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E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER,
THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

to the

Twenty-sixth Annual
Spring Conference

of the

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

April 22, 23, 24, and 25, 1963

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, HOWARD UNIVERSITY

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DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

April 22, 23, 24, and 25, 1963

Edited by

ROBERT E. MARTIN

THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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Elizabeth D. Huttman
Since its organization in 1935 the Division of the Social Sciences at Howard University, with few exceptions, has held an annual Spring conference to which scholars and other persons with specialized knowledge have been invited to participate. These conferences have been concerned with various subjects of special interest to social scientists. In 1951, for example, the subject was "The Integration of the Negro into American Society"; two years later it was the timely question of "Academic Freedom in the United States."

Reflecting the widespread interest in the Civil War Centennial, the scholarly papers presented at the 1961 conference focussed upon the theme, "The Civil War in Perspective." It was at one of the 1961 sessions that Professor E. Franklin Frazier made his last appearance at a conference sponsored by the Division. His agreement to participate in that program came only after being warmly and repeatedly urged to do so by Professor Martin, Chairman of the Division of the Social Sciences, 1960 - 1961. His reluctance to accept the invitation was due to his very arduous schedule. Normally engaged in a vigorous schedule of research, writing, and teaching, Dr. Frazier was committed even more than usual: completing a new book and revising a volume published earlier -- in addition to his many regular activities.

The Chairman, however, was persistent, periodically renewing his overtures to Professor Frazier. Martin was especially anxious to have him on this particular program. The reason was because, as he pointed out to Professor Frazier, there would be a unique opportunity for a very large number of social scientists from

* Department of Government, Howard University
predominantly Negro institutions to hear him. Martin, also serving as President of the Association of Social Science Teachers during 1960 - 1961, had worked out a plan whereby the Association's annual conference, along with the National Convention of Sigma Rho Sigma, Social Science Honor Society, would meet at Howard University in the Spring of 1961 -- and at the same time as the Division's conference. The simultaneous meetings of these three organizations was expected to -- and did -- bring together a virtually unprecedented number of social scientists teaching in essentially Negro Colleges. It was felt that it would be significant for such a group of social scientists to be able to receive a special message from E. Franklin Frazier, one of their most eminent colleagues at the pinnacle of his long and brilliant career.

Happily Professor Frazier eventually agreed to address the group. It was a memorable occasion. He spoke on "The Role of the Social Scientist in the Negro College." Drawing upon his vast knowledge of social phenomena and insights sharpened by many years of vigorous, systematic research, he brought to the group an extremely interesting -- and challenging -- message. He touched on many things: the peculiar position of the Negro intellectual in American society, the contribution of northern missionaries to the Negro's early intellectual development, the deleterious effect of philanthropic foundations upon Negro leadership, the social and mental isolation of Negroes, the absence of an intellectual tradition among them, Negroes as illiterate rather than as pre- or non-literate people.

Professor Frazier discussed the handicaps of Negro college students: their folk background, absence of a literary tradition, and lack of interest in learning and achievement; their failure to come to grips with social reality; their tendency to have a sentimental rather than an intellectual orientation towards the world; and all this being reenforced by inferior education and poor reading habits. He made an urgent plea to social science teachers to help these students to overcome their handicaps and to develop some true notion of reality. He explained that

What I am proposing is all designed to enable the Negro student to escape from his folk outlook, from his sentimental evaluation
of reality, and to develop an intellectual and scientific attitude. It is only by this means that Negroes can develop an intellectual class that can cope with the problems that face them today. 1

Professor Frazier also dealt with the social science teacher as researcher and writer. After paying tribute to W. E. B. DuBois and -- in a somewhat more limited frame of reference -- Kelly Miller, he pointed up some of the specific difficulties which have plagued Negro scholars. He insisted, however, that these many difficulties did not explain -- nor justify -- the relative lack of productivity among Negroes. Then in blunt and forthright language, he sharply criticized Negro social scientists for their failure to do significant research and writing -- especially studies of Negroes. "You know," he said indignantly, "it is scandalous that many of the significant studies that are being made concerning Negroes are being done by whites." Despite the problems faced by Negro scholars -- those self-imposed and those from a hostile environment -- Professor Frazier concluded on a hopeful note, stating:

... I know we are up against an absence of an intellectual tradition but by our very activities we are building an intellectual tradition. We suffer from mental isolation and lack of incentive. But despite all of these things it is my feeling and I say this by way of conclusion and summary that though the position of the Negro intellectual has been precarious, the Negro social scientist has a certain strategic advantage, both from the standpoint of teaching and from the standpoint of being a researcher and writer. It is the historian that provides the soul of a people; it is the sociologist who tells him what kind of a world the soul lives in. Finally, it is the responsibility of the social scientist to give the student a realistic picture of the world and at the same time, let the world know how the world appears to the Negro and what existence has meant to the Negro. 2

It was a good talk, incisive, biting, interspersed with humor -- but always sincere and constructive. And although most of us in the audience felt the sting of


his barbs, we enjoyed and profited from it. The writer will remain ever grate-
ful that he had the foresight to record this notable session on tape.

Upon the untimely death of this great scholar, the writer suggested that the
next Spring conference of the Division be devoted to honoring his memory. The
idea was that scholars who work in some of the many areas of Professor Frazier's
major interests be invited to present papers; these papers would be bound in a
memorial volume. The Division accepted Professor Martin's suggestion and, to
implement it, made him chairman of the Committee on the Spring Conference.
The following members of the Division were selected to work on the Committee:
Nicholas C. Anagnos, George A. Davis, G. Franklin Edwards, H. Naylor Fitzhugh,
Eugene C. Holmes, Joseph R. Houchins, Harold O. Lewis, Daniel C. Thompson,
Nathaniel P. Tillman, Lorraine A. Williams. Daniel Spencer, Chairman of the
Division, 1962 - 1963, was an ex-officio member. Vernon Gill, President of the
Liberal Arts Student Council, was appointed to the committee to secure student
participation in planning the event. After considerable deliberation and much corre-
spondence, the following program was worked out:

FIRST SESSION -- Monday April 22, 2:40 - 4:30 P.M.

James M. Nabrit, Jr. ................. President, Howard University
G. Franklin Edwards .............. EDWARD FRANKLIN FRAZIER:
                               SOCIOLOGIST
Robert C. Weaver ................. URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO

Presiding ....................... Emmett E. Dorsey

Discussion Period

SECOND SESSION -- Tuesday, April 23, 8:00 - 9:45 P.M.

Richard M. Scammon .............. THE NEGRO POPULATION
Daniel Thompson ................. CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP

Presiding ....................... Daniel Spencer

Discussion Period
This writer is very pleased, indeed, to have been able to play a part in these activities in honor of this great social scientist. He knew Professor Frazier not only as a deeply admired colleague for many years but also as one of his devoted students. He was fortunate to be enrolled in several of Dr. Frazier's classes; indeed, he was in the first class he taught at Howard University. It was a class that began with Professor Kelly Miller as the teacher. This distinguished but aging instructor was failing rapidly and was able to remain with the class for only a few days after the new term began; Dr. Frazier was soon brought in to replace him.

This writer, therefore, was in a position to view at close range the passing of one era and the opening of another. Kelly Miller long had been an outstanding figure at Howard University. He was an incisive and original thinker, a transitional scholar, a brilliant essayist — and a most able spokesman for his race. Ideologically somewhere between DuBois and Booker Washington in their historic battle, Miller had done one of the most thoughtful and revealing comparisons of these two giant figures in Negro history. 3 It seemed highly fitting, therefore, that the man who had carved

out for himself a solid position at "the capstone of Negro education" was being succeeded by an authentic scholar, a completely modern social scientist who was moving steadily up the ladder of success in social science research and teaching — and doing so in the mainstream of national and international scholarly circles.

Professor Frazier felt strongly that Negro intellectuals, like those in other groups, should build upon the work done by others. This he did, solidly and brilliantly, producing a substantial body of knowledge, ideas, values, and concepts. This rich cultural heritage, clearly reflected by the essays in this volume, will be of inestimable value in helping to develop the intellectual tradition the Negro needs so badly.

The Editor is very pleased to express warm thanks to Professor Gustav Auzenne, Jr., Chairman of the Division of the Social Sciences, 1963-1964, for his invaluable cooperation in the publication of this volume which is dedicated to the memory of Professor E. Franklin Frazier.
WELCOME
James M. Nabrit, Jr.*

The University is extremely glad to welcome you to this twenty-sixth annual Conference of the Division of the Social Sciences at Howard University. First, because it is in the tradition of the University that these conferences have been held since the first year that I came to the University and they have demonstrated the best in our staff and among our scholars. But we are glad also because this particular Conference is dedicated to the memory of a graduate of this University, and a great teacher, and a distinguished scholar. Many of you may not know Dr. Frazier and one of our speakers this afternoon Dr. Edwards will speak about Dr. Frazier as a Sociologist. But I should say to you, apart from that, something about Dr. Frazier and the niche which he occupies in our society and in our University.

I was fortunate as a student many years ago not only to be a student of Dr. Frazier's but also to be an assistant of his. And it has always been a source of strength and encouragement to me to remember the rigid discipline that he imposed upon us, the high standards that he set before us, and the exacting requirements which he sought from us.

In those early days he was extremely interested in the field of civil rights. I remember as a student when he was called to a meeting in the City of Atlanta where it was customary to address women of our race by their first names and to seat these audiences in a separate section of the room or auditorium, that he created quite a stir in Atlanta by insisting that the speakers and the presiding officers address these women by their titles or by Mrs. or Miss. During the uproar that ensued he took the floor again and insisted that he be allowed together with the others in the audience to sit where he pleased. The net result, of course in those early days, was that we all

*President, Howard University
walked out. But that was a typical incident in the early life of Dr. Frazier which characterized him all through his career. That is -- those things he thought, he said, and those things he believed in, he acted upon. The University is very happy to be honoring a man like this.

You may not know that aside from his chosen field he was one of the first persons to advocate the use of probationary officers in connection with sentencing of persons in our courts. In addition to that he was one of the founders of the Atlanta School of Social Work and of the School of Social Work at Howard University. He contributed to the field of knowledge a great many things. I think those of us who revered him and had a great respect for him -- although I must say we differed with him probably every day -- nevertheless felt that he represented the kind of scholar, the kind of graduate, the kind of teacher that we hope Howard University will never cease turning out. And so when his colleagues choose this medium through which they might indicate to our community their love and affection for him, the University joins in this whole-heartedly and we would commend to you the further sessions of this Conference.
EDWARD FRANKLIN FRAZIER, SOCIOLOGIST
G. Franklin Edwards*

I owe my presence here, I suppose, to the fact that I said to the Chairman of the Program Committee that I was in the process of writing a short biographical statement on Professor Frazier for the revised edition of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, and that I would be courageous enough to attempt an evaluation of Professor Frazier as a sociologist on this occasion.

What I should like to indicate is that I can scarcely add to the stature which Professor Frazier has among his colleagues in the field of sociology. The decision to include him in the Encyclopedia is itself an indication of the appreciation which his colleagues have for him. To attempt to add to his stature by a mere recitation of his achievements seems to me a short-sighted task to undertake. Therefore, instead of speaking primarily of Frazier as a sociologist, though I will give some attention to this, I should like to say something of him in more general terms.

Let me repeat that the stature of Professor Frazier as a scholar is safe. He became president of nearly every professional society to which he belonged. The reason he did not become president of the others is that he did not live long enough. He was president of the District Sociological Society; he was president of the Eastern Sociological Society. He served each of these associations twice as president. In 1948, he was elected president of the American Sociological Society. This was the first time in this country a Negro scholar had been elected to head a national professional associ-

*Professor of Sociology, Howard University
ation. He was president-elect of the African Studies Association at the time of his death and a prominent figure in the work of the International Sociological Association. These are testimonies to the esteem and the respect which Professor Frazier's colleagues had for him and for his work.

Having said this, I would like to indicate that if we take the number of publications and the contributions to creative scholarship, we have another indicator of the professional stature of the man. An incomplete listing of Professor Frazier's works shows that he wrote eight books, eighty-nine major articles, and sixteen chapters in books authored by others. In addition, he produced numerous unpublished manuscripts. This is, indeed, a prodigious output, and any one of us would be pleased to match that record. But it was not only the productive volume that challenges us; it was the high quality of the work itself that should be noted. Several of these publications by Professor Frazier were cited for their brilliance and for the contributions they made to the thinking on the subjects discussed.

The Negro Family in the United States, published in 1939, won for Professor Frazier the Ansfield Award, which was given for the best book on race relations in that year. In 1957, Professor Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie won the first MacIver Award given by the American Sociological Association. He talked to me about various other awards, prizes for essays in Opportunity Magazine, for example, where a great many of the younger scholars in the late twenties and early thirties were placing their essays.

Now what is really significant is that all of this was done by Professor Frazier with a certain modesty. He never felt that his work was done with such thoroughness or such finality that there was not enough for others to do. At the same time, he recognized that he had done some spadework on which he hoped young scholars would build. He had a very strong feeling that minorities themselves had the best chance to produce works in the field of race relations because they knew the situation they studied from the inside. In the field of humanistic scholarship, this gave them a powerful advantage.
He was always concerned when people who did not wish to work in the field of race relations made oblique or negative statements about Negro scholars who had addressed themselves to problems in this area. He pointed out that other minorities had gotten in on the ground floor of other fields. Jewish scholars, for example, had made significant contributions to psychiatry and anthropology. For him, this was no accidental matter. The fact is that members of that minority experienced problems to which these disciplines could provide answers. If, for example, Negro scholars had the same sort of perception, they would see the opportunity for creative scholarship in the social sciences.

Let me say one or two further words about Professor Frazier's contributions. I mentioned to him on one occasion about a year before his death that it would be one of the tragedies of historical scholarship if he were remembered for Black Bourgeoisie and forgotten for The Negro Family in the United States. As between these two works, I think one should see very clearly that the work of real scholarship is The Negro Family in the United States. This was a pioneering work that brought the acclaim, as I have indicated already, of Professor Frazier's professional colleagues. But I think we fail to sense completely what this work meant to the field of American scholarship, and particularly to scholarship in sociology.

Shortly before the period in which the volume was produced, we had in this country all kinds of explanations of Negro behavior. We had just gotten out of the period in which Negro behavior was explained in terms of the Negro's inferiority. There were questions raised regarding Negro intelligence. What Professor Frazier's work did was to provide the first definitive answer for many of the behavioral expressions manifested in Negro life. His analysis of the lower class family, for example, provided a deeper measure of understanding than had theretofore been available on the kinds of adjustment which Negroes were forced to make when they came to cities in such large numbers as they did during the migration of the 1910 - 1920 period.
One of the real tragedies today as we look back upon this work is that no one has built significantly upon it. No one yet has taken up the threads of Professor Frazier's work and produced in the grand manner what Professor Frazier did in the 1939 volume, or anything that is comparable to it. I should indicate here that Professor Frazier knew this better than most of us. In his nostalgic way, he often stated he wished he had the energy to have updated the book. What he was saying is that there were a great many small studies of the Negro family that have gone forward since 1939, but that no one had attempted to piece together or to launch in some larger manner the kinds of studies which seemed indicated to provide knowledge of the changes in the Negro family life which had occurred since he published his book. This was the kind of estimate that Professor Frazier was always placing upon his work. He knew well what needed to be done and deplored the fact that he himself could not do it. He was quite seriously concerned with the fact that younger scholars were not going forward with the kinds of updating in this field that he regarded as necessary.

Let me say a word about Black Bourgeoisie. This was a different kind of work which made its own important contribution. This work was in a way somewhat satirical; somewhat, as some critics have said, polemical; somewhat overdrawn, as others have said. It, nonetheless, represented a profile of the Negro middle class. It was to some extent a bitter pill for many to swallow. Many people found the work painful, mainly because they saw themselves in it. Others didn't like it for the reason it did not seem to fit their particular case. The fact that the work drew sharp reactions would indicate that it was a very significant book.

I am indebted to my and Professor Frazier's good friend, Professor Sterling Brown, for having pointed out to me that Black Bourgeoisie was done in a style at which Frazier was adept. Professor Frazier had come under the influence of many of the writers of the 1920's -- that is, men who wrote as essayists and were sharp commentators upon the American scene. There were men in America, like H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis, for example, whose works Frazier admired. There were men like Bernard Shaw, though not of the American scene, who had the same kind of wit and humor and satire. One finds in Black Bourgeoisie not only a man poking fun but as well
a serious analysis of what happens to a group of people as they develop a middle class. Some of it, of course, may seem pathetic, but much of it was a faithful representation of the larger tendencies which exist in Negro life, or, as one reviewer said, in any socially-mobile group.

In an obituary piece which I did for the American Sociological Review, I tied this work to a previous essay by Professor Frazier which most of us should know, if we don't already. In an early period, when he lived in Atlanta, Professor Frazier wrote an essay which was published in Forum magazine, for June, 1927, under the title "The Pathology of Race Prejudice." Professor Frazier did, in a very beautiful style, an essay which denounced the prejudice of southerners toward Negroes, comparing the mental operations which undergirded race prejudice with the processes which operate in the mind of an insane person. Not only was prejudice an irrational expression, but it possessed and consumed the prejudiced person in much the same manner that some obsessional states influence insane people.

What I want to point out about this is the kind of satirical, fun poking at the southerner who was prejudiced. What he was saying, in effect, was that prejudice influenced not only the victims of prejudice but had a great influence also upon the prejudiced person himself. These two publications, "The Pathology of Race Prejudice," published in 1927, and Black Bourgeoisie, published first in French in 1955, had a common style. If Professor Frazier had lived, I have no doubt that he would have continued this type of writing. His skill was good; he wanted to observe the scene and write freely about the larger problems as he saw them.

This brings me to the next point, namely, that in taking race relations as a central theme for study, Professor Frazier never wrote in the small manner. It was not that he failed to appreciate a piece of rigorous scholarship, but he was constantly reminding his sociological colleagues that they were not attacking the big problems. When he wrote of race relations in America he thought not only of Negroes but of all people who were influenced by the general social process. It was no wonder that in later life he began to write not only about specific problems in this country but as
about race relations in the world. One of his real contributions was the development of a point of view first held by Professor Park but never thoroughly synthesized by him. In speaking about the broad view which Frazier took in looking at the problems of Negro life in this country, Professor Hughes of Brandeis University, President of the American Sociological Association, had this to say:

He also chose from the beginning to see American Negroes and their problems in a larger segment, never in isolation. Breadth and comparison characterized his work from the very beginning. In the early 1920's he wrote of Folk Schools and the Cooperative Movement in Denmark and of the prospects of such experiments in America. Many years later, in 1957, he wrote Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, a work which with solid success gives not merely a natural history of race relations in the modern world but also presents and provides a framework for comparing one multi-racial society with another.

Those who studied, as both Frazier and I did, with Robert E. Park will recognize the basic framework of ideas in that book. It is not derogatory to say so. Park himself never wrote a book in which he put his scheme for study of race and culture contacts together. It is greatly to his credit that Frazier, late in his full career, took the time and trouble to give us a book which does it; it is Frazier's book, however, not Park's; the mature work of a disciple who valued but bettered the Master's instruction. A disciple who had himself become Master. In some respects Frazier was the most complete of Park's students; a man who, like Park himself, acted on the conviction that the study of the simplest and most lowly man or group was of equal importance as the study of the most exalted; and a man who was never content to see any human phenomenon as utterly unique. He always had to look about to see with what it could be profitably compared, where it could be placed in the human process.

In his later years Professor Frazier revived an early interest of his in the study of Africa. He had been at the Second Pan-African Conference in 1921. He had been fortunate in having been able to spend a year of study in Europe. He had been rewarded by the fact that he saw an identification between the Negro peasant in the South when he took up residence in 1916 at Tuskegee as a young teacher and the peasant
people of Europe. In the period of 1951 - 53 he had been at UNESCO which allowed him not only to associate with scholars from all over the world but also to take trips to Israel, India, and other countries. It was a kind of synthesizing of these experiences which allowed him again to see the relationship of Africa to the rest of the world and to draw an identification between problems of the people of Africa and those of the Negro in the United States.

