaints about the handling of a special reading program in the Milwaukee school system financed by the state.

The board on government operations (BOGO) requested the deputy superintendent of public instruction, Archie Buchmiller, to look into the reading program financed from the $4.75 million emergency school aid law passed last year.

The program came under sharp attack before the board meeting at Madison, Wednesday, by citizens who said they had not had sufficient voice in making policy for the programs as the legislature intended.

The Milwaukee school superintendent, Richard Gousha, reviewed the five programs authorized by BOGO and praised the state for the "unprecedented" assistance to improve the educational opportunities for disadvantaged children in the city.

But the citizens from the

United Community Action group said the school administration and the school board had not followed their advice in running the reading program.

Gousha said the school system is doing its best and that some demands cannot be met without relinquishing his responsibilities as an administrator.

Many Disillusioned

Members of the community action group said they were disillusioned by school board rejection of their ideas on where the reading centers should be — there are three — who the teachers should be and policies in operating the centers.

"They say take the money back," said Mrs. Donald Olesen, 2728 N. Prospect av., referring to the attitude of the group. "They don't even want to talk about it anymore." She is a member of the action group.

The group issued a statement that said the school administrators were using the $4.75 million "for controlling our children rather than educating them."

Mrs. Olesen said the community threw the program back at the school officials "because it is a farce and a lie."

Program for Children

Gousha said that he must have the responsibility for hiring and firing teachers, that had the people were involved in policy making, but that final authority rested with the school board, and that it was not practical to locate the reading centers where the group wanted them.

Gousha said that the reading center program was "designed for children," but that the dispute over the program con-

295 Pupils Enrolled

Continued From Page 5

cerned matters "involving adults."

"I am happy to report this afternoon that the (reading) centers are completing their first week of operation, serving the first group of many children in the central city of Milwaukee who need this bright new approach to improving their reading skills," he said.

Gousha also said that categorical aids provided by the legislature "have been a shot of adrenalin to our central city schools."

"You have made it possible to have lay people find meaningful roles in the day to day operation of their schools," he added. "You have instilled new enthusiasm in teachers who now have more time to do the job they were trained to do."

BOGO Chairman Sen. Walter Hollander (R-Rosendale) said the issues must be decided by the school system — that the board was not qualified to control the administration of the programs once they were approved. He then asked Buchmiller to investigate the charges.

Buchmiller said it would take him about two months to make his study.

Gousha presented a budget for the emergency programs through next June 30. It commits all but $3,023 of the $4.75 million, including a reserve of $600,000 for the system's unemployment compensation obligation, should the programs not be continued beyond next June.

The budget calls for spending $2.5 million for teacher aides, $127,000 for teacher "inservice" training, $96,600 for after school tutoring, $58,200 for recreation programs, and $1.52 million for the interrelated language skill centers — the controversial reading program.

The goal was to teach 800 children in the program, and the parents complained that only 295 are enrolled.

South side residents complained that only 24 children were selected for the reading program from that area.

The centers are at Jefferson and McDowall elementary school and Parkman Junior high. Children are bused to the centers where necessary.

B-z-2

State to Probe Protest of City Reading Clinic

Tuesday Sept 13, 1968

Archie Buchmiller, deputy state superintendent of public instruction, was directed Wednesday to investigate a dispute between the Milwaukee school board and a parents' group over operation of three reading centers.

The state board on government operations approved continuation of the centers but ordered the investigation after members of the United Community Action group, at a hearing in Madison, criticized the administration's handling of the $1.6 million reading program.

Buchmiller said the investigation would take at least two months.

The citizens' group demonstrated against the reading centers during an orientation program for teachers at Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson st., last month.

Group's Demands

The group demanded the right to hire and fire teachers, policy control over the centers, a center on the south side and higher salaries for center teachers.

Members of the group contended that they should control the program because they developed the plans for it.

Richard P. Gousha, superintendent of schools, said state law did not allow him to give up control of the program. He said, however, that he would work with the parents on the reading program.

In Madison Wednesday, members of the citizens' group charged that the school board and Gousha had destroyed the reading centers, which are formally called "interrelated language skills centers."

"Not Our Proposal"

"The present program is not our proposal," said Mrs. Flora Seefeldt, chairman of the group. "We see no further purpose in working with the administration. We have lost faith in them. . . . They are not capable of relating honestly to our community."

Mrs. Margaret C. Olesen, 2778 N. Prospect av., a drama specialist who resigned from the center staff because of the parents' protest, said those who developed the original proposal now found it to be "a farce and a lie . . . and want nothing more to do with it."

The reading centers eventually will enroll about 600 pupils who are two or more years behind in reading achievement. Through smaller classes and special help, school officials hope to bring the pupils up to grade level.

Gousha Praises Plan

Gousha called the centers "a shot of adrenalin in the central city schools."

The board also approved continuation of four other projects financed from a special state grant of $4.75 million.

The programs include $2.5 million for teacher aides, $127,000 for in-service teacher training, $96,614 for after school tutoring, and $58,207 for a recreation program. Gousha said the money left over would be used for unemployment claims if the programs were terminated.

Gousha said the special state grant made it possible for more lay persons to take part in school programs, created new enthusiasm among teachers and provided new ways of using talents within the community.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Sunday, January 21, 1968

Group Wants Fund Used to Integrate Schools

A group of inner city residents Saturday night voted to demand that a $4.75 million grant from the state be used to integrate Milwaukee's public schools.

The motion was adopted unanimously at a meeting of about 175 persons in the inner city development center, 2003 N. Teutonia av.

The meeting was called to discuss ways to spend the grant authorized by the legislature in November for emergency programs in the central city. The Milwaukee school board has asked for suggestions in spending the money.

Mrs. Flora Seefeldt, 3363 N. 25th st., chairman of the group, said "if they don't spend this money the way we want it, we will be willing to pull our children out of school."

Possible uses for the money, tions, and deciding if they worked out by committees of should be accepted or rejected, but several persons said educators and parents, included teacher aides, security guards in schools, revising no program would be meaningful if the schools were segregated, and the group then decided to urge that the money be spent to achieve integration. Another meeting will be held at 7:30 p.m. Saturday, at the Teutonia av. center, to discuss ways to specifically achieve integration.

Mrs. Lauri J. Wynn, 2510 W. Brown st., urged the group to work together to achieve its goals.

"Unity in the black community is the only thing that any one black needs," Mrs. Wynn said.

Friday, Sept. 13, 1968 Journal

Protest Brings Coed Fine

A University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee senior, Miss Mary Gundrum, 21, of 1406 W. Scott st., was convicted of disorderly conduct and fined $100 Thursday in county court as the result of demonstrations last month at Jefferson school.

Miss Gundrum was the first of more than a dozen adults arrested during the demonstration to be tried. The other cases were adjourned Thursday to Dec. 4.

Miss Gundrum was found guilty by County Judge Christ T. Seraphim after a 90 minute trial.

Her attorney, Robert Sutton, contended that his client was legally picketing on public property. The prosecution charged that some of the pickets tried to cross a police line in order to block a busload of teachers leaving the school, 1029 N. Jefferson st.

Seraphim commented: "I suggest that this type of conduct cease now. The public is tired."

The demonstrations involved a reading improvement program at centers established at three north side schools. The program is aimed at improving the classroom achievement of inner city pupils who are behind in reading skills.

Parents protested that school officials had deviated from the program as originally proposed by an organization of parents. The parents demanded policy control of the center, the right to hire and fire teachers, higher teacher salaries and a south side center.

450

Demonstrators protesting the handling of a remedial reading program by school administration officials staged a skit Friday outside the Jefferson school.