It is for this broad view that his colleagues in the field of sociology have commended him and have come to understand what he was trying to do. In his presidential address to the American Sociological Society in 1948 he chose as the subject of his address, "Race Relations and the Social Structure." The theme of the address was that the problems of race relations in this country should be related to the problems of American society in general. It was only in that dimension that the problem of race relations in America could be understood.

I should like to close this out with just a few comments upon the significance of Professor Frazier's works as given by others. Those who were in the best position to know were his teachers. Professor Frazier would often talk about his teachers. One of the things he said often about Howard University was the fact that he received a good, fundamental education here. He did not study sociology as a student at Howard, but he received here the kind of background which every student of sociology should have. He studied the classics, philosophy, and mathematics. And when I say he studied these things, I mean in the true Frazier manner; he did more than pass the courses. He was always a very intense man who wanted to know more about the world. Harold Isaacs of Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies has said that Professor Frazier was the most intense seeker after truth of any man he knew. There was a kind of restlessness about him as he left Howard to do graduate study. But all the time he wandered as a young teacher, first at Tuskegee, then at St. Paul in Virginia, then at the Baltimore high school, he had his mind on higher goals. With a kind of vigor, both physical and intellectual, that he could bring to a task, he sought for himself opportunities for further study.
He was rewarded by a scholarship to Clark University at which was then assembled a group of scholars in the social sciences. Those in psychology will know G. Stanley Hall. But the man who introduced Frazier to sociology at Clark University was Professor Frank Hankins. It was Frank Hankins who persuaded Frazier that he could become a sociologist. In his remarks to the late Professor Odum of the University of North Carolina, Frazier said he didn't always agree with Hankins, but Hankins placed the social problems of the Negro on a large theoretical cast. This was an eye opener that permitted him to develop an insight into social problems in America, including the Negro problem.

After studying in Europe and at the New York School of Social Work, he eventually landed at Chicago, where he came under the influence of Robert Park, W. I. Thomas, and Ernest Burgess. He was indeed grateful to the University of Chicago which rescued him at a time when a great many people told him -- largely because he rebelled against segregation in the South and had to leave Atlanta -- that he would never again hold a job in a Negro school. It took a great deal of courage to continue the pursuit of an academic career. But courage was one of his virtues. What Professor Frazier did was to enter the University of Chicago and come under the influence of the distinguished teachers there. The thing for which he was always indebted to the University of Chicago is that when the people tried to dissuade the University from offering him scholarship aid because they regarded him as too non-conforming, the University indicated that its only interest was in whether he had any brains. And this is what he proved to have.

On the occasion of the Memorial Service we held for Professor Frazier, Professor Burgess wrote a very sensitive and telling letter to say that he was one of the finest graduates of the Department of Sociology and one of which that University was proud. He had this to say of Professor Frazier's doctoral dissertation, published in 1932 as *The Negro Family in Chicago*: "This was the first systematic sociological study of the Negro in an American city, utilizing most effectively ecological and case study methods of understanding the problems of the location, movement, and the pressures upon the Negro in the urban environment." Now this is high praise from a man whose judgment is valued highly.
This is the heritage Professor Frazier leaves us. I would only like to indicate in closing that every one of the subjects which we will be talking about in the Conference this week was a subject to which Frazier had given a great deal of thought and attention. It is for this reason, of course, that we have elected to place these subjects on the program. I should indicate also that his interest in the field of social welfare and his experience in this field led him to become the founder of the Atlanta School of Social Work and the Program in Social Work at Howard. Nothing was dearer to his heart than when he was studying the problems of urbanization in Negro life -- the problems which urbanization of the Negro produced. Those who read behind him will know that this is a subject to which he addressed much of his attention. This was the field in which he thought Howard University should do pioneering work. One of the sad things about his career is that he never saw completed what was really his profound hope -- that Howard University would become a center of urban studies with a focus upon the problems of Negro life.
URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO
Robert C. Weaver*

Americans, we all know, are an urbanized people, and every decade shows fewer of them in small towns and on farms and more of them in the cities. Up until fifty years ago, the Negro remained, for the most part, outside this process of urbanization. He was primarily an American peasant -- perhaps the only basically peasant component in the Nation. Whatever the other distortions of Negro life in those popular musical plays of thirty years ago, *Green Pastures* and *Porgy and Bess*, they did not err in portraying the Negro primarily as a Southern farmer and small-town dweller.

In the last fifty years, there has been an enormous change. Negroes have joined the march to the cities and have caught up with and surpassed even the white rate of urbanization. They have become mobile, but their mobility, as I will show, is still very different from that of other Americans: it, too, is a search for a better life, but it is still a search more confined and bounded, more subject to disaster and tragedy and uncertainty than other Americans find. Urbanization has set the stage for a new and better life for Negroes, and over a third have realized this in economic terms. But the development of a really viable life pattern in the cities remains largely unfinished business for the majority of Negro Americans.

By 1960, 69.5 per cent of the United States population was urban; among Negroes, 72.4 per cent were urban. But even these figures underestimate the urbanization of Negroes; for while almost all urban Negroes live in central cities, almost a quarter of urban whites live in "suburban" areas. The movement out of the South, to the Northern and Western cities, has been steady from 1910, when four-fifths of the non-whites lived in the South, to today, when less than half live in the South. Even in that region the majority of Negroes, today, live in cities.

*Administrator, United States Housing and Home Finance Agency
"The basic cause of the northward migration," as E. Franklin Frazier noted in his monumental study in 1949, "was undoubtedly economic." The great waves of migration have been stimulated by periods of economic growth, particularly the expansion of assembly line production during each of the two world wars and the decades immediately thereafter. Northern industries actually solicited the migration of Negroes during World War I. But even without solicitation, it has been the search for full-time employment and higher wages that brought the Negro migrant to the city from the Southern farm. Within the South, too, it is the search for jobs that has urbanized the Negro population.

These great waves of migration may now be tapering off. The period from 1955 to 1960 appears to have been one of lessening movement from the South to the North. From 1950 to 1955, three and four times as many non-white males between the ages of 25 and 34 migrated to Chicago and Detroit as entered in the next five years. Unemployment in these and other mass production cities of the North was clearly evident in the latter half of the fifties as automation grew more widespread.

On the other hand, there were increasing employment opportunities in many parts of the South where new industrial and commercial activities were located. During the last decade, in the South, the rural non-white population declined by 11 per cent, but the urban non-white population increased by 36 per cent. Thus, while the tide of migration to the North subsides with decreasing job opportunities in that region, there is a strong rural-to-urban migration movement within the South in response to job opportunities.

Viewed against the background of general population mobility in this country, the non-white rate of migration is not high. In the year beginning March 1960, while 3.4 per cent of the white population moved from one State to another, only 2.3 per cent of the non-white population made such a move. Non-white migration is more apparent to us and more striking because until recently it has been directed to only a few destinations, while white migration has been composed of many more currents and cross-currents.
There is another difference in the movements of whites and non-whites. Once the Negro arrives in the Northern and Western city, he moves around in the city more than the white does. In central cities of metropolitan areas, in 1960, 15 per cent of the white population moved from one house to another within the same county; but among the non-whites, 20.6 per cent moved to a different house in the same county. In Chicago and Los Angeles, more than one quarter of the non-whites move, in a single year, from one house to another; less than one-sixth of the whites do so. This shuffling of one quarter of the non-white population within some central cities represents, I fear, a desperate scramble for shelter among those who must play a game of musical chairs with a restricted supply of housing continuously affected by demolition, conversion and losses for other reasons. For some, however, it also reflects a movement into areas of improved housing, particularly during recent years as more normal rates of vacancies have developed.

Here I think we can differentiate between the long distance movements of the white and non-white population. To date non-white migration has been primarily a search for new and better jobs. Once the destination is reached, the non-white is apparently less likely to move again to another city or State than the white, as data on regional shifts seem to indicate. The migration of the white population, on the other hand, is more often represented by a move to a new place where a job has already been secured and residence is easily exchanged. The white residential mobility among all the regions of the country reflects the availability of jobs and housing in the whole wide reach of the American scene. The mobility of the Negro is still a steady move to urbanization, relatively unmitigated by cross currents between urban areas. The white mobility contains many moves between areas of persons already urbanized, and one may conjecture that many white families move from one suburb to another without ever touching the central cities.

What is the effect of these great movements of people between country, city, and suburb: For the white middle class, these migratory moves are probably beneficial. In addition to the economic gains, they probably contribute more to family stability than
they take away. This, at any rate, was the point of view of the participants in a conference on American middle-class migration conducted by the Brookings Institution a while ago.

Another point made at the conference is of particular interest to us. Two groups of long distance movers, it seems, have difficulty in a Chicago suburb -- New Yorkers, who were not accustomed to small town "mass participation in community problems," and Southerners, who missed the "easy sense of community they left behind at home."

But if migrant white middle-class families in Park Forest, Illinois, have these difficulties, how much more serious must be the difficulties of a lower-class Negro rural family? For after the "urbanization" that is recorded in statistics -- the simple move from country to city -- must come the social "urbanization," the change in life patterns, the development of skills, culture, and values inherent in an urban way of life. And when this has to take place under conditions of hostility, overcrowding, and poverty, the adverse effects of the migration often balance out, at least for a time, the beneficial.

Urbanization for American Negroes has meant, among other things, bringing willing but unskilled hands into the American cities. We have less need for unskilled workers today than ever before in our history, and our new technology eats up unskilled and semi-skilled jobs at a frightening rate. The first Manpower Report recently presented to Congress by the President sums up the resulting situation authoritatively:

In 1962 non-whites made up 11 per cent of the civilian labor force but 22 per cent of the unemployed. On the average there were 900,000 non-white workers without jobs during 1962, with an unemployment rate of 11 per cent, more than twice that for white workers. Among adult men the non-white workers' unemployment rate was two and one half times higher than that of the white . . .

In part, this is due to the heavy concentration of Negroes in occupations particularly susceptible to unemployment . . . Nevertheless, within each broad occupational group, unemployment is disproportionately high among non-white workers, partly because these workers tend to be near the bottom of the skill ladder for their occupational group.
Persisting discrimination in employment, in training, and in upgrading harass Negro Americans. We often hear that the situation is improving, and it is for the well-prepared colored American. The reverse is true for the untrained. And because of their magnitude, each ten years the Census records the fact that the gap in median earnings between whites and non-whites is wide and sometimes wider than before. The economic situation of the Negro in the United States, taken on the average, is not improving as rapidly as the situation of the white.

Averages, however, are misleading. They can be meaningless if there is high frequency at either extreme or at both. The latter is the case in this instance. Thus the median income figures actually represent remarkable economic progress of Negroes at higher income levels at the same time that there has been retrogression among low-income groups. In 1959, for example, there were some 1,160,000 non-white families earning $5,000 or more in the United States; 145,000 had incomes from $10,000 to $15,000; 28,000 had incomes from $15,000 to $25,000; and 6,000 earned $25,000 and over. It has been said that Negroes in the United States have a total annual income of 20 billion dollars. These, too, are consequences of urbanization.

At the other extreme, in 1959 some 1,200,000 non-white families earned under $2,000 a year, and another 1,400,000 earned between $2,000 and $4,000. The majority of these faced poverty and almost all had too little resources to sustain a decent standard of living. This latter status was almost universal among those families earning less than $4,000 and residing in urban areas, unless they were single-person families.

What is the future for these people? What are the lessons of the past?

It is a revealing experience to dip back into the literature of the early industrial revolution, when rural migrants were crowding the cities. They lived under conditions and with results very similar to those we find today. William Blake was not referring to our Harlems and our ghettos, when he wrote:

I wander thro' each charter'd street,
Near where the charter'd Thames does flow,
And mark in every face I meet
Marks of weakness, marks or woe.
Hogarth and Dickens painted a picture of urban misery and poverty, of social disorganiza-
tion and disease, which was greater than anything we have to face today. And in this
country, from the 1840's on, European immigrants were crowded into our cities and the
same frightful toll was taken in the disruption of families, in illegitimacy, in the deser-
tion of husbands, in disease and alcoholism and madness. We need only read the de-
scriptions of the urban ghettos by Jacob Riis and his contemporaries to discover that
some of our problems are not new.

When finally the Negroes began to move out of the social backwash of the South
and into the Northern cities, they became the latest in the sequence of people to under-
go urban misery, and Franklin Frazier became one of the chief scholars recording in
his important studies the impact of social change on the Negro.

Frazier and other commentators have devoted considerable attention to the
question of family stability, and indeed it is a key to better education and a sustained
desire for achievement. But family disorganization is not a recent or a racial phe-
nomenon; it is one of the most predictable consequences of rapid urbanization under
crowded and impoverished circumstances. Everything we see today in crowded Negro
urban settlements was noted by social workers in the crowded immigrant quarters of
our cities at the turn of the century -- whether these were Jewish, Italian, Polish, or
what have you. There was overcrowding; unrelated people living in the same house-
holds; poverty and discouragement; and the observable consequences. And we can go
further back, to 17th century England. The rate of illegitimacy then was so disturbing
that Sir William Petty, one of the fathers of political economy, proposed a system of
government maternity hospitals for pregnant unmarried women, and urged that the
illegitimate children born in them become wards of the state.

Today, the strains upon the non-white family continue to be aggravated by over-
crowding. Thus, in the metropolitan areas in 1960, 28.5 per cent of the non-white
households in rental units lived under crowded circumstances, compared to only 11.1
per cent of the whites. It is particularly significant that even at the income level of
$6,000 to $7,000 the crowding remains just as high, and the disadvantage, compared
to white households, as great.
But Frazier also pointed out that among the older urban Negro families, middle-class patterns were beginning to take hold. The Negro is emerging from "The Cities of Destruction," as Frazier called them, and the 1960 Census offers convincing evidence of this trend, as reflected, in part, by the income figures cited above. If we judge family stability by the presence of both husband and wife, we find that it declines with migration and increases with rising income. Among Southern rural non-whites, there is considerably more stability than in Northern cities, at every income level. And in both South and North, the stable families become more numerous as income rises.

In the Northeastern and Midwestern cities, we find very high percentages of households with female heads among the poor non-whites. Thus, if we take households with incomes under $3,000 and limit ourselves to families whose heads are in the 35 to 44 year age-bracket, we find over 50 per cent have female heads; for families with incomes between $3,000 and $4,000, the percentage drops, but is still over 20 per cent; for families with incomes between $4,000 and $5,000, the percentage drops further, to between 10 and 15 per cent.

Among Southern rural non-whites, in the poorest families with incomes under $3,000, the percentage of families with female heads is only 20 per cent; and it falls in higher brackets to about 5 per cent. Thus we may say that in Northern cities there is by one measure, approximately two-and-a-half times as much instability among nonwhite families as in Southern rural areas; and among the poorest families there is about four or five times as much instability as there is among those better off.

The 1960 census figures for the District of Columbia offer convincing proof that, as Frazier wrote, "As the Negro has acquired education and become integrated into the economic life of our cities, family life has become more stabilized." We find, indeed, that after achieving a relatively moderate income, $3,000 to $5,000 a year, the degree of family stability among Negroes in the District is as high as among whites, using our measure of proportion of husband-wife families.
The urbanization of the American population is an accomplished fact, yet our society still has a nostalgic longing for the rural life. The family farm and its supposedly happy, well-adjusted family are still an ideal, presented weekly to the American public in the form of "Lassie" and "The Real McCoys" and the like. Reacting to our urban ghettos, it is easy to assume that nothing in a rural background could have been as bad; that the urbanization of the Negro in America has separated him from a source of strength, stability and serenity. But it is important to view the relative merits of the urbanization of the Negro population, not because we can turn back the tide or change the fact, but because we can modify our attitude and that of society toward this development.

It is an uncontroverted fact that the rural population of the Nation is undereducated, underemployed and underpaid as compared with its urban counterpart. It is served with less adequate medical facilities and even in terms of minimal comfort it is poorly housed. If we look at education, for example, we find that the Northern urban non-white has on the average three-and-a-half more years of education than the Southern rural Negro. And in terms of income, the relative position of the urban Negro, either in comparison with his white prototype or Southern Negroes, is undeniably much superior.

Nor is this the only economic gain resulting from urbanization. The movement of Negroes to the North during World War I resulted in their entering American industry. True, this was concentrated in the heavy and dirty areas of production and in unskilled occupations, but it represented a great advance over the status as a peasant. The Great Depression, of course, wiped out much of the gains achieved during the war and post-war periods, but these were recouped and extended during the defense and World War II economic expansion. By the end of the second World War, Negroes had achieved a place in many light and clean industries, had become, in a significant measure, semi- and single-skilled workers, and were slowly moving into skilled jobs.
At the same time, the Negro became a functioning part of organized labor; and as of today, it is estimated that well over 1,500,000 Negroes belong to unions. Concurrently, Negroes are entering engineering, technical, and white-collar jobs at a continually increasing rate. Since they started from a low base in these higher occupations, their proportions in the totals are still small. But it must be noted that in many of the highly-trained occupations, there are more opportunities than qualified non-whites.

Under these circumstances, the transfer of disadvantaged Negroes to the areas where people have more advantages represents a gain. It brings the problems they face to light, forcing the attention of society to the contrasts they represent and causing acute discomfort. It is quite natural that society should choose to think that it is the transfer which creates the problems. It is important for us to remember, however, that the transfer merely exposes the problems to view.

Much the same can be said of the displacement of urban Negroes by renewal and highway construction. The impossibility of housing Negroes adequately within a segregated pattern in our cities is dramatically illustrated by these operations: it is not created by them. To the extent that we cannot hide from these transferred problems, we are now forced to consider what to do about them. Hence, from the general social view, the urbanization of the rural Southern Negroes has created a situation which has more potential for growth and improvement than their continued isolation from the mainstream of society.

But even for the Negro families themselves there are positive aspects of urbanization, despite the apparent misery of many in their initial situation. It is in the cities that the Negroes have learned the skills of the twentieth century and have achieved middle-class economic status, if not social acceptance. The substantially higher educational attainment of the Northern urban Negro over the Southern rural Negro can be partially explained in terms of the increased educational opportunities available to the children of migrants and the longer period of schooling of the second and third generation of Negroes. This, too, is a result of their living in an area where the quality of education is of a higher level. It is in the cities that the broadened employment and educational opportunities exist. And finally it is in the cities that the Negro population has been large enough to exercise a political influence.
The last may well be the most important of the benefits of urbanization. James Q. Wilson's penetrating analysis of the methods employed in various cities in coping with their new Negro voters makes it plain the "Negro politics" is just a subdivision of the political apparatus in each city. But the growth of Negro political power in the cities has been a recent thing; so new, in fact that Franklin Frazier's study, published in 1949, does not deal with it in detail. It is typical of his work, however, that what he said is still valid today:

Negroes have become a part of the political machines in northern cities and political appointments are made in order to insure the political support of Negroes in these cities. . . . Thus as the result of urbanization there has appeared a functional leadership among Negroes.

But in the 15 years since Frazier wrote, this has become a point of major significance. We see today the beginning of Negro political power even in the cities of the South. For in large Southern cities almost one-third of the voting age population was non-white in 1960. In some Northern cities the proportion is one-quarter.

It has been said that the most recent urbanization of Negroes has come too late to help them in terms of the need for labor, and the unemployment figures indicate that without drastic improvement in our economy and the upgrading of skills among non-whites this is true. But in the political arena the urbanization of the Negro is coming at a time when the redistribution of legislative power and the end of the county unit system enhances the power of the cities to determine their own fate.