Police Bar 2 Pickets From Teacher Class

Two teachers, one of whom was arrested Thursday during a demonstration at Jefferson school, Friday were prevented by police from attending a training session there.

The two are Mrs. Margaret Oleson, 45, of 2728 N. Prospect av., and Miss Kay Abel, 1824-A N. Arlington pl. Thursday they had missed the first training session for the reading improvement program to which they are assigned when they refused to cross a picket line protesting school administration handling of the program.

Mrs. Olesen was among 18 arrested Thursday when she joined demonstrators attempting to block a busload of teachers leaving the school, 1029 N. Jefferson st.

Charges of disorderly conduct were brought against Mrs. Olesen and 17 other adults, including Mrs. Cynthia Pitts, 30, of 4659 N. Parkway av., the wife of Ald. Orville Pitts.

Gousha's Orders

Mrs. Olesen and Miss Abel identified themselves as teachers in the reading center to police who prevented them from entering the school.

John F. Kitzke, the school system's chief negotiator, told police that Supt. Richard Gousha had ordered that no teacher absent from Thursday's sessions be admitted to the school Friday. He said Gousha had said teachers who missed Thursday's session should contact Alvin Westgaard, an assistant superintendent, to obtain readmittance to the program.

Rejoined Group

The women protested that they were teachers hired for the program, but Kitzke repeated that they would not be admitted. During this exchange, demonstrators chanted, "Kids can't read! Kids can't read!"

Mrs. Olesen and Miss Abel then rejoined a group of about 30 pickets who had stationed themselves at entrances to the schoolyard.

Earlier, the two women, dressed in costumes, had participated in a skit performed by some of the pickets. They played the roles of teachers who were "beaten" with a paper whip wielded by a demonstrator representing a school administrator when they attempted to talk with parents.

Other demonstrators, dressed as children, participat-

rich, 25, of 6431 W. Sheridan av., and Mrs. Robert Stuckert, 34, of 3118 N. Summit av., wife of a UWM assistant professor of sociology, and Mrs. Carole Malone, 30, of 3718 N. 19th st.

Mrs. Malone, a reporter for The Milwaukee Courier, said she was not involved in the demonstration. She was covering the incident for her paper and standing near the demonstrators, she said.

The adults appeared before Circuit Judge Maurice Spracker, sitting in county court. He adjourned the cases to Aug. 29, Sept. 12 and Sept. 16 and released the defendants without bail, except for Mrs. Seefeldt.

Mrs. Seefeldt, who had been arrested earlier in the week in picketing at the school, was released on $50 bond.

August 16, 1968

Pickets

2 Protesters Barred at School

ed in the short drama which purported to tell "why children can't read."

After the skit, demonstrators handed to passersby blank sheets of paper representing, they said, "what a diploma from the Milwaukee public school system is worth."

2nd Attempt Fails

During the skit, about 40 other teachers, on their way to attend an orientation meeting at the school, entered the grounds and building without incident.

Miss Abel and Mrs. Olesen failed in a second attempt to enter the school after they had changed from their costumes to street clothes. Mrs. Olesen is the wife of Donald Olesen, an editorial writer for The Milwaukee Journal.

The women said they did not know what action they would take next.

Pickets, all but one of whom left the school building about 9:45 a.m. Friday, are members of the United Community Action group, an organization of Negro and white parents from the near north and south sides who developed the proposal for the reading centers. Two women from the south side

joined the lone picket about noon.

The centers, called "interrelated language skills centers," are being established at three north side schools with $1.6 million in state money. The program is aimed at improving the classroom achievement of black and white inner city pupils who are two or more years behind their classmates in reading skills.

Parents have protested that school officials have deviated from the program as originally proposed. They want policy control of the centers, the right to hire and fire teachers, higher salaries for teachers and a south side center.

The school administration has offered to establish a south side center divided between two schools. However, officials have said they couldn't give in to the other demands by parents.

Blocked Bus

In a policy statement issued Friday, the parents said: "The issue is much larger than the reading centers. It involves power for the powerless parents and teachers who have been at the mercy of the bureaucracy."

Five youths, aged 14 to 16, arrested in the Thursday incident, were referred to juvenile authorities.

Mrs. Olesen was arrested just as the bus was about to

move out, police said. They said she stood briefly in front of it. Unlike the other demonstrators who were guided or carried to the patrol wagon, Mrs. Olesen voluntarily entered the vehicle, police said.

Mrs. Pitts is director of the 3rd st. center of the Inner City Development Project (ICDP).

Also charged was Ray Alexander, 41, of 2824 N. 10th st., community relations director of the Northtown Planning and Development council.

Others charged Thursday were:

Cleveland Bryant, 43, of 2452 N. 17th st., an ICDP worker; his wife, Jeanette, 42, a teacher; Miss Kathryn Conway, 30, of 2526 N. Farwell av., an ICDP worker; Mrs. Rosemary Matovich, 40, of 1430 S. 1st st., an unemployed widow; Mrs. Flora B. Seefeldt, 32, of 3663 N. 25th st., chairman of the picketing group; June Reeves, 33, an ICDP employe, and her husband, Walter, 37, a laborer, both of 1554 W. Walker st.

Others Arrested

Miss Mary Ruddy, 23, of 841 N. 15th st., an ICDP worker; Mary Gundrum, 21, of 1405 W. Scott st., a University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee student; Thomas Baltus, 21, of 3222 N. 3rd st., a VISTA worker; Dennis P. Nicholas, 28, of 6423 W. Birch st., a laborer; his wife, Cheryl, 23; Mrs. Nancy E. Gen-

Trial

Three Reading
SENTINEL
Centers Open
Without Fuss

Three controversial reading centers, which have been the targets of protesters, were opened quietly Thursday.

Without a picket in sight, children came trooping into Jefferson and MacDowell schools and Parkman junior high school to begin classes in the interrelated language skills program.

The program is financed by state aid and will help central city children who are up to two years behind in reading skills. Last month critics of the center were arrested during demonstrations outside Jefferson school.

Protesters said that citizens should have more control over the centers.

All was peaceful Thursday.

"We've all been looking forward to this day for so long," said Ray Ellingsworth, project administrator, who took time out from registering pupils at Jefferson school Thursday morning to explain the program.

"All subjects will be taught, but with special emphasis on reading," he said. "For example, in regular math classes the child walks into a math class and right away the teacher starts talking about percentage. But here, the teacher starts by breaking down the word itself, so that the pupils have a complete understanding of it.

"We're concerned that the children have the vocabulary to cope with all academic areas," he added.

The Jefferson school includes grades four through eight, at Parkman, seventh and eighth graders, and at Mac-Dowell, grades four through six.

Ellingsworth said during the next few weeks he hopes to contact more parents, and that eventually there will be about

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READING
Expect 450
Enrollment in
Short Time

200 pupils at Jefferson, 130 at MacDowell and 120 at Parkman.

About 220 youngsters were enrolled at all three schools Thursday.

Ellingsworth said the children may stay in the program up to two years, but if their reading skills show enough improvement they may return to their regular school after one semester.

Most Will Be Bussed

Most of the children will be bussed to class each day.

Herman Orr, who teaches sixth grade at Jefferson, rode with children on one of the busses Thursday morning.

"I got a great response from the parents," he said. "Most said they wished they could enroll their whole families in the classes.

"I got interested in the program because last year, when I was teaching at Auer Avenue school, I saw it was almost impossible to help each one of 30 pupils with special reading problems they might have.

"In this program, we're trying to meet the child at his level and work to bring him up," Orr said.

Youngsters Enthusiastic

At Jefferson, the youngsters weren't afraid to show their enthusiasm.