The Negro is coming into his political maturity because of the migration to Northern cities. But it is not in all ways a propitious moment. The European migrant came to an expanding economy, and one which had need for the unskilled and the uneducated. The Negroes who have, with others, succeeded the European immigrants come today at a time when the economy is growing much more slowly, when many of the Eastern and Northern cities are adjusting to new labor requirements, and when unskilled hands are increasingly superfluous in America. Thus, for many non-white migrants urban living is fraught with economic and social problems.
Full employment would afford an economic base for real improvement. It, of course, would have to be buttressed by effective training programs, and the latter would be effective only if the newcomers are motivated to participate. Indeed, the two are interrelated, for motivation to participate in training finds its greatest impetus in new and better job opportunities.

Economic opportunity, advancement, and security are basic. With them, society and the resources of the Negro urban communities can and should initiate programs to deal with the problems of social disorganization which harass wide segments of our cities. Without urbanization, there would be different problems facing Negroes, but there would be less chance of meeting them effectively.

Certainly the rise and development of the Negro middle class -- not one of Frazier's favorites -- would never have occurred without urbanization. Nor would the progress non-whites have made in education occurred. It is doubtful, even, that E. Franklin Frazier would have become one of the Nation's outstanding sociologists unless Negroes had turned cityward.

Urbanization, today, as when Frazier first wrote about it, is neither the salvation nor the damnation of Negro Americans. It occasions many problems of adjustment and generates serious and baffling social difficulties for newcomers who are still permanent exceptions to the melting pot theory. But it is also the sine qua non of Negroes' participation in the mainstream of national life. If the color line is eradicated, that, as most progress in race relations, will occur in urban areas.

Meanwhile, we shall see class differences and conflicts among urban Negroes. There will be continuing social disorganization. Poverty will stalk a large segment of the colored community. But all of this will occur in the complex where decisions are made, where power resides, and where non-whites are becoming a part of the decision makers. Urbanization, with all its growing pains, offers Negroes a chance to change and improve their status in this Nation.
When we talk about the census we are talking about the count-taking of the American people. We are talking about our present 189 million persons, and we are speaking more specifically of the last full count of our people -- about the 180 million that we had in 1960. The American people are increasing rapidly. In the lobby of the Commerce Department Building downtown, many of you have seen the Census Clock which flashes on and off to indicate the changes of this American population. The changes are always up -- never down. Though in some parts of our country -- many rural areas and many central core cities, for example -- population declines, the total picture is one of continuous increase.

When we took the last count, 200,000 enumerators went from door to door, on April 1, 1960, there were in this country 19 million Negroes. There were another million and a half who are included in the census category of non-white persons -- some Orientals, some Indians, some Filipinos, and other non-white, non-Negro peoples. But the great mass of the non-white population in America is a Negro population. That population represents a little over 10% of the total population of the United States, but few of us recall that this share of the population which is Negro has been decreasing over the years of the history of the Republic -- decreasing at least until very recently.

At the time of the American Revolution the population of the United States, or what was to become the United States was about 20% Negro -- about twice the propor-
tion it is now. The Negro population in the colonies was about one in five as compared to the one in ten we counted in 1960. And though in recent years the share of our total American population which is Negro has increased slightly, it still comes nowhere near the 20% which it represented at the time of the American Revolution. This great decline in the Negro share of the American population in the years between the Revolution and 1940 was not primarily due to a low Negro birth rate or to a high Negro death rate. It was due primarily to the elimination of the slave trade and to the tremendous flowing in to the new Republic of great waves of white immigrants from Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and finally in the years just before World War I from central, southern and eastern Europe.

As a matter of fact in the years before the first World War, the last 10 or 15 years before 1914, the average immigration into the United States was in the neighborhood of 1 million people a year, almost all, of course, white. If that level of immigration were maintained today we would have some two million immigrants coming in to the United States each year; actually, of course, we have only a fraction of that figure. This great building up of the United States through immigration of the 19th century has been pretty well stopped. The slight percentage increase of Negro population in America in the past couple of decades has been largely due to the elimination of this heavy white immigration from western Europe.

The increase has also been due to a somewhat higher Negro birth rate in the United States and particularly to a rapidly lowering Negro death rate. By and large, the Negro population in America, certainly the Negro population of the South, has been at the bottom of the economic ladder; as such, it has been a population which has not had the advantages of the best medical care. This has revealed itself in a host of vital statistics dealing with infant mortality, life expectancy, disease and death rates in the United States. As the medical care of the Negro has improved over the years, the Negro survival rate -- the Negro surviving into adulthood -- has improved with it. The result has been that with a slightly higher birth rate than the white, the Negro population in America today and in the last couple of decades has moved slightly upward. It is still slightly rising and I suppose in 1970,
and 1980 and 1990, you would find the Negro population would be at 11% or perhaps 12%. There is no indication that the differential rates of increase of the white and Negro population in America will in the foreseeable future ever bring the percentage back to the 20% which was the figure at the time of the American Revolution.

Now besides the general factor of pure numbers, what can we say about the Negro population otherwise? First, it is a younger population than the white, less so than it was years ago, but younger still. We also know that the Negro population in America is a rapidly shifting population. At the time of the Civil War about 9 Negroes out of 10 lived in the South -- only 1 in 10 lived in the North where there were small minorities of Negroes in some of the Northern cities. There was little change in this figure in the years after the Civil War. Up until the first World War you still found about 9 out of 10 of America's Negroes living in the southern states, using for our definition of the South the old slave states, the Confederacy plus the non-seceding slave states of the border.

Now in World War I a migration of Negroes started out of the South into the great northern industrial cities. It was a migration both out of the cities of the South and off the farms of the South into the better paying, presumably freer atmosphere of the northern industrial society. This developed over the years until today about 40% of the Negro population lives in the North. And if one were to take as one's measure of the South, not the slave states of the pre-Civil War era but actually the states of the Old Confederacy, I suppose that today in 1963 one could say that the figures were pretty well fifty-fifty; half of the Negro population lives outside of the Old Confederacy, half of it lives inside the Old Confederacy. This has created, of course, a mass Negro population in virtually every great northern industrial center. By and large what it has done in the North is to create outside the South a Negro urban and -- to a considerable extent -- slum housed population. There are a few Negro farmers in the North, but they could be numbered figuratively on the fingers of one hand.

The Negro population outside of the South is basically an urban population, a big city population, a working class population; living down towards the bottom of the economic ladder. It is not only urban, it is a population which is central core city, though there are Negroes in suburban areas, some indeed here in the Washington Metropolitan area. In that Washington
Metropolitan area, the proportion of Negroes today is almost exactly what the proportion of the Negro population in Washington city was in 1850 - about one quarter; obviously the proportion of Negroes in the city of Washington proper today - over 50% - is measurably higher - doubled - from what it was at that time. As the white population has moved outward into the suburban areas, the old city of Washington, as in central Philadelphia, as in Chicago and as in New York, has become more and more Negro. To the point, of course, that here in Washington the Negro population inside the District of Columbia now constitutes an absolute majority.

Now this migration has come out of the South -- obviously it has had to come from where the Negro was. For the southern states as a whole the outward migration totaled 1-1/2 million Negroes during the 1950's. To put it more specifically if you take teenage Negro boys in Mississippi in 1950 add 10 years to their age and say how many Negro men are there between 20 and 30 in Mississippi in 1960 -- there are half as many. There are 1 out of 2 teenage Negro boys who disappeared from Mississippi and most of them went up the bus line and up the rail lines into the North. They went into the urban communities to join the industrial working class of that area. In the South, except for Florida, there has been an out migration of Negro population from every one of the states. And there are many, I suppose, who would maintain that Florida is rapidly becoming an unsouthern state and in these circumstances wouldn't be in this particular category. But elsewhere there is a migration out.

Now one must remember here this doesn't mean that the Negro population in the South is decreasing in absolute numbers -- it isn't, but it is declining proportionate to the white population. At the time of the Civil War there were two states in the Union which had an actual Negro majority -- Mississippi and South Carolina; in Louisiana the races were nearly equal. Now the Negro forms a minority in all those states, though a majority in the District of Columbia.

As the Negro has moved off the farm he has become, in the main, an industrial worker. By and large he becomes an industrial worker with a job somewhat less skilled, somewhat less well paid than that of white persons who operate in the same area. In the Census of 1960 of the 4 million men who were classified as being in the non-white civilian labor force, about 250 thousand were in the so-called technical or professional or managerial capacities. This isn't very many. The largest group of workers amongst men are those
classified as operatives, unskilled workers, and skilled workers and amongst women in domestic services.

All the way through we see that with the Negro population, whether North or South, just as with the white population, the education factor is the prime factor in producing job status and in producing income. In making the studies that we do in the Census Bureau on these relationships, one is again and again struck by the fact that education and income are almost completely interrelated. As a matter of fact if you look at the individual census tract-statistics of the great cities of America -- you will find that generally those areas that have the highest education have the highest income -- with one exception, that university areas have high education and low income. But whether this is due to the underpaid faculty or whether it is due to the fact that the student body has a high education and no earning capacity remains to be seen.

It is also incidentally interesting to examine these census tracts in detail -- these areas of 5 or 10 thousand people into which we subdivide the big metropolitan areas. If you spread out the maps of these 180 metropolitan areas -- you will find virtually no census tracts with a population over 2/3rds Negro and an average income of $10,000. There may be one or two -- not more.

As we look at this problem of the relationship between schooling and income and job status, it is interesting to note amongst Negro adults in their late 20's the figure for schooling runs around about 11 years, that is 3 years of high school. But if you take the older Negro population that figure will be reduced to around 8 years -- just a grammar school education for the older Negro population, like the older Oriental population, like the older population of any immigrant group. In many ways the Negro who moves North is an immigrant, just as the Kerryman, the Jew, the Pole, and the Swede were before him 100 or 50 years ago. The older group suffers the disabilities of the bad schools or of no schools at all. Their children suffer many less of these disabilities and we would hope that the children of these children will suffer even fewer.

In sum then as you look at the picture of the Negro population in America today, it
is a population that represents about 1 in 10 in the United States -- a share which for more
than a century was declining then plateaued for a generation, and has now been increasing
just a little bit in recent years. It is a population which still may show an increased per-
centage from decade to decade but will remain a minority and a relatively small minority
of the total American picture for many years to come. It is a population which is leaving
the South and coming into the North. It is a population which is rural and urban in the South,
almost entirely urban in the North. Possibly with the exception of the eastern European
Jew there has been no other population that has stayed so closely to the cities as has the
Negro in the North. The Irish, though one thinks of them as coming to Boston and the great
cities of the East, also came to the farms. The Scandinavian and the German also came to
the farms. This is not true of the Negro -- it was not true of the Jew. The result is with
the Northern Negro you deal almost entirely with a population which is urban, working class
and by and large working in measurable disabilities with its white competition. But it is a
population which most happily does not suffer from that great mythology of the "good old days"
because I doubt any Negro would say -- looking back on the "gay nineties" -- that life was
pretty good for the Negro -- that things were better then -- that the "good old days" were
the things they liked. This is nonsense. In the "gay nineties" there was a lynching three
times a week in America.

As you look at the cold statistics, as you measure the death rate, life expectancy
and education, as you apply the yardsticks of a census, you can find for the Negro tremendous
increases, tremendous improvements, tremendous potentials and tremendous challenges.
And out of the computers that grind away 24 hours a day in our Census Office in Suitland can
come I think a fever chart of our own social system which is a good chart -- not the best --
but good. It doesn't indicate health in its totality but it indicates improvement. And as we
look at these figures, and examine them and try to see what they mean -- they mean that the
bad old days are past, the newer present days are with us, and perhaps hopefully the good
new days are coming.
Introduction

"The United States is founded upon the principles of political democracy, which guarantee all of its citizens freedom, equality of opportunity, and equal protection of the law. Inherent in the very nature of democracy is the commitment to change -- to make progress toward these goals." ¹ This fundamental challenge, to move ahead toward equality of citizenship, was clearly and dramatically enunciated by President Abraham Lincoln on November 19, 1863. Standing amid the dead at Gettysburg "who here gave their lives that (this) nation might live," he said: "... we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether (this) nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure ... It is for us, the living, ... to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced."

On January 7, 1948, President Harry S. Truman in his message to Congress, echoed this challenge. He said, "If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy.

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"We know the way. We need only the will."

Now, again on the Centennial of Lincoln's classic challenge, peoples throughout the world, representing all political, economic, religious, and moral persuasions, (particularly Negro Americans), are demanding to know the answer to this question: To what extent has this nation "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," actually moved forward toward the achievement of equal citizenship for all?

In order to get the most reliable answer to this broad question, I divided it into ten subquestions and asked seventy-five (75) nationally-known civil rights leaders to give their opinions regarding them. Sixty (60) of these leaders found time to respond to all of the questions. This paper is a summary, analysis, and an interpretation of their expressed opinions.

Their answers are summarized under four general headings: Citizenship, Employment, Education, and an Evaluation of the Civil Rights Movement.

Citizenship

The citizenship status of Negroes was near zero before 1863. Almost 90 per cent of the approximately 4,500,000 Negroes were slaves who had been defined as chattel by the U. S. Supreme Court in the 1857 Dred Scott decision. Therefore, as would be expected, all civil rights leaders agree that Negroes have made significant citizenship gains since 1863, and even since 1950.

When asked to designate in what specific area of American society Negroes have made the greatest progress, the leaders differed widely. In all they named sixteen different areas in which they felt Negroes have made "the greatest" progress. Their differences regarding the area of greatest progress are due, no doubt, to a basic problem of evaluation analyzed by Rayford W. Logan. He says that when we attempt to determine the particular area of American life in which Negroes have made the greatest gains a major difficulty "arises from the sheer impossibility of giving due weight to various kinds of achievements. "Which has the greatest value," he asks, "an all-star baseball team that could include nine Negroes, or two circuit
court judges? Who can compute the positive value of Ralph J. Bunche and of James H. Meredith? Who could be so bold as to guess the beneficial effects of Baker v. Carr and of state reapportionment on the power structure . . . ?" However, despite the difficulty of assessing the relative weight or importance of specific social gains, 65 per cent of the leaders did name general citizenship gains as the most significant. Their answers related to three specific aspects of citizenship: protection of the law, political participation, and integration.

Protection of the law. A "spokesman" for the United States Commission on Civil Rights is of the opinion that the most significant progress Negroes have made is toward equal protection of the law. Toward "freedom from personal violence. Protection of legal rights."

A third of the civil rights leaders concurs with this statement. They too believe that Negroes receive much more reliable protection of the law today than at any other time. Some cited evidence to support this opinion. They called attention to the growing number of Negroes on police forces throughout the nation, especially in the deep south, and the increasing number and influence of Negro lawyers, and their acceptance by, what was once "lily white" courts, even in the most racially segregated southern cities. All cited the present federal judiciary as the most civil rights-conscious of any in our history.

Leaders usually measure the progress Negroes have made toward the achievement of equality before the law in terms of the relative incidents of lynching. Ginzburg observes that --

While lynchings have about reached the vanishing point in recent years, Tuskegee Institute records show 4,733 persons have died from mob action since 1882 . . . . The most for any year was 231 in 1892. From 1882 to 1901 lynchings averaged more than 150 a year.

2 Their total designations add up to more than 100 per cent because all named more than one area of achievement.

It should be noted, also, that among those lynched were at least 45 Negro females. Some of these were young girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age and a few women who were pregnant.

On this point Irwin Schulman writes -- "I have just received the latest Tuskegee report on race relations. It struck me that whereas the previous reports dealt pointedly with violence and lynching, the 1962 report has very little 'blood and guts,' and is more devoted to progress which the Negro is making in obtaining his civil rights."

Though it is true that lynchings by lawless mobs are no longer as widespread as they once were, yet several leaders did call attention to the fact that during recent years so called "justifiable" killings by lawmen, police brutality, and official negligence are intended to serve essentially the same function. That is, to intimidate Negroes to the point of preventing them from exercising their civil rights. Therefore, L.H. Foster reports that "In the Deep South, race relations continued (in 1962) uneasy because of the freedom apparently allowed white hoodlums to beat, to bomb, to burn, and to shoot in disrespect of human life and property... While there were some notable examples of constructive leadership, the timidity of many public officials in counteracting threats and actual acts of terror and their reluctance to take a positive stand for individual human and constitutional rights were grave indictments of the American democratic enterprise. ... After one-hundred years of Negro emancipation the answer (to the question of equal citizenship)is not yet clear."

In so far as protection of the law is concerned, race relations in 1963 promise to show little or no advancement over 1962. Already some deep south communities have added a new element of terror -- the vicious dog brigades attached to police departments. These dogs are apparently trained specifically to aid in the thwarting of Negroes who would demonstrate, in a nonviolent manner, their dissatisfaction with what they term "second class citizenship" status.


Thus while a third of the civil rights leaders are of the opinion that Negroes have made significant progress toward getting equal protection before the law, none believes that this goal is even near actual attainment. About half of them feel that inequality before the law is still one of this nation's major failures. Some single out this as the area in which Negroes have made "the least" progress since 1863, or even since 1950.

**Political participation.** On February 28, 1963 President John F. Kennedy delivered a Special Message on Civil Rights to the Congress of the United States. Among other things he pointed out that "the right to vote . . . is the most powerful and precious right in the world. . . . It is a potent key to achieving other rights. . . . The power of the ballot has enabled those who achieve it . . . to gain a full voice in the affairs of their State and Nation. . . ."

Over a third (35 per cent) of the leaders included in this study were impressed with the political progress Negroes have made in the United States. Leslie W. Dunbar, for instance, using 1863 and 1950 as base years, emphasizes the facts that "in 1863 Negroes possessed almost no offices or votes and today they have great influence in Presidential politics and in the electoral divisions of several states and a larger number of cities. . . . Ever since the Civil War Negroes have motivated politics North and South. In considerable measure, Negroes still influence politics as an issue. . . . For more than a century they have been one of the primary determinants of political decisions, but the great change is in having become active wielders of power."

Other leaders elaborated on the points made by Dunbar by calling attention to the "Black Codes" enacted by southern legislatures, and the ingeneous "White Primary," which were eminently successful in keeping Negroes politically powerless and even voiceless. Today, they say, this picture is changed. Approximately 25 per cent of southern Negroes of voting age are registered to vote and this proportion is increasing as a result of well-organized registration drives. Moreover, they note the increase in the number of Negroes already elected to political offices and express optimism over present trends in the direction of greater political influence.
Though acknowledging that Negroes have had some success in becoming a part of politics and government, especially since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944, 52 per cent of the leaders concur with Lester B. Granger that "Negroes have made the least progress (before and since 1950) in the area of political affairs. The vote is still withheld from, or achieved with difficulty by Negroes in that part of the country where they live in greatest numbers," and he warns that "... continued lagging in this area can conceivably operate to wipe out established gains in other areas -- or at least slow them down."

Herman Edelsberg would blame Negroes themselves, not white power figures and "Black Codes," for the Negroes' relatively unimpressive political gains. He says "Despite the great advance made by Negroes in politics the fact remains that politics is also the Negro's great failure. Here is a relatively quick and easy way to exert leverage on the total American scene. Yet so many Negroes are apathetic, and those who do vote, vote "economic" not "civil rights."

Sterling Tucker holds that "politics is the life line of a government. (Yet) despite a sprinkling of office holders, Negroes are still politically naive if not sound asleep.... Progress in this area has been pathetic -- mainly because the potential here is so great."

Despite the many barriers and problems Negroes encounter in attempts to achieve full participation in the political life of this nation, Clarence Mitchell is optimistic. He expresses faith in "The 1957 Federal Civil Rights Act. It is significant in the field of registration and voting. Already it has given a glimpse of the opportunities for full citizenship which will come from increased use of the ballot in the South. When the law is intensively and relentlessly applied, the desegregation process will extend to the city councils, the state legislatures and congressional delegations elected in the South."

We may conclude, then, that civil rights leaders agree that Negroes have made some important progress insofar as political participation is concerned. They are not, however, in agreement about the significance of the progress achieved. More than half of them insist that gains have been far too slow and too difficult to make. Further, some
fear that what gains are being made may be cancelled out by the ever-increasing size and influence of certain anti-Negro elements of the white electorate in some southern states.

**Integration.** J. Skelly Wright strongly believes that "Negroes have made most significant progress since 1863, (and since 1950) in becoming integrated into the mainstream of American life. This is not to say that discrimination has disappeared or is disappearing. It is merely to acknowledge a fact of history that the Negro, in the relatively short time of one hundred years, has demonstrated his ability to take his place with other races of the world whose claims to civilization run in the thousands of years. . . . It is important that this progress continue, not through hypocritical token integration, but through a recognition by all concerned that discrimination . . . should be entirely eradicated."

An impressive 90 per cent of the leaders responding to the questionnaire named at least one area of American life in which some significant degree of racial integration has been achieved. Benjamin Quarles, for instance, emphasized integration of our armed services as the most significant gain Negroes have made since 1863. Others cited integration in organized sports, higher education, public and parochial schools, transportation, hotels and eating places, labor unions, and in professional and business organizations.

The same leaders who cited various instances of desegregation or integration, especially since 1954, were also quite critical of the slowness so characteristic of the integration process. As a rule they expressed dissatisfaction with "gradualism" and feel, as one leader phrased it, that "it is our greatest national disgrace that Negroes are still being persecuted, brutalized, and even killed by both citizens and the police for exercising rights which were specifically granted to them by the Constitution of the United States (particularly the 14th and 15th Amendments), two federal civil rights acts (1875 and 1957); and numerous federal court decisions."

Stephen Wright pinpointed the essential range of differences civil rights leaders express concerning the extent to which segregation is giving way to integration in American Society.  

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He said that "The enemy (of the civil rights leaders and organizations) is, and will be for some years to come, segregation, discrimination, and the attitudes which give rise to these. . . . Martin Luther King . . . likes to say that discrimination in America is dead and the only thing we are waiting for is the funeral. This is a very interesting figure and a very telling one -- but it is not true. It is going to be a long time before discrimination in America is dead. . . . The job ahead is still long and hard. Discrimination will go only when the pressure is big enough and intelligently enough applied substantially to emasculate it."

We may conclude, on the basis of opinions expressed by civil rights leaders, that Negroes have, indeed, made considerable progress in the direction of equal citizenship status, yet the goal has not been attained. Roy Wilkins expresses impatience with the slow progress Negroes are making in their efforts to achieve equal citizenship status. He says that the status of Negroes in 1963 is about what it should have been in 1870.

Most of the leaders are convinced that the struggle ahead will continue to be fraught with all manner of legal, extra-legal and even illegal attempts on the part of segregationists to maintain a biracial society in which white people will be accorded superior status and privileges. Martin Luther King, Jr. phrased it this way: "We've come a long, long way. We still have a long, long way to go."

Employment

Elmo Roper says that "the increase in the opportunity for the Negro to work in any field for which he is fitted and to be paid as much as anyone else gets is probably the greatest advance the Negro has made since 1863."

G. W. Foster, Jr. tends to agree with Roper but he is of the opinion that the process of integrating Negroes into the mainstream of the economic life of this nation is "working primarily from the top down. . . . New jobs are also open to Negroes at the bottom of the pyramid too," he says, "but for motivations which have less to do with any commitment to equality. Rather to employers' readiness to have an unskilled task performed for the smallest wage possible." He feels that the demand for highly skilled and professional Negroes is greater than the supply.
Again, Lester B. Granger says, "There is little question that during the past fifteen years the most significant progress of Negroes has been in the matter of broadening employment opportunities."

The opinions expressed above are shared by only about ten per cent of the leaders responding. The vast majority were most critical of the economic gains Negroes have made, even since 1950. In general they rather concur with F.D. Patterson that "The least progress seems to have been made in terms of economic development in general, and particularly as this relates to high-level industrial employment and business ownership." Patterson also added that Negroes have lagged greatly "In becoming a substantial part of the American free enterprise system, in numbers and size of operation."

Several leaders who expressed dissatisfaction, even alarm, concerning the slowness with which Negroes are achieving economic progress, do acknowledge the importance of certain "break-throughs" in industry where a token number of Negroes have been appointed to "top level jobs," and express some optimism over the renewed efforts of the federal government to abolish job discrimination in its own ranks and in industries with which it does business.

Perhaps the best summary of the economic status of Negroes in 1963 is presented by Whitney Young. He declares that "From here on, our measuring rod will be progress not as determined by the previous conditions of Negro citizens, but progress in the degree to which we close the gap between the Negro and his fellow citizens." Accordingly, he says, "There has been very little progress in the last ten years. . . . The average Negro family income today is $3,233 -- 54 per cent or a little better than half of the white family income, which is $5,835. In 1952 it was 57 per cent." He goes on to point out that Negroes are by far the worse hit when it comes to the rate of unemployment. "There are today -- nationwide -- twice the proportion of Negro citizens unemployed as white citizens. In Detroit, for instance, 60 per cent of the unemployed are Negroes, although they represent only 22 per cent of the population." He cited other statistics: Only 20 per cent of the Negro work force in Chicago are white-collar and professional workers, compared with 60 per cent of the white work force. Also, 85 per cent of the total welfare clientele in Chicago are Negroes. This is one out of every four Negro families.
Therefore, after almost 100 years of de jure equality of citizenship, Daniel H. Pollitt observes that "Despite encouraging but isolated 'break-throughs' the Negro remains at the bottom of the economic pyramid. ... Moreover, his prospects are worsening, not getting better. ... 'Automation' and changes in working conditions have denied the Negro jobs which were once his exclusive province. ... Changes in social customs have also adversely hit the Negro." He calls this situation a "mass betrayal of the American Dream."

Education

Fully 60 per cent of the leaders agree with Benjamin E. Mays that Negroes have made significant progress in the improvement of their general level of education. This is so whether this progress is measured from 1863 or 1950. Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, for instance, is particularly impressed by the fact that the proportion of Negroes completing every level of schooling, from elementary grades through college and university training has increased steadily over the years. Regarding the approximately 100,000 Negro college students in the United States, he says: "Although I do not have the substantiating figures, it has been said that there are more Negroes in college in the United States than British in England."

The leaders named several dimensions of educational progress. Among them are: (1) the "tremendous" reduction in the rate of illiteracy. This, indeed, has been a major accomplishment. For example, in 1863 more than 90% illiterate as late as 1896 more than half (57%) of the Negro population ten years of age and over were illiterate. Today this rate has been reduced to ten per cent (10%) or less. (2) Slow, but definite, school desegregation. While only ten years ago every public school system in the deep South was segregated and most of the state institutions of higher learning barred Negro students, today every state but Alabama has had some degree of desegregation. (3) Harold C. Fleming and Edward F. Snyder are of the opinion that the improved educational standard among Negroes has been a key to progress in other areas of our national life. Fleming thinks that Negro progress is due in large measure to the preparation of leaders in various fields of our national life. He puts it this way: "The greatest achievements prior to World War Two were the development, against great odds, of the predominantly Negro colleges and universities. They developed an educated and able nucleus of leadership which would spearhead the struggle for equal treatment." (4) A fourth dimension of educational progress was discussed by Victor Reuther. He sees "The birth of the new emancipation. Negro Americans have cast off the burden of psychological
inferiority, the necessary precondition for ultimate reform. They will no longer tolerate second-class citizenship. Their efforts will not end until we are truly desegregated in every area of our national life."

Thus the majority of civil rights leaders are of the opinion that Negroes have made great progress in the field of education, and they are more or less optimistic about the key role education will continue to play in the true, or de facto, emancipation of Negroes. However, they tend to be critical about the slowness with which Negroes are given equal opportunities to prepare themselves. In one way or another their expressions echo J. Skelly Wright's contention that "tokenism" is "hypocritical" and unfair.

Finally, the overall citizenship status of Negroes was succinctly and dramatically summarized by President John F. Kennedy in his February 28, 1963 "Special Message on Civil Rights" to the Congress of the United States. He said: "The Negro baby born in America today -- regardless of the section or state in which he is born -- has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day -- one-third as much chance of completing college -- one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man -- twice as much chance of becoming unemployed -- about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 per year --a life expectancy which is seven years less -- and the prospects of earning only half as much."

The Civil Rights Movement

All leaders included in the sample for this study expressed opinions about the civil rights movement. Their opinions are summarized under four headings: Organizations which serve as the core of the movement; civil rights leaders; an evaluation of strategies and techniques employed; and goals ahead.

Civil Rights Organizations. There is almost unanimous agreement among civil rights leaders that the N.A.A.C.P., to use Edward F. Snyder's words, "stands head and shoulders above other organizations in the area of civil rights." Actually only two of the leaders failed to name the N.A.A.C.P. among the three organizations "that have been most effective" in the civil rights movement.
Victor G. Reuther apparently expressed the opinion of practically all civil rights leaders when he said "The N.A.A.C.P. was before 1950, and remains today, the most effective organization in the area of civil rights. It has steadfastly and unremittingly pursued the struggle for Negro equality in every national forum -- in courts, in the Congress, in political life, and at the lunch counters."

Though 90 per cent of the respondents feel that the N. A. A. C. P. has, over the years, been "the most effective" civil rights organization, and the Urban League historically ranking second in this respect, their opinions are much more divided in assessing the role of civil rights organizations presently active in this area. Though the N. A. A. C. P. still received 75 per cent of the first place nominations, The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) shared about equally the other 25 per cent of the first place nominations, and either one or the other was mentioned among the "top three" by 80 per cent of the respondents. Usually the Urban League was given third place rating in regard to present efforts to achieve civil rights. Harold C. Fleming observes that "after a period of decline the Urban League is showing renewed vigor."

Other organizations coming in for high praise by the respondents are the Southern Regional Council, "other action groups," and several organizations (Labor Unions, Friends, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and certain Foundations) that have strong programs to advance the status of Negroes.

According to the expressed and implied opinions of the respondents, five or six national organizations participating in the civil rights movement are performing key jobs in the advancement of the Negro's general citizenship status. There is, however, one recurring theme throughout the questionnaire material -- that is, these organizations must find some way to work more closely and cooperatively together in order to improve their individual effectiveness and the cause of civil rights specifically. Several leaders suggested that the most effective cooperation might be best worked out on the level of local communities where clearly defined problems exist. In such communities these national organizations might pool or coordinate their efforts so that they would not work at cross-purposes. In this way they might also discover what Lester B. Granger called "untapped and authentic leaders at the neighborhood and the community level." He says "This is long-overdue."
Civil Rights Leaders. The civil rights movement is led today by a relatively large number of persons who possess varied talents and excellent abilities. When asked to name three of the most influential among these leaders, the respondents named a total of 42 persons whom they believe to have made outstanding contributions to the civil rights movement since 1950. Furthermore they gave reasons for each of their nominations.

The following are ten leaders most frequently cited, the "stars" of the civil rights movements, and summary statements some respondent(s) gave of the key roles they have played in the Negro's struggle for equal citizenship status:

1. A. Philip Randolph, "the father of the protest movement."

2. Thurgood Marshall, "who more than any other man, has been the architect and strategist of the civil rights movement."

3. Roy Wilkins, "the best known administrator and spokesman for the organized civil rights forces."

4. The U. S. Supreme Court "in general, not simply Justice Warren."

5. "Leaders of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, who have kept the federal government involved in the civil rights movement."

6. President John F. Kennedy, Paul Rillin says, "Although I feel he has fallen short of our hopes and far short of his potential effectiveness, I reluctantly include him (as one of the most effective civil rights leaders) because he is in a position where a very modest effort can bring about major results. He has, thus, significantly changed the tune of government and the climate of national opinion."

7. Lester B. Granger -- "because of the powerful business and industry support he has quietly brought into the civil rights area. He has given broadened dimensions and depth to the movement for equality."

8. James Farmer, "who has inspired the youth of this nation through his courage and dedication to high American ideals."

9. Benjamin E. Mays, "who has added great dignity to the liberal movement in this Nation."

10. Martin Luther King, Jr. was mentioned among the three most significant civil rights leaders by all but three of the respondents. They gave many reasons for
their choice of him. Some, of course, offered certain criticisms, usually about his role as organizer, yet according to the near unanimous opinion of the respondents, King is "the symbol of non-violent direct action and, thus, of the many new types of tactics which have come to supplement the legal approach to change. It is in this role as prophet, philosopher, and inspiration that I cite him." Others credit him with giving "America and the world a new image of the Negro, and the Negro a new image of himself."

In presenting their reasons for selecting "the most influential" civil rights leaders, the respondents, incidentally, did more than spell out definite criteria and standards for the leadership role, -- but what is even more fundamental, they enunciated a definite ideology for the Negro leadership class. This ideology lays great stress upon the principle of equal citizenship status, (with all that the concept implies), for Negro Americans. The heroes of the civil rights movement, then, are precisely those individuals who are willing to sacrifice for the immediate integration of Negroes into the mainstream of American life.

Strategies and Techniques. There is ample evidence that the several organizations and leaders involved as the core of the civil rights movement are tending toward greater and more effective unity. For instance, in addition to the confidence expressed in continued litigation, fully 85 per cent of the leaders "endorsed," so to speak, the non-violent direct protest as a valuable strategy in getting things done in the field of race relations. Actually, only five of the respondents would agree with George S. Schuyler that "picketings and mass demonstrations by CORE and SCLC have hardened resistance and convinced few who needed to be convinced of the righteousness of the Negro's cause." However, some who endorsed the strategy of direct action did condemn some of the techniques used. For example, Dan W. Dodson is of the opinion that "the most ineffective strategies and techniques have been the education, preaching, praying, hoping and persuading. It is unrealistic to expect that those in power positions will give them up without resistance." L.H. Foster summarized most of the criticisms of techniques employed by the direct action leaders when he noted that "sporadic and unfocused efforts" are largely ineffective and may even be harmful to the cause of civil rights.
Some of the direct action techniques approved by at least a majority of the respondents are -- "selective buying," boycotts, sit-ins, and "mass demonstrations that call dramatic attention to undemocratic practices." The most approved and advocated direct action technique is, of course, political participation. The many endorsements of this by the sample of leaders are summarized by Harold C. Fleming. He says, "In addition to the strategies and techniques already being used, we badly need a new set directed toward making government responsive and accountable in the field of civil rights."

Goals Ahead. A.W. Dent writes: "I think Negroes have made the least progress in securing and using the right to vote. This is the area in which we need to exert highly accelerated effort . . . the faster we move in that direction the faster we will move in the improvement of our total civil rights." And J. Skelly Wright concludes: "Voting . . . is the most effective way to silence a racist politician. It is imperative that Negroes vote in large numbers so that their vote will be sought after rather than disdained."

The fact that practically all civil rights leaders emphatically concur that Negroes must become registered voters in large numbers seems to indicate the growing political consciousness and sophistication of those who lead in the Negro's struggle for equality. Also, there is some feeling that greater unity in the civil rights movement can best be achieved if all organizations and leaders, in addition to their specialized interests, join together in a massive effort to get all qualified Negroes included in the electorate.

C.C. Dejoie, Jr. feels that civil rights organizations should petition the President to get authority from Congress to issue a proclamation specifically conferring voting rights upon all loyal American Negroes who reside in the South.

J.A. Rogers believes that another important goal ahead for civil rights organizations is "The big task of changing the Negro's image of himself." He suggests that they should raise money to spread positive facts about Negro life and history. "In 1959," he writes, "full page ads appeared in some 30 leading dailies against civil rights. So likewise should Negroes in favor of citizenship equality. That is, start a national campaign of presenting the better side."
Horace Mann Bond is of the opinion that "Negroes should be compensated for effects of slavery. This could take the form of direct or indirect grants or subsidies. I believe we should press for Federal aid for the strengthening of schools for under-privileged children." He feels that special funds should be provided for the education of Negro youth including scholarships, and the like."

Several leaders suggested that in the future Negroes should set about strengthening their family life, reducing their crime and delinquency rate, and making special efforts to motivate a larger number of their youth to remain in school and prepare for wider professional and technical pursuits.

Finally, on the basis of opinions expressed by nationally recognized leaders, the civil rights movement today is well-led, increasing in strength and unity, and has the greatest chance for success it has ever had in achieving the goals of democracy suggested by President Lincoln one-hundred years ago -- 1863.
DELINQUENCY AMONG NEGRO YOUTH

Charles V. Willie*

In a book entitled Number the Language of Science, thoughtfully Tobias Dantzig has pointed out that comparison is the essence of science. While this is a discussion of delinquency among Negro youth, of necessity it should be a discussion of delinquency among white youth so that comparisons may be made.

In fiscal year 1962, 2,366 youth were referred to Juvenile Court in Washington, D. C. by the Youth Aid Division of the Metropolitan Police Department. Less than 12 percent of these youth were girls and less than 14 percent were white. Thus the court-referred juvenile population in this urban community is overwhelmingly male Negro youth. These are the facts of the matter.

* Research Director, Washington Action for Youth, now returned to Syracuse University. This paper was prepared in cooperation with Roy J. Jones, Anita Gershenovitz, Sulochana Glazer, and Myrna Levine, members of the Staff of the research section of Washington Action for Youth. Much of the data on juvenile delinquency by census tracts were made available by Hylan Lewis, Director of Child Rearing Project, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, now on the Howard University Staff.
The remaining portion of this discussion will be devoted to an explanation of these facts. This explanation will flow out of an objective analysis which has a two fold purpose: (1) that of interpreting the data and (2) that of suggesting clues for the prevention of delinquency.

Assumptions and Theory

We assume that there are no ontological differences between Negro and white youth. Thus, our search for explanation of the differences in the incidence of delinquency between these two populations will focus upon specific circumstances of life rather than specific characteristics of individuals. In addition, we assume that personal behavior is, in part, a response to stimuli of situations in which persons find themselves. To date, we have given much attention to the responding individual but little concern to the stimulating situation. In the long run, changing the situation may be more effective than controlling the individual.

There is increasing evidence of the critical importance of environmental situations and circumstances in juvenile delinquency. Albert Reiss, Jr. and Albert Rhodes, studying more than 9,000 white boys 12 years of age and over in Tennessee, discovered that residential areas are an "independent source of variation in the rate of delinquency . . ." 2 Although boys from lower status families have a greater tendency to become delinquent, Reiss and Rhodes found that "a low status boy in a predominantly high status area with a low rate of delinquency has almost no chance of being classified a juvenile court delinquent." 3

This evidence and the assumptions stated above have led us to seek out critical circumstances of life that differentiate Negro and white populations with the hope that these might explain the differential rate of juvenile delinquency.

Our search departs from the customary way of examining differences between white and nonwhite populations. Instead of assembling a variety of facts and attempting to extract meaning from them, we shall postulate two theoretical explanations of delinquency and analyze factors illustrative of these theories in Negro and white populations.

One leading theoretical explanation of antisocial and delinquent conduct of juvenile persons is that of deprivation. Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin are the chief exponents of this theory.
They state that delinquency is essentially a response to being deprived of either the means or the opportunity to attain the culturally valued symbols of success. In a society where certain core values of achievement and success are shared by all, Cloward and Ohlin believe that the probability of becoming delinquent is increased among those classes of youth, who coming from a milieu of deprivation, lack the means for achieving success. These deprived youth experience poverty and all that poverty means, including inadequate financial support, overcrowded homes and low educational attainment.

Failing for numerous reasons to attain the level of skills that provides entree to the occupational system, some youth find their life-chances greatly circumscribed. Other youth who have sufficient skills may be rejected because of race, religion or other factors which may be regarded as barriers.

Cloward and Ohlin offer a valuable theoretical explanation of delinquency which focuses on external forces, namely the opportunity system and life-chances that it affords. However, this theory is an incomplete explanation of delinquency. Some deprived neighborhoods have low juvenile delinquency rates. Therefore, additional theoretical explanations are necessary.