They came in different sizes and complexions. The girls were proud of their new dresses and jumpers, their colorful barrettes that held neatly combed hair in place, and shiny patent or unscuffed leather shoes.

The boys came to class in neatly pressed shirts and trousers, polished shoes and carrying paper and pencils for class.

And during class pupils and teacher got to know one another. There was a graham cracker and cookie break before recess for the children, and the extra energy was used for playing jump rope, football, basketball or baseball.

Uninvited Critics Halt Reading Cent

An informal briefing for Milwaukee school board members on the status of a controversial reading center program broke down Tuesday when several critics of the program walked in uninvited.

Prior to the interruption, Dwight Teel, deputy superintendent of schools, and other program leaders reported that at least 220 pupils would be enrolled in three centers open ing Thursday.

Teel said he expected a maximum of 600 children to be enrolled by October.

It has been the custom of board members to have coffee in the cafeteria of the administration building after board meetings. On occasions, the coffee hour is used for briefings from staff members.

The briefing had been underway about 15 minutes when several persons walked in. They refused to leave when asked to do so by the board president, Mrs. Margaret Dinges.

The uninvited included Mrs. Donald Olesen, 2728 N. Pros- pect av.; Mrs. Robert Stuckert, 3118 N. Summit av., and Walter Reeves, 1554 W. Walker st., all of whom had been arrested in demonstrations last month at the Jefferson school, where teachers for the reading program attended orientation sessions.

Another was Miss Kay Abel, 1824-A N. Arlington pl., a probationary teacher assigned to

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er Talks

the reading program, who had been formally discharged moments before by board action.

Miss Abel was discharged for not reporting for the program and for improper behavior by participating in a skit on the picket line at the Jefferson school.

Mrs. Olesen complained that critics of the program "had not been heard" by the board.

The group also said it should be allowed to remain since the press was present. Mrs. Dinges had invited two reporters to join the board members for coffee because of the briefing.

When it was evident that the group would not leave, groups of two or three board members and administrators got together, asking and answering questions before going home.

The reading program was proposed under the title of "interrelated language skill centers" by a community group.

To be financed by state aid, it is designed for central city children two or more years behind in reading.

The centers will be operated at the Jefferson school for children in grades four through eight, at the new Parkman junior high school for seventh and eighth graders and at Mac-Dowell school for children in grades four through six.

The children will come from schools throughout the central city, with many of them being bussed.

Asked why there were only 220 pupils out of 600 invited to participate, Teel replied that administrators had difficulty in contacting parents because of the "high mobility" of inner city residents and other family factors.

Teel said extensive efforts would be made during the next two weeks to contact parents personally. He said other children eligible to participate would be invited to replace those not attending.

Administrators said few parents formally turned down the program for their children.

Superintendent of schools Richard P. Gousha, in a one-hour closed session at the school administration office Wednesday afternoon, threatened to fire teachers of the Interrelated Language Skills Centers if they continued to refuse crossing parent picket lines.

In a prepared statement, Gousha said, "The majority of the people present here this afternoon (teachers and administrators) are now completing their third day of association with the project. You will be compensated for these three days at your es-

tablished salary rate, however, for payroll and staffing purposes, it is now necessary for the administration to know whether or not you desire to continue as a member of the...Center team. In a few moments you will receive a slip of paper where you can indicate your intention to continue with the program. Such persons who do so indicate will remain on the payroll and will be expected to participate tomorrow in the orientation program as it was originally set up. It follows, then, that those who do not complete this form will be

removed from the payroll as of the close of business today.

"Those who do not complete this form will be considered 'out of assignment' as of tomorrow morning. Such persons will have the option this afternoon of filling out an application for reassignment... No one can be considered for reassignment unless this form is filled out and signed."

None of the teachers had indicated disinterest in the center, or plans to do anything other than their assigned duties, a spokesman said. They had, however, agreed

not to cross the picket line set up by the United Community Action Group (UCAG) at Jefferson school on Monday. The teachers felt they could not do a successful job with children in a program pa ents objected to.

Their main concern was parent/teacher relationships.

These events led to Gousha's threat:

Money for the remedial reading centers was made available by the state last winter after parents, represented by UCAG, objected to administration proposals for security guards and special schools for

disrupters.

UCAG representatives developed the proposal for the center with the help of school administration and university staff. The proposal was accepted by the state Board on Government Operations (BOGO). The money was allotted for the program and the school administration directed to implement the proposal. The school board agreed to house the program.

As the starting date of the program neared, the school administration refused to honor several items written into the proposal and previously agreed upon.

The salary schedule became an issue. Parents want teachers paid the amounts called for in the proposal, contending that this was specialized work. The administration has insisted on cutting the salaries to conform with regular teacher salaries, using their contract with the Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association as rationale. Parents contend that any contract can be altered by mutual agreement.

UCAG wants the reading centers to have policy making boards which include parents and faculty, instead of advisory boards. The administration has refused, despite the fact that this is a special program financed by the state and therefore not subject to the rules for school administration programs.

Final appointment to faculty positions is also an issue. Calling the UCAG representatives' role on the faculty screening committee "advisory only," the administration insisted on hiring two teachers the parents felt psychologically unsuitable to work

with the disadvantaged.

Another issue is the administration's failure to provide a center on the southside. UCAG has rejected fragmentation of the reading centers, demanding that the centers be housed under one roof convenient to inner city north and south children. UCAG has said it will accept centers at Jefferson, 1029 N. Jefferson st.;

Field, 1226 S. 7th st.; and Parkman, N. 18th st. and W. Keefe ave. or MacDowell, 1706 W. Highland ave. No agreement has been reached.

When the administration refused to make concessions on these issues during negotiating sessions, the parents set up picket lines at Jefferson school where orientation was

Supt. Gousha

to have begun on Monday. UCAG contends the school administration has no concern for the wishes of parents who developed the program.

They also feel that to let the administration do whatever they will with the program would be to renege on a responsibility to the community in a program the community has faith in, because parents have been involved up to this point.

After refusing to cross the UCAG picket line Monday, teachers drew up this statement: "We support the parent group in their stand until some decision can be reached that is agreeable to both parties and then we will begin teaching."

Some teachers joined the picket line after five pickets were arrested for refusing to clear a doorway at Jefferson. On Tuesday, more teachers joined the pickets while all others made no attempt to enter the school.

Most teachers said they resented the position forced upon them by the administration. Many have been attending the parents' meetings and actively supporting parent demands. They have also suggested that the administration might be guilty of spending money for materials not needed or wanted by the teachers. One teacher asked that UCAG demand a full accounting of all money.

UCAG voted Wednesday night to continue protesting the administration's failure to meet parent demands until negotiable alternatives are submitted by the administration

gotiate in the meeting held Tuesday.

In a separate meeting Wednesday night, teachers were attempting to decide their position in face of Gousha's statements. MTEA reportedly agreed to intercede for the teachers in asking that Gousha make concessions to the parents. At press time, the teachers had no response from Gousha, nor had they decided if they would continue to honor the picket lines.

Gousha's comments to the teachers Wednesday afternoon included, "...those who wish to cross a picket line should have the opportunity to exercise their freedom of choice, also.

"If it becomes necessary to allow persons who continue in this program to freely exercise this choice unhindered, the school administration is prepared to make any necessary arrangements to make this possible."

LI SIZES the ages in the little Pamela Maloop who was one of many protesting new reading center program

3863 N. 25th St.
Milwaukee, Wis.
November 11, 1968

Mr. Archie Buchmiller
Deputy Superintendent
State Department of Public Instruction
126 Langdon Street
Madison, Wis. 53702

Dear Mr. Buchmiller:

The United Community Action Group submits this documented report in order to prove our points regarding the Interrelated Language Skills Center.

The importance of citizen involvement in the use of money for special inner-core projects has been stated by the Kerner Commission,[1] federal guidelines for ESEA funds, and by Milwaukee public officials.[2] Citizen interest was aroused by special legislation providing funds for Milwaukee inner-city school programs to meet "critical emergency educational needs".[3] Citizen participation was supposedly encouraged when Dr. Gousha asked for "adequate involvement of the whole inner-core community" in the use of the special appropriation.[4] Inner-city citizens met principal, teacher, and central office administration representatives in advisory committees to work out uses of the state appropriation in the six areas suggested by the superintendent.[5] The teacher aide committee's report is enclosed as an example of the work of one of these advisory groups.[6] However, very few of the advisory recommendations were included in the final report to the School Board by Dr. Gousha.[7] In some committees, none of the advisory recommendations were included in the final report.

Inner-city citizens objected to two of the superintendent's suggestions for the use of the special state appropriation, and the Board of Government Operations authorized the Milwaukee School Board "to work out jointly with parents and teacher groups" a program for remedial reading.[8] A proposal written by citizens was submitted to Dr. Gousha,[9] who set up a committee composed of teachers, administrators, university personnel, and parents to review and rewrite it.[10] The rewriting committee made four revisions, the last of which is included twice[11] so that wording crossed out on one copy can be compared to wording on the other copy. In spite of the fact that Dr. Gousha had appointed this advisory committee, composed of representatives of teachers, parents, school administrators, and university personnel,[12] he did not take their advice seriously.[13]

The following recommendations, made by the advisory rewriting committee, were changed at the March 20th meeting of the large group by Dr. Gousha:

Page 1. Purpose. First sentence. Dr. Gousha changed the words "The culturally different children, referred to often as the "disadvantaged" of central city schools, depend entirely upon the schools for developing

reading skills. The schools, however, have not met those needs." to "Many culturally ...etc. depend strongly upon the schools, ...etc. The schools, however, have not completely met these needs." Dr. Gousha did not accept the advisory rewriting committee's definition of the disadvantaged child and his relation to the school.

Purpose, paragraph 2. "This proposal ... was prepared by the United Community Group, composed of inner-city citizens" was amended by Dr. Gousha by adding the phrase "assisted by local university personnel, Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association, and School Board Administration personnel." Dr. Gousha did not accept the advisory rewriting committee's statement that inner-city citizens had in fact prepared the proposal.

Page 2. Personnel. Project Administrator. Dr. Gousha eliminated the screening committee for Project Administrator as recommended by the advisory rewriting committee. The sentence removed was "Two representatives of the community group and two representatives from the school system will screen candidates and agree unanimously on the final selection."

Page 2. Project Administrator. Page 3. Language Arts Specialist and Curriculum Specialist. "A master's degree or a doctorate is required" was changed by Dr. Gousha to "preferred." The advisory writing committee wanted high professional standards for the head of the school, and other supervisory personnel.

Page 4. Art Teacher. "Successful inner-city teaching experience and a bachelor's degree in art education is required." was changed by Dr. Gousha to "desirable." The advisory writing committee wanted high professional standards for the art teacher.

Page 4. Teachers. The sentence "Each applicant will have a "stress-type" interview with the project psychologist, who will attempt to select those candidates who are free of prejudice..." was changed by Dr. Gousha to "Each applicant will be interviewed by the project administrator, other staff members, and the staff psychologist utilizing, among other technics, the stress-type interview, to select those candidates who are free of prejudice..." Dr. Gousha did not accept the advisory rewriting committee's implication that traditional interviewing technics used by the school system do not insure the hiring of teachers who are free of prejudice. At the March 20th meeting of the large committee, it was noted on the bottom of page 4 that the group felt that all personnel should have the stress-type interview. This was not included by Dr. Gousha in the final copy.

Page 5. Housing. The housing section was eliminated by Dr. Gousha. The advisory rewriting committee had asked that a list of preferences be included, along with an investigating committee composed of two members of the United Community Group and two School Board Administration staff to find housing for the Center. A south side site was mentioned: Dover Street school.

Page 6, 4th revision by the rewriting committee and page 7, proposal as approved by the School Board. Programmed materials. "A feature of the Center's program will, therefore, be the construction of a series of filmstrips,

each frame to be separated by explanatory sentences or story." was changed
by Dr. Gousha to "One feature of the Center's program could, therefore, be
the construction of a series of filmstrips." The advisory rewriting commit-
tee wanted specifically to direct the program of the Center toward creation
of original, multi-ethnic, programmed materials which are not now in existence.

Page 6. Citizens' Advisory Committee. Last sentence, and the paragraph
following. "Fees for transportation and babysitting for Advisory Committee
members should be paid by the Center. Bus transportation and noon lunches
will be provided without charge for all students attending the Center." These
two sentences were changed by Dr. Gousha to "Fees for transportation and baby-
sitting for Advisory Committee members and noon lunches for students will be
paid by the Center in those cases where the need exists." The advisory
writing committee recognized that all the families of children attending the
Center live in poverty areas, and their district schools are classified
poverty schools. The children automatically qualified for school lunches.
One way to insure interest by parents in the Center is to make it financially
possible for Advisory Committee members t attend meetings. The budget
allotment for this category was not changed.

The experience of the advisory rewriting committee shows that Dr. Gousha
does not take seriously the advice of his appointed committee acting in a
strictly advisory capacity. This committee did not attempt to make policy.

The points of difference between the proposal submitted by the advisory
rewriting committee and the final proposal approved by the School Board were
the same points of difference which the United Community Action Group made
later when the Centers were to start. The Milwaukee school administration had
considered a south side location from the beginning.[14] A south side location
for one of the Centers was proposed by the Milwaukee school administration,
as well as split Centers at all locations.[15]

Applicants for Project Administrator, Language Arts Specialist, and
Curriculum Specialist were not required to have a master's or doctor's degree.[16]
Exceptions to the standard education requirements were made in one case[17]
and not in others.[18] Controversy over the salary offered could be adjusted
only by individual request.

The state appropriation for the Interrelated Language Skills Center was
enough for 60 classrooms and 600 children. At present the Centers have 31
classrooms and 308 students. However, the full complement of administrators
and specialists have been hired, enough for twice as many students, according
to the proposal.

Dr. Gousha stated at the September 11, 1968 Board of Government Operations
meeting that $500,000 had been put in Escrow for unemployment compensation in
case the state programs ended. Teachers do not receive unemployment compensa-
tion. Teachers can be transferred to vacancies in schools within the Mil-
waukee system. Dr. Gousha does not intend to discontinue the state programs.[19]
Dr. Gousha has not used this sum as the state Board of Government Operations
directed.

References

1 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York:
  Times Co., 1968. p. 288.

2 Model Cities Proposal, Milwaukee, Wis. 1968, part 5-B,
  pages 15 - 20.

3 Wisconsin Statutes 20.545, 1967

4 January 8, 1968 letter from the superintendent to principals of schools
  eligible for inner-city state categorical aids.

5 Proceedings, Board of School Directors, Milwaukee, Wis. Feb. 6, 1968
  p. 421.

6 Report of the committee on teacher aides, as corrected in the January 29,
  1968 meeting.

7 Proceedings, Board of School Directors, Milwaukee, Wis. Feb. 6, 1968, p.
  421.

8 Untitled Board of Government Operations memo

9 Interrelated Language Skills Center proposal made by the United Community
  Action Group

10 Milwaukee Public Schools, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, Secon-
   dary Department, Interrelated Language Skills Center Committee, 3/7/68.