Eric Erickson's theory of alienation seems worthy of analysis as a second and supplementary explanation of juvenile delinquency. While alienation may be associated with deprivation, the rejection of one class of persons by another is a possibility not restricted to any economic category. Erickson states that the adolescent stage of life is a period when youth are unsure of themselves. Their insecurity is aggravated by an adult society which ignores or is indifferent to their presence and is intolerant of their participation. Alienated youth often fail to internalize the goals and values of adult society because they are cut off from adult assistance in socialization. The rejection of youth by parents, often found in disintegrated families, is one example of alienation. At the community level, racial discrimination results in another kind of alienation.

It should go without saying that the alienation theory of delinquency also provides an incomplete explanation. Not all youth who experience family disintegration and racial discrimination are delinquent.
The task of this analysis, therefore, is to determine variations in the extent to which deprivation and alienation are experienced by Negro and white youth and to assess the separate and joint contribution, if any, of these two phenomena to juvenile delinquency.

Data and Method

A brief discussion of the method of analysis is given. This is basically an ecological study of the distribution of juvenile delinquency by residential neighborhoods. Census tracts are the basic geographic units of analysis. There are 125 census tracts in the District of Columbia, 115 of which were used in this analysis. Ten were eliminated from the study either because of small or special populations.

Variations in deprivation by neighborhood were determined by computing a composite socio-economic status score for each census tract. The composite score consisted of five highly correlated socio-economic factors, indicating occupational and educational characteristics of the population and housing characteristics of the environment. Census tracts with similar socio-economic status scores were classified as a single socio-economic area. Five socio-economic areas were identified ranging from Area I with high proportions of expensive homes, luxury apartments and dwelling units in good repair, to Area V with high proportions of low-priced homes, shabby apartments and dilapidated dwellings. Area I, the highest socio-economic area, also has a large number of college graduates and white-collar workers in its population, contrasting with Area V, the lowest, which has many persons without high school diplomas and a majority of semi-skilled and unskilled among its workmen. In general, Areas I, II, and III are above average and IV and V are below average in socio-economic status.

In terms of neighborhood, Areas I and II are generally west of Rock Creek Park and extend out Sixteenth Street toward the Northwest Sector boundary of the District including such neighborhoods as Takoma, Michigan Park and the Neighbors Incorporated Community, while Areas IV and V extend, in general, across the Second Precinct out East Capitol Street and Benning Road in the Northeast Sector and behind Capitol Hill in the Southeast. Area III may be classified as an interstitial area serving as a buffer between the neighborhoods of high and low socio-economic status.
The basic population for this analysis consisted of the 6,269 juveniles referred to Juvenile Court in Washington, D.C. during a 33-month period from July 1959 through March 1962. Although Juvenile Court has jurisdiction over youngsters 7 to 17 years of age, most offenses are committed by juveniles 10 to 17. This age range is used for computing rates and the number of youth 10 to 17 years of age in 1960 (inflated to correspond with the 33-month period over which delinquency cases were collected) is the base population. In fact, all descriptive data of racial characteristics of the population and socioeconomic and family circumstances of life were derived from the 1960 Census.

Findings

Our first task is to see if the theory of deprivation accounts for differences in juvenile delinquency among white and Negro populations.

We correlated juvenile delinquency rates and socio-economic status scores for the 115 census tracts in the city used in this study and obtained a correlation coefficient of -.65, indicating that 43 percent of the variation in delinquency by neighborhoods may be attributed to socio-economic circumstances of life of the population; as socio-economic status decreases, juvenile delinquency tends to increase.

Next we looked at delinquency rates in the five socio-economic areas and found a continuous increase from a rate of 4.3 in Area I, highest in socio-economic status, to a rate of 63.6 in Area V, lowest in socio-economic status. The juvenile delinquency rate in the lowest socio-economic area is 15 times greater than the rate in the highest socio-economic area. In a few census tracts in the poorest socio-economic area at least 100 out of every 1,000 youth between the ages of 10 and 17 years are referred to Juvenile Court each year. This experience may be contrasted with most neighborhoods in the highest socio-economic area where less than 5 out of every 1,000 youth are referred to court during the course of a year.

The association between juvenile delinquency and deprivation is most clearly seen when the analysis is limited to the two below average socio-economic areas, IV and V. In these two areas are found one-third of the land area in Washington, one-half of the
children 10 to 17 years of age, and more than two-thirds of the juvenile delinquents. These are the same areas in which at least half of the households have an income of less than $4,000; more than one out of every 10 adults is a functional illiterate completing less than five years of school; and a majority of the employed are semiskilled or unskilled workmen. It is clear that these below average socio-economic areas are contributing far more juvenile delinquency than they should were there no association between juvenile delinquency and socio-economic status.

Our next problem was to determine the association, if any, between socio-economic deprivation and residential location of white and nonwhite racial populations. A definite association is revealed in our analysis of the proportion of white and nonwhite persons in each of the five socio-economic areas. Sixty-eight percent of the nonwhite population lives in the below average socio-economic areas, IV and V, while 64 percent of the white population lives in the above average areas, I and II. Less than two percent of the nonwhite population is housed in neighborhoods of the highest socio-economic status and less than two percent of the white population lives in neighborhoods of the lowest socio-economic status.

These findings would lead us to believe that any correlation between race and delinquency is spurious. Such a correlation is simply another expression of the demonstrated association between delinquency and socio-economic status. As additional evidence, we computed a partial correlation coefficient in which the association between two variables is measured while the influence of a third variable is held constant. We found the association between juvenile delinquency and race tended to disappear when the effects of socio-economic status are held constant. Specifically, the correlation coefficient between these two variables is .13 when we control for the influence of socio-economic status; this correlation coefficient, of course, is not significantly different from zero, indicating no correlation. This finding means there is no association between juvenile delinquency and race that cannot be accounted for by the differential socio-economic circumstances of life experienced by white and Negro populations.

We turn next to discussion of alienation and the extent to which this phenomenon does or does not account for differences in delinquency among white and Negro populations.
Our studies reveal that Washington is still highly segregated into racial residential areas. Only about one-fifth of the land area in Washington, D.C. consists of residential neighborhoods in which white and nonwhite populations are mixed. The remaining 80 percent is segregated with the white area consisting of 45 percent of the land area and the nonwhite area, mostly Negro, consisting of 35 percent of the land area.

Residential segregation by race exists because of racial discrimination. The rejection of one race by another is a form of alienation from the community at large.

Is there a difference in the distribution of delinquency in white and in nonwhite areas that may be attributed to the alienation illustrated by racial segregation?

According to our data the answer is maybe. The juvenile delinquency rate for the total city is 29.2 per 1,000 youth 10 to 17 years of age. Variation around this average ranges from a rate of 13.2 in the white area to a rate of 37 in the Negro area. It is clearly indicated that the delinquency rate in the Negro area is almost three times greater than the delinquency rate in the white area. In the light of our findings regarding the disadvantaged economic circumstances of the Negro population in comparison with the white population, we are constrained to believe that the difference in delinquency between the white and nonwhite populations is a function of deprivation due to race rather than alienation due to race.

This conclusion is tentative. It should be checked out with a more controlled analysis of the delinquency rate in white and nonwhite populations of equal socio-economic status. The white and nonwhite neighborhoods in the above average socio-economic area, II, and in the below average socio-economic area, IV, are compared in the following analysis. There is no difference in the incidence of delinquency in white and nonwhite neighborhoods of equal socio-economic status in the higher socio-economic areas. In neighborhoods of both racial groups, in Area II, about 16 youths out of every 1,000 are Juvenile Court-referred delinquents each year. This is a relatively low rate in comparison with the total city. As we descend in the hierarchy of socio-economic status, however, differences between white and nonwhite populations of equal status begin to appear. In Area IV,
which is below average in status, the juvenile delinquency rate of 34 in the nonwhite neighborhood is 13 points greater than the rate of 21 in the white neighborhood of the same area.

While both white and nonwhite populations in Area IV experience deprivation, apparently the phenomenon of alienation is experienced at this level more pointedly by the nonwhite population.

Again, controlling for socio-economic status, the white and nonwhite populations in Area IV were compared in terms of the proportion of children not living with both parents. This factor was brought into the analysis as an example of alienation.

There is considerable difference in the distribution of this variable in white and nonwhite populations. Nearly 25 percent of the children in the white neighborhood of Area IV as compared with 35 percent of the children in the nonwhite neighborhood are growing up in families in which both parents are not present in the household. Because we controlled for socio-economic status, it would appear that alienation, particularly the separation of children from at least one parent, is an independent contributor to juvenile delinquency.

To obtain further evidence for this tentative conclusion, we correlated juvenile delinquency rates with the percent of children in broken families and obtained a correlation coefficient of .64 which is similar in magnitude to the correlation coefficient of -.65 obtained between juvenile delinquency and socio-economic status. This figure indicates that the association is so great that about 40 percent of the variance in the geographic distribution of delinquency within the city may be attributed to the presence of broken families.

Again we computed a partial correlation coefficient to determine if there were an association between race and juvenile delinquency when the effects of a third factor, like family instability, was held constant. The partial correlation coefficient is so small that it is not significant. Again, the apparent association between race and delinquency is spurious; it is accounted for by the higher proportion of broken families among non-whites.
Although family instability (which is a form of alienation) and low economic status (which is a form of deprivation) have independent associations with delinquency, they also have a joint effect. Juvenile delinquency rates were found to be the same in neighborhoods where both white and nonwhite populations experienced the joint effect of both great economic deprivation and much alienation represented by low income status and high proportion of broken families. In neighborhoods in which at least half of the households had incomes of less than $4,000 and in which more than 3 out of every 10 children were in broken families, the juvenile delinquency rates of 42 and 44 for white and nonwhite populations, respectively were similar. A multiple correlation coefficient indicated that 50 percent of the variance in the geographic distribution of juvenile delinquency in Washington may be attributed to the joint effects of low economic status and family instability.

It would appear, then, that the juvenile delinquency rate in the total Negro population is higher than the rate in the total white population because a higher proportion of Negro persons live under unfavorable circumstances. Sixty percent of the nonwhite youth 10 to 19 years of age, but only 10 percent of the white youth, live under conditions of both extreme deprivation and alienation. Thus, a higher proportion of Negro youth live in neighborhoods and under conditions that predispose them to delinquency.

Summary and Conclusion

In summary, the main findings of this study show that:

1. Socio-economic status is related to juvenile delinquency -- the lower the socio-economic status level of a neighborhood, the higher the juvenile delinquency rate;
2. Family instability is related to juvenile delinquency -- the higher the proportion of broken families in a neighborhood, the greater the juvenile delinquency rate;
3. Half or more of the variance in the distribution of delinquency rates by neighborhoods may be attributed to the multiple effects of poverty and family disorganization;
4. No association exists between race and juvenile delinquency that is not accounted for by differences in socio-economic and family status exhibited by white and non-white populations.

Therefore, we are led to the conclusion that the difference in juvenile delinquency rates in white and nonwhite populations would disappear were the circumstances of life similar for white and nonwhite persons.
Returning to our original assumption that no ontological differences exist between the races of mankind, we predict that delinquency among Negro youth would be reduced considerably if 80 percent of their families, like 80 percent of the white households in Washington, lived in neighborhoods of average and above average socio-economic status. We further predict that delinquency among Negro youth in Washington would be reduced considerably if 80 percent of the Negro youth, like 80 percent of the white youth, could grow up in two-parent families.

The elimination of poverty in an affluent society should not be an overwhelming task. We must develop new and better programs designed specifically to help the poor. We must change public policies and revise administrative procedures so that family members are pulled together and not pushed apart. We must reorient and extend our family services so that they are used more by families which are disadvantaged the most.

The conditions of alienation and deprivation as defined in this study need closer scrutiny. The variables selected for analysis are not exhaustive of all dimensions of these concepts. Moreover, there are certain limitations imposed by the data and the ecological method of analysis. Nevertheless, these findings have indicated some specific conditions which merit special consideration. Our programs must address themselves to these problems if we care to control and prevent delinquency.

References

3. Ibid., p. 729.
Specifically, the variables were (1) percent of sound dwelling units, (2) median value of owned homes, (3) median gross monthly rental, (4) median school year completed of adult population over 25 years, (5) and percent of operatives, service workers and laborers combined. The latter variable was inverted so that it would vary directly with the other four. All variables were converted into standard scores and consolidated by simple average into the composite socio-economic status index. A frequency distribution was made of census tracts by socio-economic status scores.

If 66 percent or more of the population in a census tract were white, the census tract was identified as part of the white area; if 66 percent of the population were nonwhite, the census tract was classified as part of the nonwhite area; mixed tracts had more than one-third, but less than two-thirds of any single racial population.

Because information was unavailable on the residential distribution of delinquency by race, we assumed that most delinquents residing in the white area are white and that most delinquents residing in the nonwhite area are nonwhite.
Among scholars it is the usually accepted view that the Negro intellectuals were generally opposed to Booker T. Washington. Certainly it is true that the members of the Niagara Movement, the NAACP and other protest organizations of the period belonged to this group. Yet careful analysis of the point of view of the intellectuals -- or those whom W. E. B. DuBois described as the "Talented Tenth" -- reveals that the situation was far more complicated than historians have heretofore believed.

In employing the concept "intellectual" -- a category difficult to define precisely -- I follow the usage of the sociologist Wilson Record, the leading writer on the subject of the role of Negro intellectuals. He defines intellectuals as "those persons who by temperament, and usually by profession, are concerned primarily with ideas. Corollary with this preoccupation with ideas is specialization in the use of words and symbols and high achievement in the arts of communication." Though I disagree with Record's conclusions as to the role of Negro intellectuals during the period of Washington's ascendancy -- for he repeats the standard interpretation -- I employ his definition, so that at least there can be no disagreement about the conceptual framework.

Most of the intellectuals were college educated individuals who were to be found in the ranks of the professions, and we shall therefore be concerned with the views of editors, educators, ministers and lawyers. Actually the number of professional people was extremely small. In 1900 they numbered something over eighty thousand or about 1.2% of the gainfully employed population. Although their numbers more than doubled

Documentation of the facts cited in this paper, and further empirical evidence supporting the generalizations made in the second portion of it, may be found in my book, Negro Thought in America; 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, (University of Michigan Press, 1963), especially chapter xii.

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during the next decade, only 2.5% of employed Southern Negroes and 3% among Northern Negroes were in the professions in 1910, and this number included many ministers and teachers who lacked a college, or even a high school education. Yet as DuBois emphasized, this tiny group played a crucial leadership role. Though strictly speaking DuBois stressed the idea of a college educated elite. In keeping with Record's definition of the term intellectual, I have included in my survey certain important figures who were not college graduates. DuBois himself certainly regarded men like Frederick Douglass and H. C. Smith, the radical anti-Bookerite editor of the Cleveland Gazette, as members of the talented tenth, even though neither went to college.

Before discussing the views of the intellectuals it will be worth our while to summarize briefly Booker T. Washington's own accommodating ideology. The Tuskegeeans minimized the extent of race prejudice and discrimination, criticized the airing of Negro grievances, opposed social equality, accepted segregation and the separate but equal doctrine, depreciated political activity, and favored property and educational qualifications for the franchise. He largely blamed Negroes themselves for their unfortunate condition, and counselled self-help, racial solidarity, economic accumulation and the cultivation of Christian character as the best ways to advance the status of Negroes in American society. Though Washington secretly was deeply involved in politics, and secretly abetted the legal attack on segregation and disfranchisement, his ultimate ends were stated so vaguely and ambiguously that American whites mistook his short-range objectives for his long-range goals. His Negro supporters understood that through tact and indirection he hoped to secure the good will of the white man and the eventual recognition of the constitutional rights of the American Negro. In the terminology of the day Washington and the supporters of his ideology were known as Conservatives; his critics were known as Radicals.

The nature of the available data makes it impossible to present a valid statistical picture of the views of the Negro intelligentsia. A survey of the extant pamphlets, books and newspapers, however, does leave the investigator with certain fairly definite conclusions. Consequently what I shall first cite is four individual case studies as illustrative of the tendencies of the period. I shall then make certain generalizations concerning the social viewpoint of leaders in the four most articulate elite groups -- the editors, ministers,
educators and lawyers. Since I am speaking in Washington, D.C., I am going to draw my four case studies from this city -- one from each of the professions just named. They are W. Calvin Chase, editor of the Washington Bee; Kelly Miller, dean at Howard University; Robert H. Terrell, judge of municipal court; and Rev. Francis J. Grimke, pastor of the fashionable Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church.

Chase, though of limited educational background, had been the brilliant editor of the Bee since the early 1880's. He had been known as a militant champion of the cause of Negro rights, though like Washington he had always insisted upon the importance of Negroes supporting Negro business and helping themselves. After the Atlanta Exposition Address of 1895, which catapulted Washington into national prominence, the Bee declared that "Prof. Washington's speech suited the white prejudiced element of the country." From then on the Bee venomously attacked the Tuskegeean and all his works. In an attempt to offset Chase's influence, Washington heavily subsidized E. E. Cooper's rival Washington Colored American, until that journal's failure in 1904. By 1906, however, Chase, after a period of silence, came out in support of the Tuskegeean. The Bee justified its switch by saying that Washington's recent speeches had indicated an interest in the franchise and higher education. Actually, however, Calvin Chase's new revelation derived from his financial plight, and Washington's rather generous financial assistance. Chase was highly appreciative of Washington's aid and once wrote him, "You know that I stand ready to do whatever you command." Consequently, the Bee, though retaining its radical editorial policy, was now lyrical in its praise of Washington. As Chase said in 1908, "Prof. Washington is right -- Politics, that was once the direct object of Negro citizenship is today only an incident to his citizenship." As late as 1914 Chase charged that the NAACP was dominated by "mis-guided zealots and selfish camp followers," who thought that the only way to advance the Association's principles was to "indulge in windy and daily criticism of Dr. Washington." But during 1915 Chase stopped mentioning the Tuskegeean, and after the latter's death said that his program had helped deprive Negroes of their citizenship rights, and that Washington had actually subordinated the interests of the race for his own personal advancement.

Of the group of liberally educated individuals who were at one time or another favorable to Washington few were as influential as the prolific and perceptive essayist, Kelly
Miller. At first Miller was critical of Washington, particularly of his views on higher education. Yet discouraging conditions at the turn of the century (the culmination of disfranchisement laws, segregation laws, and a rising crescendo of mob violence), led Miller to feel that a program of self-help, racial solidarity, limited political activity, economic and moral virtues, and both industrial and higher education would be thoroughly realistic, whereas an appeal to the moral sense of the nation would avail little. In fact the utter helplessness of the Negro dictated, he said, a program of "political self-effacement."

As he told a hostile audience at the Bethel Literary Society of the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in 1899, the Negro was "a sheep among wolves," who would have to compromise and accept the best terms he could get. In general from 1899 to 1902 Miller hewed fairly closely to the Tuskegee line except that he never quite saw eye to eye with Tuskegee on educational matters. Consistently, throughout the period of Washington's ascendancy, Miller insisted upon the importance of both higher and industrial education. The Negro, he said, needed to begin at the bottom as well as at the top -- he needed training in economic tasks and also a liberally educated leadership. "Each is," he was fond of saying, "efficient; neither is sufficient." Thus, combining the arguments of Washington with the talented tenth theme of DuBois, Miller essayed a compromise of synthesis.

By 1902 Miller was not overly enthusiastic about Washington. Though he thought him, after Douglass the most distinguished member of the race, he nevertheless found his stand too wavering for effective leadership. On the other hand the Boston Radicals were displeased with what they regarded as Miller's inconsistency in according importance to Washington while defending higher education. Similar detachment from both sides was evident in the most celebrated of Miller's essays which appeared anonymously in the Boston Transcript in September, 1903. Miller pointed out that the Radicals and Conservative differed not on ends but on means. He called DuBois "not an agitator, nor a carping critic, but a scholar, a painstaking, accurate investigator, and a fearless advocate for the higher aspirations of his race." Washington he described as a first rate diplomat, who did not expressly avow yet would "not disclaim, in distinct terms, a single plank in the platform of Douglass." True, conditions were growing worse since Washington had become prominent, but his policy would help to mitigate the severity of the blow. Yet Washington, he pointed out, did not command an enthusiastic following. Much of his support among Negroes
was due to the high regard which whites had for him and to his political power. Most thoughtful men, Miller asserted, ranged between the disparate views of Washington and his critics, believing that both had their place.