11 An Interrelated Language Skills Center, 4th revision, 3/15/68, and An
   Interrelated Language Skills Center, Final copy as approved by writing
   committee 3/14/68. (These copies are the same)

12 Milwaukee Public Schools, Office of the Superintendent Schools, to the
   Committee on Appointment and Instruction, Milwaukee Board of School Dir-
   ectors, March 26, 1968, pages 1 and 2.

13 Milwaukee Public Schools. A Proposal for an Interrelated Language Skills
   Center. March 1968.

14 Unused elementary classrooms. March 5, 1968

15 Minutes, United Community Action Group, July 18, 1968

16 op. cit. pages 2, 3.

17 Proceedings, Board of School Directors, Milwaukee, Wis. August 6, 1968
   p. 23

18 ibid. p. 50

19 A Summary of 1969 Budget and Resources, Milwaukee Public Schools, October 8, 1968, page 8.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Kenneth Seefeldt, Chairman,
United Community Action Group

Official Named to Probe Reading Program Charges

A state education official was named Wednesday to investigate complaints about the handling of a special reading program in the Milwaukee school system financed by the state.

The board on government operations (BOGO) requested the deputy superintendent of public instruction, Archie Buchmiller, to look into the reading program financed from the $4.75 million emergency school aid law passed last year.

The program came under sharp attack before the board meeting at Madison, Wednesday, by citizens who said they had not had sufficient voice in making policy for the programs as the legislature intended.

The Milwaukee school superintendent, Richard Gousha, reviewed the five programs authorized by BOGO and praised the state for the "unprecedented" assistance to improve the educational opportunities for disadvantaged children in the city.

But the citizens from the

United Community Action group said the school administration and the school board had not followed their advice in running the reading program.

Gousha said the school system is doing its best and that some demands cannot be met without relinquishing his responsibilities as an administrator.

Many Disillusioned

Members of the community action group said they were disillusioned by school board rejection of their ideas on where the reading centers should be — there are three — who the teachers should be and policies in operating the centers.

"They say take the money back," said Mrs. Donald Olesen, 2728 N. Prospect av., referring to the attitude of the group. "They don't even want to talk about it anymore." She is a member of the action group.

The group issued a statement that said the school administrators were using the $4.75 million "for controlling our children rather than educating them."

Mrs. Olesen said the community threw the program back at the school officials "because it is a farce and a lie."

Program for Children

Gousha said that he must have the responsibility for hiring and firing teachers, that the people were involved in policy making, but that final authority rested with the school board, and that it was not practical to locate the reading centers where the group wanted them.

Gousha said that the reading center program was "designed for children," but that the dispute over the program con-

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READING

295 Pupils Enrolled

Continued From Page 5

cerned matters "involving adults."

"I am happy to report this afternoon that the (reading) centers are completing their first week of operation, serving the first group of many children in the central city of Milwaukee who need this bright new approach to improving their reading skills," he said.

Gousha also said that categorical aids provided by the legislature "have been a shot of adrenalin to our central city schools."

"You have made it possible to have lay people find meaningful roles in the day to day operation of their schools," he added. "You have instilled new enthusiasm in teachers who now have more time to do the job they were trained to do."

BOGO Chairman Sen. Walter Hollander (R-Rosendale) said the issues must be decided by the school system — that the board was not qualified to control the administration of the programs once they were approved. He then asked Buchmiller to investigate the charges.

Buchmiller said it would take him about two months to make his study.

Gousha presented a budget for the emergency programs through next June 30. It commits all but $2,032 of the $4.75 million, including a reserve of $800,000 for the system's unemployment compensation obligation, should the programs not be continued beyond next June.

The budget calls for spending $2.5 million for teacher aides, $127,000 for teacher "in service" training, $96,600 for after school tutoring, $88,200 for recreation programs, and $1.62 million for the interrelated language skill centers — the controversial reading program.

The goal was to teach 600 children in the program, and the parents complained that only 295 are enrolled.

South side residents complained that only 24 children were selected for the reading program from that area.

The centers are at Jefferson and McDowell elementary school and Parkman junior high. Children are bussed to the centers where necessary.

Handwritten in left margin: The Very END

Handwritten in right margin: Teacher School SYSTEM

Ex-Foes OK Reading Aid Centers

Milwaukee's controversial reading c e n t e r program received a qualified endorsement Wednesday from a reorganized inner city citizen's group t h a t first proposed the program then later opposed it.

Mrs. Lauri Wynn, vice-chairman of the United Community Action group (UCAG) and a t e a c h e r at the 24th street school, told Archie Buchmiller, deputy state superintendent of public instruction, that UCAG "plans to work with the centers."

Centers Called Needed

She described the "interrelated language skills centers," n o w operated by the school board at three locations and f u n d e d by $1.6 million in s t a t e aid, as "essential and necessary" in the central city.

Buchmiller, requested by the board on governmental operations (BOGO) to investigate complaints against t h e program, met with two members of the community group and two members of the school administration at the state office building here.

Buchmiller is scheduled to report his findings Thursday to BOGO. He said that his report will contain "conclusions beyond the finding of fact."

The state official called the meeting on the basis of complaints m a d e by Mrs. Flora Seefeldt, who headed UCAG w h e n it picketed Jefferson school in August as teachers for the reading program reported for orientation sessions.

At the time, UCAG demanded policy control over the centers, including the right to hire and f i r e personnel and the right to select sites for the centers.

New Chairman

Since that time, however, UCAG has been reorganized. The new chairman is Mrs. Carol Malone, a staff member of the Milwaukee Courier and long active in civil rights activities.

Mrs. Margie Reed, UCAG secretary, said that the organization is now "moving in a forceful and positive d i r e c- tion" and that the next membership meeting will be at 7 p.m. Saturday at 2235 N. 3rd st.

At Wednesday's meeting were D w i g h t Teel, deputy superintendent of s c h o o l s; James Bigaj, reading consultant for the s c h o o l s; Mrs. Wynn and Mrs. Reed.

Mrs. Wynn told Buchmiller that several aspects of the program were still "sore points" with UCAG, such as the delay in setting up advisory committees of citizens for the centers.

Teel reported that a series of meetings have been scheduled for January to set up such committees at the centers at Jefferson school, Parkman junior high s c h o o l and Mac-Dowell school.

Free Lunch for All

Mrs. Wynn said the group wanted all children in the center to be entitled to a f r e e lunch instead of just the indigent children so as to avoid "stigmatization."

She also said the group had wanted children attending the centers to get there by means of free bus passes instead of being provided buses, which gives the impression of "intact bussing" which inner city residents have long opposed.

But Mrs. Wynn took exception to demands made by former leaders of UCAG, on selection of personnel and sites.

Mrs. Wynn said UCAG representatives sat in on interviews of personnel hired for the program and approved the hiring of all but two out of 69 staff members of the centers.

"That's s h o o t i n g pretty good pool," said Mrs. Wynn.

Mrs. Wynn said that UCAG representatives had a voice in selecting the sites for the centers designed for children two or more years behind in reading.

In the random selection of

READING
Call for Center On South Side Called 'Racism'

children for the program, she said, there were n o t enough children on the south side to operate a center. She said demands for a south side center at Field school, 1226 S. 7th st., reflected "silent racism."

Mrs. Wynn said that Jefferson school, 1029 N. Jefferson st., w h i c h was empty and could accommodate a complete reading program, could have been a "true picture of integration" if s o u t h side parents were willing to have their children attend.

She told Buchmiller to deal with that demand separately, as "this segment of the community has a problem."

Mrs. Wynn said that the charge that pupils were not selected f o r the centers under procedures prescribed in the proposal was "a blatant lie."

Concedes Difficulties

Teel conceded that t h e r e have been "difficulties" in working out the program with UCAG, largely because of communication programs. But he said the school administration "welcomes this involvement" and p l a n s to involve other community groups in future programs.

Mrs. Wynn said that school administrators "know we exist and that's half the battle." She described herself as a "negotiator" rather than a person who makes demands, because "demands close negotiations."

Buchmiller said that he was quoted "out of context" when he told a governor's hearing Monday that there was no conclusive evidence that Milwaukee school programs funded by state aid were succeeding. He said no conclusive evidence was possible because the programs had not been in operation long enough f o r proper evaluation.

(Submit in duplicate.)

APPLICATION FOR RESERVATION OF NAME

To SECRETARY OF STATE
MADISON 2, WISCONSIN

The undersigned hereby requests that the following name be reserved for sixty days for corporate

use:

UNITED COMMUNITY ACTION GROUP, INC.

(Name must include "Corporation" or "Incorporated" or "Limited" or the abbreviation of one of these words.)

$5 for reservation of name

STATE OF WISCONSIN
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FILED

OCT 18 1968

ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN
SECRETARY OF STATE

June Reeves
Applicant
June Reeves

Address: 1334 South 16th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

Reservation allowed, to date from

ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN OCT 18 1968
Secretary of State

MISCELLANEOUS CORPORATION RECEIPT

№ 75861

State of Wisconsin
Department of State

October 18 1968

Received from _James Alan Walrath_

Five and 00/100 Dollars $5.00

Fee for:

Re: United Community Action Group, Inc

Filing report ☐
Reserve name ✓
Service of process ☐

Change office or agent ☐
Intent to dissolve ☐
Articles of Dissolution ☐

ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN
Secretary of State

By _Ls_

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The State of Wisconsin

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MADISON 2

ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN
SECRETARY OF STATE

December 30, 1968

Mr. James A. Walrath
Southside Legal Aid Society
1322 South 16th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin   53204

Re: United Community Action Group, Inc.
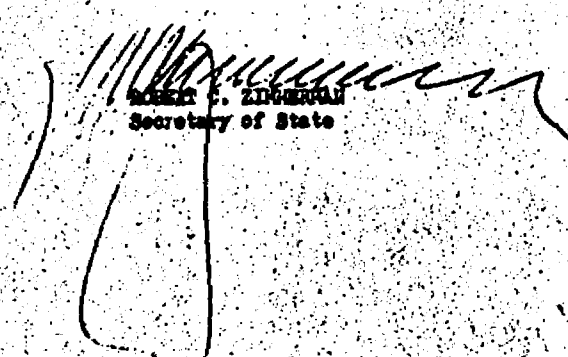
My dear Mr. Walrath:

     We are returning the articles of
incorporation and the $20 fee submitted by you for the
subject proposed corporation.

     These articles are returned because
of existence of a Wisconsin corporation and the fact that
the name you selected is deceptively similar to the name
of that corporation.

     Articles were filed in this office
on October 17, 1968, by a corporation by the name United
Community Action Group of Milwaukee, Incorporated. The
registered agent for this corporation is Carole Malone,
3718 N. 19th Street, Milwaukee 53206.

     Very truly yours,

ROBERT C. ZIMMERMAN
Secretary of State

Bimf

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APPENDIX   C

ALPHABETIC FACTOR DESIGNATIONS

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL, ALL 36 ITEMS: VARIMAX ROTATION

						FACTOR							
		C	A	B	I	H	J	D	G	K	E	F	L
ITEM	SS	215	266	230	142	154	139	199	158	138	170	163	135
13.	67	77	04	18	-01	-07	07	03	04	-10	-14	05	00
14	57	57	-12	09	-06	08	-17	16	17	17	19	-07	-23
15	68	08	11	-38	12	-45	36	-35	11	-08	07	14	07
16	69	12	-71	-02	-10	08	23	07	-02	-12	20	22	02
17	59	15	-18	63	-13	10	-10	-01	14	02	17	08	19
18	60	22	-03	-00	20	17	04	-11	07	64	06	-06	20
19	57	-10	17	10	-06	-12	08	17	08	66	-02	08	-11
20	46	09	00	49	-02	00	23	00	06	07	02	-39	-07
21	59	-05	04	-03	17	72	09	-08	-01	01	-07	04	-09
22	60	-00	-02	-17	-11	-12	00	06	-06	10	-07	72	-01
23	56	47	-09	19	-03	07	03	24	00	29	17	-27	-24
24	63	29	-04	-00	-18	46	23	38	09	-07	21	-19	09
25	43	14	-04	26	-07	21	-08	13	04	08	41	-18	25
26	63	45	-40	01	-05	22	03	31	15	01	24	-12	15
27	64	13	03	04	-10	-07	05	73	06	02	20	17	04
28	65	-01	04	20	12	10	-11	28	66	09	-13	-04	-20
29	68	-05	02	-02	80	12	11	-03	02	08	04	-04	-00
30	56	-12	24	-15	19	12	26	-17	22	-16	09	47	-12
31	53	05	01	62	13	-03	12	16	05	-06	07	-27	05
32	69	10	-30	11	14	05	-06	71	08	07	-03	-14	-15
33	43	-24	42	-25	11	-04	11	-21	06	-14	-13	08	13
34	50	-07	27	-56	03	-04	03	-05	08	-24	-09	02	19
35	64	-05	37	03	44	10	03	04	-11	-07	-24	44	16
36	46	19	22	36	28	-18	-10	-00	23	-23	11	-02	05
37	48	21	-08	17	16	43	-18	05	26	07	20	-16	-17
38	63	29	-32	01	32	16	-11	25	03	19	43	-12	-09
39	75	-07	-01	18	03	-10	-07	09	-01	-04	43	-01	-05
40	52	-37	-04	03	-15	05	18	-09	43	-09	19	03	29
41	54	26	05	01	-16	05	-24	-14	55	09	05	04	23
42	60	19	-22	37	01	11	25	-05	34	26	33	04	-12
43	51	15	-21	-08	13	-25	14	29	46	08	04	-17	-05
44	66	-13	03	00	04	-13	-01	-05	-01	02	-02	-01	79
45	61	13	71	-16	-09	09	11	-11	-05	07	11	02	-02
46	61	-04	13	09	08	06	73	05	-10	13	-12	-02	01
47	57	-04	60	-02	12	-06	36	-06	-04	-04	05	25	-05
48	53	-04	47	-36	-07	05	13	22	03	10	-09	15	25

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL, ALL 36 ITEMS: OBLIQUE ROTATION