From then on, during the height of the ideologic struggle and the rise and decline of the Niagara Movement (1905-1909), Miller clearly occupied a position in the middle of the road. Though he and DuBois had been close friends, the two men now drifted apart. Yet Miller still criticized Washington at times. Once, for example, he spoke against the latter's "overcautiousness of utterance touching the higher aims of the race," and on another occasion he criticized President Roosevelt for making Washington the referee of Negro appointments. More pleasing to Tuskegee must have been Miller's revision of his Boston Transcript articles for his volume, Race Adjustment, in 1909, for it concluded with a panegyric on Washington and had new and unfavorable descriptions of his opponents. Miller dismissed the Niagara platform as "nothing new," and DuBois was now pictured as a frenzied dreamer who had unfortunately turned from scholarship, for which he was fitted, to agitation, for which he was not.

Basically, Miller's role was that of the pragmatic harmonizer. "Come, let us reason together," he pleaded in an article in January, 1906. Since neither side had been able to bring about the desired results, the ideal approach comprised all movements for the elevation of the race. He later recalled that in these years he was roundly attacked by both sides as a straddler. He recollected himself as an independent rather than an uncritical follower of Washington, not motivated by desire for personal gain. Critics on the left, however, did not believe his stand entirely disinterested. In a thinly veiled reference to the fact that Washington's appointment to the Howard University Trustee Board preceded by a few months Miller's appointment as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, the Horizon magazine (the unofficial organ of the Niagara Movement), concluded that Professor Miller had "found his 'place' and will nestle down into it when school opens in the fall."

By 1910 Miller was veering to the left. He addressed the conference that formally established the NAACP in that year, and a few months later Washington's trusted Lieuten-
ant, Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue in New York, listed Miller as among those of Washington's friends who he found wanting "to sit on both sides of the fence and in the middle too." From then on Miller asserted more openly than previously the Negro demands for attainment of full citizenship rights, but he maintained a cordial working relationship with Washington until the latter's death in 1915.

In almost every respect Robert H. and Mary Church Terrell epitomized DuBois' concept of talented tenth leadership. Mr. Terrell was the first Negro to graduate cum laude from Harvard College. While teaching classics in Washington he obtained a law degree from Howard University, participated in movements for political and civil rights. He encouraged the development of Negro business enterprise, serving as secretary of the ill-fated Capital Savings Bank (one of the first two privately owned Negro banks in the country). His wife, daughter of a wealthy Memphis real estate dealer, had been educated at Oberlin, and subsequently became the first president of the National Association of Colored Women and served for a dozen years as a member of the Washington Board of Education. In 1901, at the suggestion of his closest friend in the nation's capital, Washington secured the appointment of Terrell, then principal of the M Street High School, as a magistrate in the District of Columbia. From then on Terrell was a member of the Tuskegee Circle; and the lobbying of Washington's opponents proved to be his chief hurdle in securing reappointments to his office.

Nevertheless both Terrell and his wife flirted with "the opposition," as Washington referred to his critics. The Judge tailored his addresses to suit his audiences. He could either protest vigorously against discrimination and stress the role of the talented tenth and the importance of higher education, or he could enthusiastically endorse the economic formulas of Washington's National Negro Business League. Similarly he tailored his activities in regard to Washington to fit the occasion. By the summer of 1905 Washington felt that Terrell was not behaving as a "supposed friend" should. Soon the exasperating inconsistency of his wife's speeches was arousing Tuskegee ire. On February 19, 1906, Washington wrote Terrell that while he liked her conservative speech at Charlotte, he found it curious that his friends made radical speeches in the North and conservative speeches in the South. In the fall of 1906 Mrs. Terrell was working hand in glove with
Washington to prevent DuBois from securing an appointment as assistant superintendent of schools in the nation's capital -- a post awarded to a Tuskegee supporter, Roscoe Conklin Bruce. But the fat was in the fire when she took up the cause of the Brownsville soldiers -- a Negro regiment whom President Roosevelt had discharged dishonorably on unproved charges of rioting in Brownsville, Texas. Toward the end of 1906, she even impliedly criticized the Tuskegee man by an attack on the race leadership that told dialect stories, counselled an inferior sort of education and advised accommodation to other discrimination. She was reported as saying privately that this speech was intended to "un-shirt" Washington. When Terrell himself was reported shocked at Washington's action toward the defenders of the discharged soldiers, Collector Anderson thought "Judge Terrell had better take a stitch in his tongue." He accused the Judge of posing as a Tuskegee man when Washington was around, and yet managing to support all of Washington's enemies.

Mrs. Terrell further offended Tuskegee by a speech before the American Missionary Association in 1907 in which she caustically criticized the South. R.W. Tyler, fourth auditor of the Treasury, expressed the agitation of the Tuskegee group when he declared that "someone ought to muzzle Mary Church Terrell," and at Washington's request he wrote an editorial for the New York Age which closed with the remark that "what we now want as a race, is less agitators and more constructors." So irritating was her work with the NAACP that Washington wrote Terrell how embarrassing it was to have his wife connected with it. Since the new organization was likely to attack President Taft, her activities put those who had worked for Terrell's reappointment in a difficult spot. "Of course," added Washington, "I am not seeking to control anyone's actions, but I simply want to know where we stand." Nevertheless Mrs. Terrell remained active in the NAACP and became a vice-president of the Washington, D.C. branch. However the Judge was supported by the Bookerites and was opposed by the anti-Bookerites for appointment as a law professor at Howard University. When Anderson called attention to the fact that Terrell was associated with DuBois in an essay contest sponsored by the NAACP, Washington apparently thought it desirable to cultivate Terrell by asking him to give the next commencement address at Tuskegee -- a real honor in those days.
Francis J. Grimke, educated at Lincoln University and Princeton Seminary, typified the outlook of the upper class intellectual and religious leader who stood for righteousness above all else. In the late 90's Grimke was an enthusiastic supporter of Washington and worked to counteract criticisms of the Tuskegeeian among his friends. And while he did not flatter the white Southerners, in other respects he generally followed the Tuskegee line of economic and racial Social Darwinism. Echoing Washington, Grimke saw "a providence in those doors of opportunity that are now closed against the Negroes," for Negroes would thus be forced to rely upon themselves and forge ahead on merit rather than relying on "an entirely false philosophy of life." But as early as 1900 he described as traitors to the Negro those who condoned disfranchisement as justified by differences in the condition of the two races, and insisted that Negroes should never cease to agitate and make trouble until their manhood and citizenship were recognized. By 1903 Grimke was clearly to be numbered among Washington's opponents and he denounced the "powerful propaganda" emanating from within the race that fostered the totally false theory that if Negroes acquired property everything would be all right. From then on Grimke maintained a consistently hostile attitude toward the Tuskegeeian's "cowardly, hypocritical course," and subsequently he served as president of the NAACP's Washington, D.C. branch.

Having thus illustrated the thesis that, for various reasons, individual intellectuals supported Washington, let us turn to a general survey of the major articulate groups.

More than any other elite group, the educators were subject to forces that compelled an outward conformity to the Tuskegee philosophy. The demands of southern white opinion, the example and prestige of Washington, and the policies of the philanthropic foundations all promoted a conservative spectrum of view-points. The characteristic outlook enunciated by Southern public school administrators and industrial school principals was one of self-help and accommodation, unrelieved by the expression of the demand for citizenship rights. Presidents of private liberal arts colleges were often somewhat more explicit about the higher aspirations of the race, but a radical like President John Hope of Morehouse College, who was a member of the Niagara Movement, was clearly an exception. Northern educators had greater freedom of action (and, for example, the college educated elite who staffed Baltimore Negro High School after 1900 were a central element among the
anti-Bookerites in that city). Yet even the distinguished scholar W.S. Scarborough, President of Wilberforce University, exhibited considerable instability in his ideology -- favoring Washington at the turn of the century, following a middle of the road course during the period of acute ideological conflict beginning in 1903, and ultimately unreservedly committing himself to the radical point of view and serving as one of the founders of the NAACP.

As Ralph Bunche has observed, by accepting segregation and emphasizing other worldly matters, the Negro church has tended both to play an accommodating role and to stimulate the sentiment of racial solidarity. Thus in accord with the Tuskegee philosophy, the segregated church functioned both as an opportunity for racial self-development and as an accommodating institution in the social order. On the other hand, a perusal of the contemporary materials does reveal a significant interest in the ethical message of Christianity as it related to the race problem.

Although the uneven nature of the evidence makes it difficult to arrive at definitive generalizations, broadly speaking it would appear that the most powerful figures in the mass churches -- that is the Baptists and the various Negro Methodist connections -- were of a conservative turn of mind, though some of the Northern leaders did exhibit at least sporadic radical proclivities, and though each of the mass churches had a least one distinguished representative in the Niagara Movement and NAACP. On the whole, it would appear that the conservative leaders in the mass churches were less well-educated than other members of the elite, none of them, apparently, possessing more than a secondary school education. On the other hand it was among the more elite Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal churches of the Northern and Border states that the protest point of view found its chief strength among the ministers.

Thus it seems likely that the well educated northern ministers of the upper-class denominations were more likely to oppose Washington than were the leaders of the mass churches, most of whom did not go to college. Secondly, even those who were close to Washington and were regarded as conservative by their contemporaries, usually displayed a significant protest element in their expressed philosophy. Thirdly, Washington kept close contact with ministers where possible. For example, his support was essential for
The great majority of editors supported Washington. The fact that they did so, even though most of them did not employ his accommodating phraseology, was due both to the climate of the age and to other persuasive considerations. Washington himself admitted that he worked to cultivate in a general and friendly way almost all of the Negro editors and leaders. His correspondence affords ample evidence of his profound influence over the press, and substantiates the charges made during his lifetime that he secretly subsidized newspapers and magazines in order to silence criticism of himself.

Even Southern papers were not necessarily accommodating in tone, certainly not consistently so. And among Northern supporters of Booker T. Washington, protest and agitation were the order of the day along with appeals for self-help, racial solidarity, economic accumulation and middle-class morality. The best example of this is undoubtedly the New York Age, heavily subsidized by, and beginning in 1907, partly owned by Washington, which nevertheless often contained trenchant and militant editorials. Generally, support for Washington and his program was greatest among newspaper editors during the early years of the century. The establishment of the NAACP compelled even some of his most earnest and sincere supporters to give a more sympathetic treatment to the Radicals. Thus it appears that Washington was unable to exercise a dictatorial policy over the Negro press. While powerful, he needed the support of the press just as many journals needed his aid. In such a situation considerable compromise was inevitable.
An examination of the role of Negro lawyers in the ideological controversies during the ascendancy of Booker T. Washington is especially illuminating. For, even though they formed a tiny proportion of the professional class, they were particularly influential in the Negro community, and were active among the Radicals to an extent well out of proportion to their numbers. For example, out of twenty-three signers of a statement attacking Washington which DuBois circulated in London in 1910, almost half were lawyers.

Among the more prominent Negro lawyers, the Southern ones were generally supporters of Washington. Due to limited opportunities for legal practice most of them were primarily business men or politicians or both. As Southerners they were like to agree with the conciliatory tone of Washington's utterances. As businessmen they naturally supported his economic emphasis. As bankers, real estate agents, and professional men dependent upon the support of the Negro community, they were sympathetic with Washington's philosophy of economic chauvinism. And as politicians they were compelled to court the favor of the man who held the patronage strings during the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft.

On the other hand, the most distinguished Northern lawyers had been educated at the best Northern universities, many of them, such as Charles Chesnutt in Cleveland -- had mostly white clients, and some even had social connections in the white community. These men would therefore in the normal course of events be unlikely to favor soft pedaling political demands, accepting segregation, sneering at the intellectuals, or emphasizing racial solidarity, -- and in fact many of them exhibited strong anti-Bookerite tendencies.

Yet the magnitude of Washington's personal influence cannot be ignored when considering the forces that shaped ideological expression during his ascendancy. The evidence is clear that especially after he came into political power many former critics among lawyers became supporters. Most notable among these was W.H. Lewis of Boston, who was rewarded by the Tuskegeean with the appointment of Assistant Attorney-General of the United States. Thus even among those who opposed him at first, or who might normally have been expected to do so, he wielded a substantial influence.
The attitude of the Northern lawyers is especially significant. For here was a group of outstanding men who clearly met every requirement of DuBois' definition of the talented tenth, and yet they cannot be said as a group to have been in the majority clearly or consistently opposed to Washington. The general drift of public opinion, the prestige of Washington, the ambitions of individual men and the configurations of power all served to incline toward Washington the very men who might normally have been most expected to oppose him.

As we have suggested there were several reasons for the support accorded Washington by the intellectuals. The discouragement characteristic of the period, especially around 1900, certainly swayed many. Washington's money, prestige and influence were also important factors. Ambitious lawyers, editors and even ministers found it worth their while to cultivate the Tuskegeeian. Thus the power structure of the Negro community not only strengthened a conservative tendency that was already gaining popularity, but it also contributed to the instability of the ideological expression of many leaders -- most notably among the lawyers, editors and teachers at liberal arts colleges.

The group most radical in its expression by and large was the lawyers; the ministers and especially the educators were mostly conservative; while the editors were in between. This correlation is undoubtedly related to the social role of the individuals concerned. The radical lawyers and doctors tended to be Northern men with economic and sometimes their social connections in the white community, though some men of similar background did support Washington. Ministers with their otherworldly interests quite easily fell into an accommodating position. School administrators depended upon white public opinion and philanthropy. Even the ministers, who were more directly responsive to Negro rather than white opinion, were more outspoken than the school presidents and principals. Finally the newspapers were influenced by Washington directly and by the general trend of thought. Their dependence on the Negro market seems to have worked in two ways however. On the one hand, like Booker T. Washington, they were ordinarily earnest advocates of economic self-help and economic chauvinism. On the other hand their readers apparently did not intend to forget the promise of American life, and editors therefore gave considerable attention to protest and agitation.
In reviewing the available data, it is evident that most of the Negro intellectuals -- even those with a college education -- were at one time or another (if not all the time) either enthusiastic or luke-warm supporters of Washington. This, by the way, was true even of DuBois, the most illustrious intellectual of all. Support for Washington's program among the intellectuals was strongest at the turn of the century when discouraging conditions led many who later became outspoken critics to espouse his program. By 1903, as Kelly Miller pointed out, few thoughtful men endorsed his platform unreservedly, and during the last decade of Washington's life more and more of the intellectuals drifted into the ranks of the radicals and the NAACP. Even some of his strongest supporters came to give qualified endorsement to the position of his opponents, though remaining personally loyal to Washington.

It is true that the radicals drew most of their support from the intellectuals, particularly the college educated group. It is also evident that conservatism was, by and large, more prevalent among those educators and ministers who themselves lacked college training, and the consistent supporters of Washington were largely concentrated in this group. But it is just as true that most of the college educated elite were either whole-heartedly or partially in support of Washington, at least for a time, and this was true of even some of the chief figures in the Radical group.

It must be emphasized that the aspirations of the professional men -- no matter how conservative their utterances -- included the attainment of citizenship rights; and this aspiration they expressed as an ultimate goal where they did not insist upon it as an immediate one. However it must be concluded that, broadly speaking, while intellectuals formed the backbone of the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, most of them, at one time or another, were -- to a greater or lesser degree -- supporters of the Conservative accommodator, Booker T. Washington.
In the United States, only the Indians have not had an opportunity to derive strength from, give support to, or express curiosity about another land, as a homeland. At some time through the years, conditioned by circumstances of life here or in the larger world, all other groups of Americans have been willing to be seen and heard as sons and daughters of England, Japan, Ireland, Italy, Poland, or Israel. But what of that large group of persons of African descent who could also have derived strength from, given support to, or expressed curiosity about their homeland? Surely the fact that Africa is not Europe or Asia, or that the Negroes have been enslaved, not always free, would not have, in and of itself, made the expression of such an interest impossible. Indeed, it is far easier, I think, to assume that the interest had to exist and to explore the form it took, than to assume a uniqueness for the American Negro -- to have him, as I believe Father Divine is reported to have said, combusted on the corner of Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

There is no debate over the reality of the American Negro, or the reality of Africa. But to understand the impact Africa has had on the American Negro, slave or free, during these last 300-odd years, one must be sensitive to the relevant facts of American history, African history, and world history. Whatever the American Negro is -- a racial group, a state of mind, an economic commodity, or however he is called or calls himself, a Negro, coon, colored, black, nigger, freedman, Afro-American, Afro-Saxon, ad infinitum -- the sustaining characteristic or distinguishing factor of his definition in America is negative. He is not white, and he is not white because he is colored; he is colored because some or all of his ancestors came from Africa.

From the first, American Negroes, like other Americans, have not been cast of one mold, have had different life chances. Earlier, some were free and others enslaved, and, among the enslaved, some were field hands, left more to themselves in a social world of their own making, while others were house servants, closer and often related to and more influenced by the white world. Among the freed, there were the leaders and the follow-
ers, the more thoughtful and the conforming. After Emancipation and Reconstruction, there was the Southern Negro fighting the battle of overt segregation -- where one could say that the racial picture became so bad that things could only improve -- and, on the other hand, there was the Northern Negro who, becoming increasingly disillusioned because of the subtle and devious forms of covert segregation and discrimination, was either too confused to fight or found the enemy too elusive to encounter. There have always been leaders of each group, and there have always been national leaders, either selected by the Negroes of the North and the South as best able to express their views, or as persons designated by the whites as the only "accredited" persons with whom they would communicate concerning the problems of the Negro.

The reality of Africa existed for all of these persons in different ways, in different periods of their history. As Negroes, it was impossible for them not to be related to Africa. This relation was not necessarily positive, however, for as Essien-Udom reminds us, "There has always been an extraordinarily confused element among the Afro-American educated class for whom Africa became an anathema and who have failed to comprehend the full implications of Africa for their own sense of dignity."  

We must remember that the complications surrounding the relationship of Negroes to Africa have been extremely devious, more so in the past, perhaps, than today in the fashionableness of African interest; although even now, as St. Clair Drake has indicated, Negroes have to compete with important power blocks within this country for a pipeline to their homeland.  

However, before this period of happy and hopefully free competition developed, there is much to remember. As a result, I am to some extent indebted to the eminent Senator from

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Louisiana who, on his recent trip to Africa, reminded us all once again of the relationship of Negroes to Africa and the way in which such a relationship has been perceived in the past by politically important persons in America. That the political philosophies of the Senator are fortunately on the decline in contemporary America should not blind us to their existence today or to a remembrance of their potential strength in earlier days and the effect such attitudes inevitably had on the position of the Negro in this country.

The popularity of an idea or the form it must take is determined by the prevailing climate of opinion as expressed by the more powerful forces in the land. Is the world round, should man fly, is birth control against God's will, and what is Africa to me as a Negro, are all questions possible to answer only in terms of a given period of history; and, indeed, different answers are always possible from different groups of people. To appreciate what we are assuming as fact, namely that Africa has always had an impact on American Negroes, it is necessary to determine the character of the impact of any given period during the last 300 years, the group or groups among the Negroes which felt the effect of this impact, and, finally, the force or forces through which this impact was made.