ITEM	SS	D 193	A 246	B 209	K 142	I 154	E 191	C 199	F 165	G 160	H 159	J 150	L 140
13	88	-02	00	07	-03	-04	91	01	-05	-08	-20	05	00
14	35	05	01	-04	-07	06	44	06	07	19	89	-21	-22
15	75	-29	15	05	07	-30	23	65	04	-00	13	23	04
16	92	00	90	23	-05	11	05	09	-09	-09	05	14	01
17	58	-14	16	17	-13	01	21	-60	15	00	12	02	23
18	71	-18	01	-02	20	10	06	06	-04	75	-08	-02	23
19	74	17	-23	16	-11	-22	-24	-11	11	68	-80	14	-08
20	43	-09	-07	-43	-05	-07	10	-26	08	01	-82	38	-03
21	64	-17	01	08	17	69	-15	-15	01	00	-47	05	-13
22	84	12	21	86	-12	-10	06	-04	-04	14	-01	-06	-04
23	32	15	-06	-25	-04	03	30	-00	-09	29	07	05	-21
24	57	30	05	-19	-19	57	14	11	01	-10	05	19	07
25	32	04	-04	-15	-06	22	05	-17	-04	09	35	-05	28
26	43	22	39	-12	-02	27	30	15	01	04	04	-05	16
27	74	77	-06	26	-12	-02	06	-01	05	-05	20	07	07
28	72	19	-12	-00	06	-00	-09	-05	76	00	-19	-07	-17
29	68	-03	03	-05	81	02	-05	09	01	07	84	05	05
30	55	-19	04	51	13	18	-01	15	27	-16	16	17	-17
31	47	10	-08	-27	12	-13	12	-44	11	-15	07	29	12
32	61	71	15	-10	17	-03	-08	-08	10	-02	-12	-03	-08
33	22	-13	-31	04	07	04	-11	21	11	-13	-03	08	10
34	44	05	-19	-06	02	13	-01	55	05	-20	-06	-11	15
35	69	12	-25	54	42	07	14	-24	-03	-09	-14	03	17
36	53	-03	-24	-02	25	-21	38	-18	26	-28	19	-04	09
37	32	-10	-03	-13	15	35	06	-12	23	05	09	-20	-16
38	45	17	22	-11	35	11	08	12	-09	21	12	-20	-05
39	89	04	-03	00	03	-07	-15	-01	-07	-05	92	-06	-04
40	59	-14	18	-00	-18	11	-36	06	47	-10	16	17	27
41	59	-24	-06	06	-20	08	25	10	49	15	-04	-30	21
42	48	-22	31	08	-03	04	10	-12	31	27	23	26	-11
43	61	26	22	-24	10	-24	06	41	43	07	-04	08	-01
44	71	02	02	-02	06	-07	-01	-02	-06	08	-04	-01	83
45	69	-08	-69	03	-16	21	18	17	-08	10	21	09	-07
46	65	05	09	-04	04	10	01	07	-08	10	-14	77	00
47	45	-01	-42	27	04	02	12	07	00	-06	20	37	-08
48	49	31	-41	17	-11	18	-03	29	02	12	-86	07	22

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK, ALL 36 ITEMS: VARIMAX ROTATION

ITEM	SS	FACTOR B	A	C	E	D	
		551	804	477	150	130	
49	58	-04	11	-08	01	75	
50	61	30	-00	71	13	-00	
51	55	16	-03	69	08	-20	
52	57	39	05	63	00	-14	
53	51	34	11	56	-10	-23	Acpha
54	71	-09	74	36	-12	08	
55	51	-01	65	22	-14	11	Coun.
56	56	25	-01	66	-02	24	
57	52	50	-03	41	31	09	Rety
58	71	54	-11	46	36	26	
59	62	19	25	63	-26	23	
60	55	60	-06	38	20	09	
61	76	01	87	-02	-06	-12	
62	81	07	89	02	-12	-04	
63	54	28	31	56	16	-18	
64	57	41	19	55	23	14	
65	64	-04	64	26	39	04	
66	47	23	40	49	04	-14	
67	64	07	79	-06	-06	-06	
68	67	75	13	27	16	-04	
69	47	36	49	05	-09	26	
70	71	-05	80	01	-23	-12	
71	48	35	48	29	18	12	
72	62	07	70	-04	34	-01	
73	47	14	48	18	40	-15	
74	64	71	02	32	17	09	
75	51	20	63	-07	24	13	
76	64	62	27	22	-26	-24	
77	40	26	47	12	29	-09	
78	51	54	35	10	10	-27	
79	61	68	29	19	-15	02	
80	58	17	66	05	32	11	
81	59	69	04	31	10	-03	
82	66	71	15	32	-17	-06	
83	43	33	55	08	-03	05	
84	72	31	75	11	16	15	

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK, ALL 36 ITEMS: OBLIQUE ROTATION

		A	C	FACTOR D	B	E
ITEM	SS	553	451	449	524	134
49	59	00	-05	03	-07	76
50	59	14	-23	72	-08	-05
51	66	08	-11	74	-18	-24
52	43	-02	-08	60	18	-16
53	44	-13	09	55	24	-24
54	76	13	64	54	-18	10
55	46	04	57	34	-00	14
56	67	-10	-11	77	-03	22
57	49	40	-50	19	19	04
58	72	41	-65	25	17	20
59	99	-35	32	83	10	25
60	44	21	-45	15	41	06
61	57	32	67	-05	11	-08
62	59	22	70	00	21	01
63	41	36	-01	49	-02	-22
64	41	36	-25	44	07	10
65	101	88	08	21	-44	-00
66	32	22	18	46	05	-15
67	47	27	58	-11	21	-01
68	65	24	-31	-08	70	-04
69	43	04	24	-06	52	31
70	68	03	80	07	14	-05
71	27	45	01	15	17	11
72	76	83	14	-21	-10	-02
73	75	83	-08	-02	-16	-19
74	57	20	-41	03	60	08
75	51	63	11	-25	13	14
76	100	-31	26	03	89	-18
77	45	65	-03	-10	08	-11
78	56	29	00	-22	60	-26
79	81	-16	10	-03	88	08
80	61	76	06	-13	-01	10
81	53	11	-30	04	64	-04
82	82	-25	03	12	86	-02
83	30	18	28	-05	42	09
84	44	54	23	-05	24	17

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES, ALL 30 ITEMS: VARIMAX ROTATION

ITEM	SS	D	B	E	G	F	H	I	C	A
		199	226	195	180	187	143	131	223	303
85	45	-10	-12	11	-34	02	31	25	33	-06
86	56	-07	06	40	-07	08	16	33	32	38
87	61	16	-02	22	10	13	70	06	-12	-05
88	65	15	01	-22	65	-15	32	06	-03	16
89	65	16	08	69	-14	21	13	-07	23	01
90	53	01	16	13	-01	64	12	-10	16	17
91	59	-11	03	45	25	-05	19	-04	49	20
92	58	-02	14	56	28	07	-04	-24	18	27
93	61	02	-06	11	72	24	-11	01	05	-10
94	55	51	-07	44	10	09	03	20	11	17
95	65	26	03	10	08	-07	13	-14	71	14
96	65	26	-04	14	-12	16	-10	16	69	07
97	66	72	08	19	02	08	08	-23	04	16
98	69	75	-02	-14	08	16	06	05	16	23
99	64	-07	14	-10	06	38	57	-23	22	20
100	53	-05	25	13	18	11	-13	-21	31	50
101	62	-24	17	21	16	20	-16	03	55	31
102	55	15	-02	15	15	65	05	20	-06	12
103	59	07	13	08	15	36	05	-13	07	62
104	55	15	-02	24	12	31	05	15	03	58
105	49	23	-02	-01	02	-06	38	-03	12	52
106	59	27	-08	33	-12	03	09	03	-02	62
107	51	12	09	-07	13	09	-14	-09	22	62
108	59	23	-13	-08	09	53	10	09	03	45
109	45	-02	02	13	56	09	10	09	07	30
110	54	-16	63	16	-13	-00	-10	-04	23	09
111	67	05	72	-09	-03	23	15	-00	11	-22
112	65	13	63	-13	14	-17	-07	38	-14	07
113	72	-08	31	-10	11	11	-04	75	04	-11
114	71	06	77	17	04	01	02	13	-12	23

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES, ALL 30 ITEMS: OBLIQUE ROTATION

ITEM	SS	E 186	D 231	A 312	G 150	C 232	I 139	H 146	B 233	F 155
85	53	-28	-19	06	-09	08	28	24	38	-34
86	61	-24	02	62	-08	-03	14	27	23	-11
87	58	03	03	07	11	12	74	-01	-09	-01
88	61	07	01	-01	70	-08	19	05	05	26
89	54	08	16	26	-51	-07	32	-13	16	15
90	58	-01	09	-12	-24	70	03	-03	01	10
91	52	-28	07	29	05	-16	21	-10	47	23
92	51	-13	26	38	-15	-12	05	-31	06	38
93	67	02	-11	-16	10	05	-01	06	02	78
94	55	42	-03	43	-19	-23	17	14	10	19
95	79	17	01	-12	15	-06	-00	-12	84	-02
96	76	22	-16	-05	-18	05	-15	22	76	-02
97	63	71	18	05	-09	-06	09	-26	08	04
98	66	74	-06	-04	14	13	-07	09	23	-05
99	81	-14	11	-25	24	68	32	-19	18	-14
100	36	-12	27	25	09	17	-29	-22	19	08
101	47	-32	69	16	-05	18	-26	06	45	18
102	60	14	-12	07	-26	55	07	25	-21	28
103	44	-01	13	38	09	47	-15	-13	-11	00
104	50	03	-03	63	-02	25	-05	11	-14	04
105	48	09	03	41	37	09	16	-10	12	-32
106	76	13	01	82	-04	-04	02	-08	-15	-22
107	40	06	08	35	23	20	-38	-08	13	-08
108	56	18	-23	23	05	62	-09	14	-11	-02
109	36	-12	01	28	31	02	06	06	-00	40
110	52	-15	64	-06	-14	01	-11	-04	17	-09
111	96	12	67	-60	-06	30	13	07	13	-01
112	65	16	60	03	22	-23	-07	37	-12	-04
113	68	-07	13	01	04	-01	-00	81	04	06
114	78	04	82	19	-00	-05	03	08	-22	-04

APPENDIX D

COURSE MATERIALS FOR THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

I. READING ASSIGNMENTS

Bennett, J. & Tumin, M.   SOME CULTURAL IMPERATIVES

Berger, P. L.   THE ART OF MISTRUST

Black, R. A.   GLOSSARY – KINSHIP TERMS

Bowen, Elenore Smith   ROAD TO LAUGHTER

Brown, Ina Corinne   UNDERSTANDING OTHER CULTURES

Casagrande, Joseph B. (Ed.)   IN THE COMPANY OF MAN: TWENTY
                         PORTRAITS BY ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Edel, May   THE STORY OF PEOPLE: ANTHROPOLOGY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Gallagher, James J.   AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL
                 MATERIALS FOR HIGH SCHOOL USE

Hertzberg, Hazel   THE GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE: CULTURE OF
                 THE IROQUOIS

Homans, G. C.   THE HUMAN GROUP

Ianni, F. A. J.   CULTIVATING THE ARTS OF POVERTY

Klineberg, Otto   RACE AND PSYCHOLOGY

LaFarge, Oliver   LAUGHING BOY

Linton, Ralph   THE COMPOSITE NATURE OF CULTURE

Lisitzky, Gene   FOUR WAYS OF BEING HUMAN

Mandelbaum, D.   SOCIAL GROUPINGS

Marriott, Alice   KIOWA YEARS: STUDY IN CULTURE IMPACT

Marriott, Alice   PROFILE OF A PEOPLE

Mead, Margaret   ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND WHAT THEY DO

Mead, Margaret   PEOPLE AND PLACES

Miner, Horace   BODY RITUAL AMONG THE NACIREMA

Muir, J. THE BIG CON

Oliver, Douglas INVITATION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

Riessman, Frank DIGGING 'THE MAN'S' LANGUAGE

Rusch, Hans TOP OF THE WORLD

Sady, Rachel GUIDE FOR CLASSROOM USE OF THE KIOWA MATERIAL

Schultz, D. O. MY LIFE AS AN INDIAN

Shapiro, H. REVISED VERSION OF THE UNESCO STATEMENT ON RACE

Sharp, L. STEEL AXES FOR STONE AGE AUSTRALIANS

Steinbeck, J. THE SHORT-SHORT STORY OF MANKIND

Thomas, Elizabeth Marshall A HARMLESS PEOPLE

Turner, Colleen THE FOREST PEOPLE

Underhill, Ruth M. FIRST CAME THE FAMILY

Wax, Rosalie AMERICAN INDIANS AND WHITE PEOPLE

Weyer, Edward Jr. PRIMITIVE PEOPLES TODAY

II. PROJECTS

1. Visit the monkey island at the zoo

2. Sit with strangers in a cafeteria and start conversations

3. Analyze class interactions

4. Collected slang terms of own group

5. Conduct a student inventory:

    A. How many persons are there in your household?
       1. How many are blood relatives?
       2. others?

    B. How do you relate to members of the household?
       How do they relate to each other?

    C. On which ocassions do all the family (household)
       members get together?

D. Describe what happens on these ocassions.

E. Which other family members live
    1. on your block?
    2. in the city?

F. Describe your block and locate it.
    1. physical conditions.
    2. commercial establishments.
    3. churches
    4. schools.

G. How would you describe the people living on your block
    in terms of age, sex, race, dress, manner of speaking,
    occupations, etc.?

H. How do they relate to each other?

I. How do you relate to these individuals?
    1. In what groups do you participate?
    2. Do you consider some groups more prestigious than
        others?
    3. Do you relate better to groups outside your block?
    4. Are there special ways of communicating in these
        groups?

J. What do you see as the role and function of the police in
    your community?

K. What is the role and function of religious leaders?

L. What activities are organized within the church?

M. How often do you visit the following places:
    1. main library?
    2. museums?
    3. art center?
    4. zoo?
    5. science museum?

N. Have you or any members of your family attended the con-
    certs given in Washington Park?

III. PREPARATION AND PRESENTATION OF BOOK REVIEWS

Baldwin, J. NOTES OF A NATIVE SON

Bernard, J. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG THE NEGROES

Bottomore, T. B. ELITES AND SOCIETY

Carter, Michael   INTO WORK

Cayton, D. and Drake, R.   BLACK METROPOLIS

Clark, K. B.   DARK GHETTO

Firth, R.   HUMAN TYPES

Frazier, W. B.   THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S.

Glazer, R. F.   BEYOND THE MELTING POT

Griffin, J.   BLACK LIKE ME

Griffin, J.   RAISIN IN THE SUN

Hare, N.   BLACK ANGLO SAXONS

Harrington, M.   THE OTHER AMERICA

Jones, L.   BLUES PEOPLE

Jones, L.   HOME

Karon, B. P.   NEGRO PERSONALITY

Keil, C.   URBAN BLUES

McNickle, A. J.   INDIAN TRIBES OF THE U.S.: ETHNIC AND CULTURAL
                  SURVIVAL

Proctor, S. D.   THE YOUNG NEGRO IN AMERICA

Schusky, M. M.   INTRODUCING CULTURE

Seeley, P., Sims, D. & Loosley, N. U.   CRESTWOOD HEIGHTS

Turnbull, C. M.   LONELY AFRICAN

Weaver, R. C.   DILEMMAS OF URBAN AMERICA

IV.   RECORDINGS: WAYS OF MANKIND SERIES

Desert Soliloquy: A Study in (Hopi) Education

All the World's a Stage: A Study in Status and Role

A Word in Your Ear: A Study in Language

The Case of the Borrowed Wife

Home Sweet Home: A Study in Family

Survival: A Study in Technology

You Are Not Alone: A Study in Groups

V.   FILMS

Man and His Culture

Picture In Your Mind

Walk About

Anjotu: Story of an Eskimo Boy

Malaya: Nomads of the Jungle

Men at Work