The character of Africa's impact on American Negroes is perhaps the most difficult question to answer. Certainly, it is a subject needing much research, nor can it ever be measured accurately. I feel that one can say that Africa's impact on the American Negro has taken at least six forms. There is the impact of Africa as the source of customs, traits, language forms, and institutions -- the so-called survival school. There is the impact of Africa as a refuge, or the homeland to which Negroes must return permanently or assist other Negroes so to do -- this is African Zionism. There is the impact of Africa as an outlet for skills which are needed in Africa and usually unwanted if manifested by Negroes in America. The character of this impact on Negroes is felt more as the push from the new homeland than as the pull from the old homeland. There is the impact of Africa as a symbol of personal identification -- a cloak of protection in the diaspora -- expressed in a willingness, even an anxiety, to explore and know personally and otherwise of one's history and cultural heritage. There is the impact of Africa which is the rallying point for group identity and group action for black men wherever they may be -- the spirit of Negritude.

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and the source of Pan-Africanism. There is, finally, the impact of Africa as a dark, un-
known, backward continent, which is the cultural handicap to the Negro's integration or
acceptance anywhere else in the world. In the days of unfamiliarity with Africa, such an
impact was made largely through inadequate and perhaps biased histories, or again in
more modern times, as the anticipated result of contrived propaganda or distorted press
reporting. Which impact Africa has on the Negro community depends on the period of his-
tory about which we are talking and the group of Negroes being considered. At any time,
also, the American Negro community as a whole can feel the impact of Africa in different
forms simultaneously.

The range of situations in which to study the impact of Africa on persons of African
descent could carry us to many parts of the globe: the West Indies, South America, Europe,
and North America. And there is the additional situation of Africa's impact on her return-
ing sons and daughters, the Creoles of Sierra Leone, The Americo-Liberians of Liberia,
of the isolated American Negro here and there who returns to live permanently. They all
feel the impact of Africa as a physical and social reality, and they too feel it in different
ways at different times.

Our subject, by being limited to the United States, permits us to define specifically
our historical epochs and to relate more sharply significant historical events to the charac-
ter of Africa's impact on the American Negro. Certain periods of American history have
special relevance: the period of slavery, the period of the Civil War and the Reconstruction,
World War I and the events immediately preceding it and the decade and a half following
it, and World War II and the decades immediately following it.

With the possible exception of Africa's influence in surviving institutional forms,
Africa's impact on American Negroes has been made largely through the strength of given
personalities, both African and Negro. Some of the more outstanding have been, I suggest,
Paul Cuffee, Alexander Crummell, Henry McNeal Turner, Martin Delaney, W. E. B. Du-
Bois, Carter Woodson, James E. Kwegyir Aggrey, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Nam-
bidwe Azikwe, Haile Selassie, and Patrice Lumumba. While there is a considerable fascina-
tion in and much justification for the great-man approach to history, it is more cautious to
explore initially the larger historical events which may have provided the background for these men as well as for others whose names, as persons of influence, may be lost to history.

During slavery, especially in the earlier days, the familiarity of the masses of Negroes with Africa was undoubtedly at its greatest, and it was generated by conditions in this country as well as by memories of conditions in Africa. One writer has noted the reference of a folk saying of "Gone to Guinea" as being the state to which slaves aspired after the hardships of this life ended. 4 In spite of the detribalizing effects of slavery, we have been told of many important African survivals among Negroes in the folk literature, art, the dance, language forms, and religious orientation. It is, of course, unfortunate that much has been lost that could have been of value today in the study of survivals, but the works of Herskovits, Turner, and, more recently, of Fisher and Jahn, provide the guidelines for future research. 5 This, fortunately, will be reinforced by our greater knowledge of life in Africa resulting from the acceleration of research taking place there.

The image or impact of Africa as a cloak of protection in the diaspora was evident in the earliest embryonic social organisation which developed among the Negroes, both slave and free. The Free African Societies, or Sons of Africa, patterned largely on the Philadelphia group organised in 1787 by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, were primarily mutual-aid associations, but they also concerned themselves with other matters, including emigration to Africa. The first Masonic Lodge of Negroes, started by Prince Hall in Boston, was chartered in 1787 as "African Lodge Number 459".

The first religious gatherings of Negroes were referred to as African Meetings, and the most highly organised religious body among Negroes had and continues to proclaim its

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African roots in its name, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The various groups organised for the education of Negroes were referred to as African Schools. And as late as 1821, Negroes in New York organised a theater on Broadway which they called the "African Grove."

Interestingly, however, the Negro press, as organised by and for American Negroes, in its earliest titles did not reflect the African identification, but preferred titles such as Freedom's Journal, The North Star, the Elevator, the National Watchmen, the Clarion, or the Genius of Freedom, which are more clearly related to the struggle of attaining freedom here. This is perhaps because the impetus for the growth of the Negro press stemmed from the desire to sell the cause of abolition of slavery rather than to proclaim any interest in or desire to return to Africa. The Negro press only expressed this African interest when certain segments of the Negro community became disillusioned with the possibilities of achieving freedom here. In 1859, the Anglo-African was started as a weekly by Thomas Hamilton, with the motto "Man must be free, if not through the law, then above the law". In the early 1860's, the Anglo-African was purchased by James Redpath to advocate the emigration of Negroes to Haiti and its name was changed to The Pine and Palm. With Redpath's resignation from the position of emigration agent of the Haitian movement, the paper reverted to the hands of one of the founder's family and resumed its original name. At this point, Henry Highland Garnet assumed editorship of its Southern department and contributed to the high quality of the paper.

Garnet, in fighting the battle of the Negroes in this country, never lost sight of Africa's importance to him personally or to the Negroes in general. In 1858, he was president of the African Civilization Society, which had as its purpose: "to establish a grand center of Negro nationality from which shall flow the streams of commercial, intellectual, and political power which shall make the colored people respected everywhere." 6

In 1880, when Garnet was nominated at the advanced age of 66 as Minister-President and Consul-General to Liberia, friends feared that the hardship of life there would be

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too rigorous for him. But Garnet, at a farewell dinner in his honor given by Alexander
Crummell, expressed his feeling as follows: "Oh, Alexander, if I can just reach the land
of my forefathers and with my feet press her soil, I shall be content to die." 7

The measure of African Zionism through colonization schemes is difficult to app-
raise, and there must be a differentiation between colonization as sponsored by the Ameri-
can Colonization Society and colonization sponsored by the Negroes themselves. Perhaps
it is unfortunate that colonization to Africa did not develop exclusively in the hands of Ne-
groes, for surely then there would have been less reason to suspect the motives of the
initiators and many Negroes would not have found it necessary as a matter of principle and
strategy to deny their fatherland in order not to weaken the cause of abolition.

Even in the colonial days, the presence of the Negro in America was seen as a po-
tential challenge to proclaimed democratic values, and unlikely to be easily resolved. Con-
sequently, as early as 1714 there was talk of retuning Negroes to Africa. Thomas
Jefferson and a Virginia Legislative Committee in 1777 proposed a plan for gradual eman-
cipation and deportation of Negroes. It is not surprising that for a variety of reasons, some
Americans would have welcomed emigration as a solution to the growing moral issue of
slavery. No argument is needed to explain a slave's willingness to have freedom -- anywhere.

Some free Negroes, successful themselves, were also concerned about the condition
of their brothers, in slavery or as less successful freedmen, and saw emigration to Africa
as a fair and just solution to their problems. Paul Cuffee, the prosperous mariner of Mass-
achusetts, son of an African father and Indian mother, was successful in organizing such
a project. In 1815, largely at his own expense, he took 38 free Negroes back to Africa in
his own ship. At the time of his death, he was preparing for another voyage which more
than 2,000 persons are reported to have expressed a desire to undertake.

But the desire of Negroes freely to return to Africa or to be identified with Africa
is not the same as being forced or enticed to do so. The American Colonization Society,
formed in 1817 under the sponsorship of such distinguished persons as Bushrod Washington,

Negro Academy, 1914), p. 129.
and Henry Clay, must be viewed in this context. Through its organ, the African Repository, the Society publicized its cause and generally capitalized on the interest many Negroes had in returning to Africa. But only reluctantly involving Negroes in the formation of its policies, the American Colonization Society appeared often insensitive to or unconcerned with how the enemies of the Negro would exploit their program.

Reaction to the American Colonization Society was strong among Negroes in the North, who saw its program as a means of white Americans' evading their responsibility of fighting for the freedom and citizenship of Negroes as Americans. Expressed in the resolutions of the Annual Convention of the Free People of Color in Philadelphia in 1830, and in the speeches of Frederick Douglass, Negroes made it clear that they felt they had the same right as any other American to enjoy the fruits of the land they had helped to build. To these Negroes, any consideration of forced emigration as a solution was far from popular. Africa, particularly, having been portrayed as the land of sickness and death, had little appeal; nor is it hard to appreciate the reluctance of some American Negroes to grasp without real skepticism any plans offered them by whites.

Yet in spite of the vocal opposition to the American Colonization Society, by 1830, 1,412 Negroes had been sent to Liberia by the Society. After the repercussions following the Nat Turner Revolt of August, 1831, during the one financial year 1831-32 alone, the Society sent 1,217 Negroes to Liberia. During the three years after the Civil War, when Negroes were finding their places in a new society, an average of 400 Negroes a year chose to leave this country for Liberia under the sponsorship of the American Colonization Society. From 1870 to 1873, the trickle continued on an average of 200 a year, and after that date there was a steady decline.

The consequence of the activities of the American Colonization Society was the establishment of Liberia, which by its existence strengthened Negro interest in Africa and ensured a greater amount of communication between Negroes in America and Negroes in Africa. Letters written to friends and families in this country, as well as those sent to the

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8 These statistics refer only to the American Colonization Society as a national body and do not include those persons sent by certain state societies.
officers of the Society and frequently published in the African Repository combined to broaden the impact of Africa on the American Negro as a result of colonization.

Probably stimulated by the declaration of Liberia's independence in 1847, in that year Negro national conventions for the first time began considering Africa in relation to their problems here. In the meanwhile, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and the Dred Scott Decision (be it noted that the language of this decision refers to those affected as of African descent), as well as other repressive measures in the 1850's and a hardening of the attitude towards abolition in some sections of the country, had caused many Negroes to consider alternatives to abolition as solutions to their plight. Emigration to Canada, to the West Indies, and to Africa were seriously discussed as possibilities. A convention to pursue such plans was called in Cleveland in 1854, and passed the following significant resolution: Resolved

that no people as such can ever attain to greatness who lose their identity, as they must rise entirely up on their own native merits. That we shall ever cherish our identity or origin and race, as preferable in our estimating to any other people. That the relative term, Negro, African, black, colored, and mulatto when applied to us shall ever be held with the same respect and pride and synonymous with the terms Caucasian, white, Anglo-Saxon, and European when applied to that class of people.

It is not surprising that as a result of the actions taken at this convention, Dr. Martin Delaney led the Niger Valley Exploration Party to West Africa to explore the possibilities of Negroes' emigrating there. Although land was secured by Dr. Delaney, this country was in battle before plans could be implemented.

After the Civil War, as has been indicated, Negroes continued to emigrate to Africa, largely to Liberia. The Emancipation Proclamation and the passage of the 13th and 14th Amendments now made it possible for many Negroes to express an interest in Africa without feeling they were making a choice between it and America. This was the period when the impact of Africa was that of needing the skills and help of Negroes, and, as free men, Negroes were ready to respond to the plea of such men as Alexander Crummell and others to come to Africa to teach, to convert, or to engage in commerce.

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9 Quoted in Essien-Udom, op. cit., p. 395.
The urge "to convert the heathen" had from the first affected Negroes as well as whites, and such outstanding men as Lott Carey came to Africa sponsored by the white American Baptists' Association. Through the years, other Negroes had been sent by American missionary bodies to work in other parts of West Africa, in Angola, and in South Africa. However, the real involvement of the American Negro missionary in Africa as a group did not occur until the Civil War, because it was not until that time that there was a sufficient organization or funds within Negro religious institutions to undertake foreign missionary activity. In 1860, the Lott Carey Baptists' Convention was formed to work in Liberia, and continues in existence until today. In 1875, the African Methodist Episcopal Church sent out its first missionaries to Liberia, and by 1896, this church was asked by a group of South Africans representing the Ethiopian Church, which had split from the British Wesleyan Church, to organize a section of the A.M.E. church there. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner was sent to South Africa to initiate this work.

Missionary endeavors in Africa by Negro church bodies not only served to answer Africa's need for help in education and perhaps conversion, but served two other important functions: the more obvious one of maintaining contact between the Negro and Africa, and the less obvious one, perhaps, and latent, of making it possible for Negroes in their acceptance of Christianity in America in spite of all of the rejection the church had accorded them, still to find a genuine identification with one of Christ's true principles, that of the "conversion of the heathen". This the Negro Christian could without apologies share and share fully with white Christians. At this time, and for years afterwards, there was little else shared in common.

Also reflecting the zeal to help in Africa by utilizing all types of skills, was the calling of two conferences in Negro institutions during this period: the 1895 conference at the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, and the International Conference on the Negro at Tuskegee in April, 1912. At this time also one notes the formation of organizations to help Africa. One such group was the Lynchburg African Development Society, which was started in 1899 "to acquire land in Africa, establish manufactures, mining, purchase, and charter means for transport, to provide, conduct, or organize such means of defence as the directors may consider necessary to retain and develop territories in Africa by purchase
or grant."  

This Society also planned to establish in each of its stations or townships African schools to provide elementary knowledge and Christian instruction. Related to the Tuskegee interest, which was more along the line of developing businesses than conversion as such, the Africa Union Company was chartered in New York on December 3, 1913 "to handle African produce on a large scale, establish mercantile operations between Africa and the markets of the world, to ultimately establish an African industrial school, and to aid in the development of Africa generally."  

American Negroes, admittedly in small groups and in more restricted sections of our country, have through the years been influenced by African students coming here to study. These students were usually supported by religious bodies which maintained missions in their countries. According to a preliminary study by Horace Mann Bond, almost a hundred African students came to the United States before 1900, the first having come from the Gold Coast to Princeton in 1774.  

Though there are examples to the contrary, most Africans first came to study in the Negro colleges where, planned or not, their impact on the Negro community would obviously be the greatest. During the 19th century, Congolese students were sent by white and Negro missionaries to Stillman Institute and Spellman. In the first decade of this century, a large number of students from South Africa came to Wilberforce. Lincoln University, originally founded as Ashmun Institute to prepare missionaries to go to Africa, has long had African students, largely those sent by separatist Presbyterian Church missions. Fisk has also through the years welcomed African students. Its 1876 catalogue, according to Bond, was explicit in the relation between American Negroes and Africans by stating that, as its students were mainly descendants of the African race, among its goals, therefore, should be the redemption of Africa. Large numbers of Fisk students went to Africa as missionaries in Mozambique, South Africa, Ghana, 


the Congo Free State, and German Togoland. Howard University, according to Dr. Bond, had its first African students in 1871, one from Liberia and one from South Africa.

The opportunity for African students to meet and know American Negroes has played an important part in the impact of Africa on American Negroes. Many who first came were often neglected and poor, and found in our Negro communities the continuing legacy of slavery in our attitude toward black men. The Negro community unfortunately has never had the security expressed in the philosophy of Jaja Wachuku, Nigerian Foreign Minister, who stated, "You can see my color... It is black, the mythical, the unfathomable, the power that overwhelms." 13 And coming before the day of the New Negro or Marcus Garvey or the New Africa, these early students had much to forbear from their brothers in America, whose values, even survival, had apparently rested on pressures to relinquish their African cultural heritage and to minimize the physical reminders in their pigmentation and hair form. Nevertheless, many associations between Africans and Negroes were warm and friendly, and intermarriages occurred. The appearance of such outstanding Africans as James B. Kwegyir Aggrey and John Chilembwe called increasing attention on the part of the Negro community to the potentiality of Africa and the outstanding students who were coming from Africa.

It is at this point in our story that one man seems to encompass in his activities and interests much that could be said of others in the impact of Africa on the American Negro. That man is W.E.B. DuBois, who in his long life has influenced and embodied almost all of the positive ways in which Negroes can be related to Africa. Only history can tell us in which way the impact of Africa through him has been most far-reaching.

It is difficult to speculate as to the real reasons why Dr. DuBois has had such a long and deep interest in Africa. The obvious and usually suggested reasons for American Negroes having an interest in Africa do not apply in his case. His appearance is more Caucasian than African, his family tradition from the Revolutionary War Days was that of

freedom rather than slavery, and his home in a small New England town provided more positive than negative experiences with his white neighbors. Africa itself, in Dr. DuBois' youth, was little known, and far from a fashionable area of study.

But as a student with an inquiring mind and a sufficient sense of reality to perceive his true position in this society and that of other Negroes, DuBois knew that, favored as he was, he was in the society but not of it. He saw the discriminatory position of Negroes and his intellectual capacity was sharpened by the broadening experience of studying in the South and abroad. As a scholar with missionary zeal, DuBois understood the negative implied in the definition of the American Negro -- that he was not white -- that the roots affecting the growth of the plant were elsewhere. He saw further that the problem of the 20th century would be that of the color line. Therefore, he insisted upon incorporating the battle for Negro rights into the larger battle for freedom of the black man wherever he was.

Beginning with his Ph. D. thesis, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States, 1638-1870, which was selected as the first publication of the Harvard Historical Series, Dr. DuBois gave a prominence and academic respectability to the Negro as a scholar and to events concerning the Negro as legitimate subjects for scholarly interest. The little journal, Horizon, which he published jointly with two other Negroes on a monthly basis from January 1907 to July 1910, under the subtitle of the Journal of the Color Line, included in each issue news of Africa. This was becoming increasingly easy to do, for many things were happening in Africa of interest and significance to Negroes.

From 1840, when David Livingstone sailed for Africa, to 1885, at the Conference of Berlin, to the Versailles Peace Conference, Africa had never ceased to be a focal point of interest and action for world leaders, and though its picture continued to be blurred by fantasy and myth, its interest to the world at large, and to Negroes, continued to develop. Stories of disease, death, cannibalism, and the absence of the wheel were soon matched by stories of the resistance to white domination by African leaders like Chaka, King Behanzim of Dahomey, Mamadou Lamine, Samory Touré, and El Hadj Omar. The Zulu Wars, the Ashanti Wars, and the Matabele Wars, when publicized, were appreciated by Negroes aware of their own slave revolts and abolitionist activities. This sensitivity to and identification with events in Africa came to a crisis point with the Congo atrocities, which were widely publicized here.
At the same time, American Negro intellectuals became increasingly aware of the developments for political action among African intellectuals: the Fanti Confederation of 1871, the Gold Coast Aborigines Protection Society of 1897, the African National Congress, founded in South Africa in 1912. The existence since 1870 of black deputies in the French Parliament also had an impact on the thinking of American Negroes about themselves and about Africa.

DuBois was on the scene to coordinate this growing interest and to play the key role in mobilizing Negroes to act on the international scene about Africa. After the failure of the Niagara Movement and its supportive publication Horizon, DuBois, as his biographer indicates, would probably have remained in Atlanta had not the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 offered him the editorship of its journal, The Crisis. Sure in his convictions, armed with the wealth of newly discovered interest in Africa and more facts about Africa, and secure in his financial support, DuBois, until his resignation in 1934, made The Crisis a "true record of the darker races." He never ceased to devote pages and features to activities and facts of Africa. That this journal was affiliated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was rapidly becoming the strongest protest organization for Negro rights in this country, gave it the attention and circulation that a lesser journal, perhaps devoted exclusively to Africa, would not have had.

DuBois was neither alone nor unassisted by events in developing this interest in Africa among Negroes. Negro intellectuals in many quarters had been finding themselves and their African roots. George W. Williams, in the first encyclopedic history of American Negroes, The History of the Negro Race in America 1619-1880, published in 1885, devotes over one hundred pages to Africa, in which he discusses Egypt, Ethiopia, the Great Kingdoms of Benin, Ashanti, Ycrubaland, and Dahomey, African language and institutions, and the more modern countries at that time of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Alexander Crummell, the Negro Episcopal missionary to Liberia, returned to Washington and organized in 1897 The American Negro Academy, "composed of authors, scholars, artists of African descent." In New York, John Edward Bruce, the journalist, and Arthur Schomburg organized in 1911 the

Negro Society for Historical Research. Carter Woodson, another Harvard-trained Negro historian, organized in 1915 the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and published in 1916 the first issue of its journal, the Journal of Negro History. While the primary purpose of all these institutions was to provide proper facts and focus for a study of the Negro in America, these intellectuals understood, as did DuBois and others, the impossibility of studying the Negro in America without knowledge of the Negro in Africa.

The events around the First World War tied together the main sources of the growing impact of Africa on American Negroes, which had been occurring over the years and especially after the Civil War. The Negro intelligentsia had been aware of "the scramble for Africa." They knew that between 1884 and 1912, through various negotiated treaties, all of Africa had been partitioned among the Great Powers, leaving by the start of the war only Abyssinia and Liberia as independent states. They appreciated, too, the fact that the disposition of the former German colonies in Africa -- Tanganyika, Togoland, Camerouns, and Southwest Africa -- would be one of the major issues to be resolved at the Versailles Peace Conference.

The long interest of Negro intellectuals in Africa and race relations in this country now carried them into the arena of international affairs. Negro scholars appreciated the tremendous importance of the 1919 Peace Conference to Africa and to them. Although the American position at the Peace Conference, according to Beer, was that the colonies should be administered in the interest of the natives, the recent history in the Congo Free State had offered to Negro intellectuals the vivid evidence that proclamations, however well-intentioned, were not enough. 15 And perhaps it was the responsibility of black men to play their role at this crucial period. At least, DuBois thought so, and accordingly was sent to Paris in December, 1918, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent DuBois to Paris for two reasons: primarily to collect material for a history of the Negro's participation in the War, and also to call a Pan-Africanist Congress "to bring together leaders of the various groups of Negroes in Africa and in America for consolidation and planning for the future." And DuBois had plans. He planned that these former colonies should be placed

in a position to determine their own future under the guidance of an international organization. He felt that any development of these colonies should incorporate the merger of the modern cultural advantages of the West (science, education, philanthropy and so forth) with the strength of the indigenous societies, particularly the family and the tribe, and that in drawing up a plan, the members of the Peace Conference should consider the feelings of intelligent and informed black men in Africa, in the United States, and throughout the world. Such a program according to DuBois, would redeem Africa, insure Asia's safety, and Europe's triumph.

Perhaps only a man of DuBois' intellectual stature and self-assurance would have ever dared in that stage of history to attempt so ambitious a task. In spite of the odds and what were apparent blocks placed in his path, DuBois, with the fortuitous assistance of Blaise Diagne, a Senegalese member of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, who secured the necessary permission from Premier Georges Clemenceau, was able to call the first Pan-African conference in February, 1919. There were 57 delegates, of whom 16 were Americans, 20 West Indians, and 12 Africans.

This conference was a momentous achievement. Earlier, in 1900, Henry Sylvester-Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad practicing in London, had called the first Pan-African conference, which was to protest the aggression of white colonizers and to appeal to the British people to "protect Africans from the depredations of the Empire builders." This conference, having some 30 delegates, mainly from England and the West Indies, and a few American Negroes, while attracting some local attention and introducing for the first time the word "Pan-Africanism" into the English language, did not establish the institution of Pan-Africanism nor were its roots deep in Africa itself. Shortly afterwards, Sylvester-Williams returned to the West Indies and died. Meanwhile, the events of the intervening years culminating in the war gave meaning and substance to the concept of Pan-Africanism, and DuBois' contribution, then, was his ability to appreciate and capture this.

Feeling that the Pan-African Conference in Paris had been successful in influencing the Peace Conference in their decision to have former German colonies in Africa turned over

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to an international organization rather than to the individual colonial powers, DuBois believed that black men were now going to continue to plan and think collectively on international issues of concern to them. And indeed further Pan-African Conferences did occur: in 1921 in London, in 1923 two seminars, one in London and one in Lisbon, in 1927 in New York, and in 1945 in Manchester. At the Fifth Pan African Conference in Manchester, "Dr. DuBois reported on the "Race Problem in the United States", apprising the Conference of the achievements of Negroes in their struggle to obtain first-class citizenship." 17 By this time, however, the events in Africa had dictated the need for concrete programs of action. The Conference delegates having formulated such programs for each of the principal regions of black Africa, now ushered in the new phase of Pan-Africanism: that of Positive Action. As then conceived, the program of Positive Action would be implemented in Africa alone by the various nationalists from that continent. This naturally minimized or made more difficult the opportunity of Negroes to participate equally in this phase.

Now, let us return to the developments in America following the first Pan-African Conference. By the time DuBois returned home after this Conference, the temper of life in America had changed radically as a result of circumstances stimulated by the war. The processes of urbanization, the war experiences of Negro soldiers, and the influx of immigrants from the West Indies had made of Negro society a far more heterogeneous grouping than that of merely slave and free, Northern or Southern, educated or uneducated. DuBois continued to speak to and for those Negro intellectuals with whom he was familiar. But at this point, the American Negro masses felt their first dynamic touch and feel for Africa in the person and philosophy of Marcus Garvey.

In every sense of the word, Garvey was the antithesis of DuBois. West-Indian born, black and largely uneducated, he shared with DuBois, however, a self-assurance and a zeal to mobilize the Negroes of the world to redeem Africa. His was a program of redemption which would appeal to the masses of the people, and all his projects, big and small, successful or not, rested on his ability to establish an emotional identity between the Negro masses and Africa. Garvey not only knew the negative definition of Negro in America; he

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17 Ibid., p. 169.
felt it. And he attempted to speak for and to those millions of other Negroes who also felt the stigma of being black.

Garvey's experience as a colonial subject in the West Indies and in England broadened his understanding of the plight of the black man and the importance of Africa. In his plan to redeem Africa, Garvey sought to mobilize the strength and resources of black men and women wherever they were. He sought an entrepreneurial focus which would derive its strength from emotional involvement. Details of accuracy and planning or a knowledge of the history of Africa were not necessary prerequisites to Garvey. His dedication and sincerity as well as his sensitivity to the common denominator between Africans and the American Negroes, namely their blackness, and his ability to interpret this to the masses of rootless Negroes who felt there was no place for them in American society, were the great dynamic and impact of Marcus Garvey. He often echoed with feeling the sentiments of Wachuku quoted above: "You can see my color... It is black... the power that overwhelms."

The reinforcing importance of the roles of DuBois and Garvey in relating Africa to the American Negro has been significantly recognized by two actions of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. While naming his fleet The Black Star Line in memory of Garvey's practical efforts to inaugurate a steamship line of the same name, Nkrumah has also given financial support to the intellectual efforts of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois in his long-cherished ambition to initiate an Encyclopedia Africana.

After World War I, as a result of their exposure to the greater coverage of African subjects in the Negro press and journals of Negro life and greater opportunity of meeting the increasing number of African students coming to study in America, Negroes throughout America were more familiar with Africa; but the real heart and measure of the effect of Africa on Negroes could be found in one city, New York, and rather particularly in Harlem. It was to New York that DuBois returned and maintained the offices for The Crisis; it was in New York that Garvey had the headquarters of his Universal National Negro Improvement Association. Harlem was in New York, and Harlem became the capital of Negro America and the home of the "New Negro".

18 Dr. DuBois had proposed to the NAACP in 1915 that an Encyclopedia Africana be published in 1919 to celebrate the tercentenary of the permanent landing of Negroes at Jamestown. James W. Ivy, "Traditional NAACP Interest in Africa (as reflected in the pages of the Crisis)", Africa Seen by American Negroes, p. 231.
The "New Negro" was the result of many kinds of Negroes meeting and developing a common consciousness and a sense of spiritual emancipation which permitted them to accept themselves as they were without self-blame. This "New Negro" felt a responsibility to relate to African peoples and to help them as well as themselves to have a new sense of status and dignity.

Such a philosophy rather easily emerged in Harlem -- the melting pot of black men in America -- where, according to Ottley, the subcommunities of African immigrants alone from Nigeria, Dahomey, Gold Coast, Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia numbered more than 2,000 persons before World War II. In addition, it is impossible to estimate the numbers of Negroes from the West Indies and other sections of this country who found joy and a sense of being in the Harlem of the 1920's. To Harlem also came white Americans, fascinated by its cultural diversity and excited by the vibrancy of life there. These Americans often encountered for the first time Negroes able to express themselves as persons and willing to share social experiences with whites. For the whites and Negroes, Harlem became a kind of home. "Home to Harlem" and "Up to Harlem" meant a special acceptance and understanding based on a new and more positive definition of Negro, or of being a Negro -- with roots in Africa.

But the Depression, naturally, changed the picture. Whites now had little leisure or means to enjoy the exotic life of Harlem or its Afro-Negro culture. Negroes, suffering more acutely as usual from economic hardship, were bitterly rather than jubilantly aware of themselves. DuBois resigned from The Crisis. Garvey was imprisoned and deported, and the world everywhere was in a state of economic depression. There was little reason to leave any place for any other, or to feel sufficiently prosperous to offer help to others.

During this period, the masses of Negroes found their strength in religious sects, largely concerned with the very specific "here and now" -- Father Divine, Elder Michaux, and Daddy Grace. But the thread of identification with Africa so strongly expressed in Garveyism was never completely lost. Garveyism itself never died. Such groups as the Moor-

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ish Science Temple of America had a kind of attraction for some urban Negroes. This cult had been founded about 1913 by Timothy Drew, who felt that the salvation for the Negro people lay in the discovery by them of their national origins in Africa. Drew established his first temple in New Jersey and continued to provide psychological strength to the urban Negro primarily in the North, who had no future and no sense of past. To these Moorish Americans, "Marcus Garvey was to their leader Noble Drew Ali as John the Baptist was to Christ" -- the one who came first to prepare the way for the true leader. 20

For the intellectuals, this was largely a period of organizational rather than personal leadership. The Negro church, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League, organizations born out of and nourished by the strength of individual personalities, now felt the need to strengthen their organizational framework in order to meet the economic crisis of the Depression. Negroes were encouraged to consider their economic position, as workers, and to see it as a necessary accompaniment to their political position. Negro businesses were encouraged: "Buy black", "trade with Negroes", "give your money to your own" were the orders of the day. In pushing for recognition in the larger society of America, the Negro found less reason to seek Africa.

Then came the Ethiopian War, and quite suddenly in 1935 Negroes again felt the impact of international issues resulting from Africa and a strong sense of identification with Haile Selassie as he plead the cause of his country before the League of Nations. The Ethiopians prior to this period had not been noticeably anxious to identify with American Negroes, but Haile Selassie was not unmindful of the potential effect American Negroes could have on American opinion and, indirectly, on world opinion. He sent an Ethiopian physician, Malaku E. Bayen, who had studied at Howard University Medical School, and his American-born wife to solicit support and funds from Negroes for the war relief in Ethiopia.

Forced to stay in Harlem because of discrimination in the downtown hotels of New York, Dr. Bayen published The Voice of Ethiopia, which, according to Ottley, "urged the

millions of sons and daughters of Ethiopia, scattered throughout the world, to join hands with Ethiopians to save Ethiopia from the woes of Europe." 21 To implement his program, Dr. Bayen also organized the Ethiopian World Federation, Incorporated. Such activities as The United Aid for Ethiopia and the International Council of Friends of Ethiopia and an active interest on the part of the Negro press made of the Ethiopian War the stimulus to Negroes to become once more vividly aware of their African ties.

The momentum of the race problem in America and the events of the Ethiopian War were being increasingly appreciated by American Negroes as part of a larger pattern of behavior of white men towards black men. John P. Davis, one of the founders of the National Negro Congress in 1936, in a pamphlet entitled "Let Us Build A National Negro Congress", cites the invasion of Ethiopia as "another problem of Black America." 22 And again, A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and of the National Negro Congress in his keynote presidential address notes the importance to Negroes of a number of events of the times, including "the wage struggles around the war upon Ethiopia by the Fascist dictator Mussolini, strikes and lockouts of black and white workers. . . . the fight for the freedom of Angelo Herndon, the Scottsboro boys, and the abolition of the color bar in unions." 23

World War II brings us to the facts of the present. The effects of the events of the War are familiar to us all: the dramatic battles and tales of bravery of Negro soldiers abroad and the fights at home to win the battles of discrimination, culminating in the March On Washington Movement and the passage of the Executive Order 8802. Yet perhaps the most significant effect of World War II on Negroes was that it spelled the end of colonialism in Africa. African countries were to begin their march to freedom, and to move at such a pace that, as one member of the House of Lords recently said, "in 1953 there were only five African states

21 Ottley, op. cit., p. 42.
23 Ibid., p. 418.
which were independent. Today there are only five still dependent, not on their way to
independence, namely the colonies of Portugal and Spain."

From Ghana's independence in 1957 to the imminent collapse of the Federation of
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, this march to freedom has had an impact on Negroes, making
their increased rejection in their own land even more intolerable. Today's impatience,
a consequence of the choices that men like Douglass made so many years ago to stay and
fight it out, is vividly and simply expressed by James Baldwin, "at the rate things are going
here, all of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee."

As Negroes, above all, should know, free men are treated differently from men not
free. So American Negroes are seeing African politicians and statesmen getting generally
"V. I. P. " treatment everywhere, including state dinners at the White House. They are seeing
the American white community mobilize its resources to provide non-segregated rental and
purchased housing for African diplomats and their families; they are seeing black men and
black women in their traditional dress as highly desired speakers and dinner guests; they
are seeing American universities, even those with a questionable tradition of hospitality to-
ward Negro students, happily opening their doors and providing scholarships for African
students. They are seeing foundations willing to subsidize the study of Africa in the major
universitites of the land. They are seeing American scholars and politicians vying for the
opportunity to know Africa, and technical assistance teams composed of the most highly train-
ed Americans willing to serve in Africa. They are seeing African statemen addressing the
United Nations and being sought after for their support in the solution of international prob-
lems. It would be naive to state that such preferential treatment of Africans necessarily
implies a change in feeling toward black men by white men. But these outward signs of be-
havior are easily comprehended and cause the American Negro to reassess his progress.

24 Lord Chandos, Debate on the White Paper Concerning Pledges to the Federation, News
Editorial, "Sir Roy Welensky Entitled to Feel Aggrieved and Enraged", East Africa and

25 Quoted by Kenneth B. Clark in "The New Negro in the North", in The New Negro, Mathew
This impact of the new Africa -- the existence of independent countries run by black men who are also participating in the creation of world opinion in the United Nations and being favored by world powers -- has affected Negroes in two ways. As was said earlier, it has aggravated their impatience with their condition in this country and provided a source of inspiration to Negroes to act more aggressively in improving their lot. Secondly, it has strengthened and made unequivocably more visible the long interest of Negroes in Africa.

The examples of the first type of impacts are well publicized. The boycotts, the sit-ins, the activities to insure the registration and voting of the Negroes in the South, and the pressures for the elimination of all the subtle forms of segregation in housing, education, and job opportunities in the North, are all clearly affected by the American Negroes' appreciation of the terrific lag between their position as black men and women and the position of black men and women in the West Indies and Africa. Their reaction as seen in this kind of behavior is a culmination of the bits and pieces which have always meant identity with Africa, but are manifest now primarily but not exclusively as concern for the improvement of conditions here and now. "Freedom Now" proclaimed in Ghana, "Uhuru" in Kenya, are meaningful symbols to American Negroes in this country.

The activities reflecting the second reaction of Negroes to the new Africa, often called Black Nationalism, are at the moment more discernible along the Eastern Seaboard and especially in New York -- in Harlem. There, as Clark suggests, black nationalism has always been incubated, and has now the United Nations in its front yard as a school for planning and a forum for action. The existence and importance of numerous religious and cultural groups in Harlem proclaiming strong African ties was not appreciated outside of that area until the February 1961 demonstrations in the gallery of the United Nations in protest against the murder of Patrice Lumumba. As Clark rightly analyzes the reaction, these demonstrators interpreted the murder of Lumumba in terms most familiar to them, as the "international lynching of a black man on the altar of colonialism and white supremacy." The rationale for the demonstration was provided by James Hicks, the editor of the Amsterdam News, who, though not a member of the groups and deploring their methods, but applauding their spirit,

27 Ibid., p. 285.
added: "It won't do us any harm to have Adlai Stevenson keep an eye cocked on the gallery next time he gets up to talk with his silver tongue on the African question." 28

With the possible exception of the Liberation Committee for Africa, having on its board such well-known personalities as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, and Lorraine Hansberry, and publishing a well-edited journal The Liberator, most of these groups appeal almost exclusively to the masses of Negroes in the tradition of the Garvey movement and the Moorish Americans. The Nation of Islam, -- or the Black Muslims, as they are more familiarly known -- since 1933 led by Elijah Muhammad, with its headquarters in Chicago, is the best-known nationally of the groups, and has in New York, in the person of Malcolm X, * one of its most outstanding leaders and persuasive speakers.

Several of the groups have incorporated the word "African" in their titles: United African Nationalist Movement, The Universal African Nationalist Movement, the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, the United Sons and Daughters of Africa, the First Africa Corps, The Cultural Association for the Women of African Heritage, the Liberation Committee for Africa, and a Provisional Committee for a Free Africa. It is possible that there is some Communist influence in some of these groups, but unquestionably such influence is insignificant and not at all the necessary dynamic to their existence. The protest and racial consciousness expressed by these groups stem from years of discrimination against Negroes and their always-present interest in Africa, highlighted today by the obvious impact of Africa on world affairs. The existence of such groups calls attention to an extremely significant fact, namely, the rejection by large numbers of the Negro masses of their orthodox channels of leadership such as the Christian church, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League, and their desire to express identity with and derive moral strength from Africa.

While not noticeably active in these Africa-related organizations, the Negro intellectual and artist during the past twenty years has also felt a lack of satisfaction in the ordinary outlet for his talent and leadership in his field. He has suffered an alienation from his


* Malcolm X has defected from the Black Muslims since this paper was written. Editor.
African roots, having had to forget his heritage -- write of universals -- forsake "the problem" if he wanted to be a success. Negro scholars, too, and Negro universities, tended to leave stories of the Negro for others to write. And white artists and scholars with avidity and psychoanalytic perception have pursued the study and being of the Negro.

Langston Hughes, of that small band of eternal devotees, expresses this alienation and cultural robbery when he says:

You've done taken my blues and gone --
Sure have! You sing'em on Broadway,
And you sing 'em in Hollywood Bowl.
You mixed 'em up with symphonies,
And you fixed 'em so they don't sound like me.
Yep, you done taken my blues and gone!
You also took my spirituals and gone.
Now you've rocked-and-rolled 'em to death!
You put me in Macbeth,
In Carmen Jones, and Anna Lucasta,
And all kinds of Swing Mikados
And in everything but what's about me --
But someday somebody'll
Stand up and talk about me,
And write about me --
Black and beautiful --
And put on plays about me!
I reckon it'll be me myself!
Yes, it'll be me.

In a very direct way, the Negro intellectual has been revived by stimuli from African intellectuals. For Africans too, as black men in the first quarter of the twentieth century, had suffered an alienation from their roots and their tradition, similar to that of the American Negro. According to Paulin Joachim, editor of Bingo, the African writers, feeling an urge to regain their lost sense of human dignity and racial pride, proclaimed in the mid-thirties in Paris, the philosophy of negritude.  

Expressed largely in the poetic medium by such distinguished Negroes as Léopold Senghor, Aimé Cesaire, Léon Damas, and David Diop, and applauded by such outstanding French intellectuals as Jean-Paul Sartre, this movement was soon institutionalized in the formation of the Society of African Culture, and in 1941, in the inauguration of the journal, *Presence Africaine*. The Society of African Culture and its journal had two tasks: "1. To bring before the world audience expression of our original cultures so far as they interpret the present life of our peoples and our personalities, and 2. to reflect back to our own people the image of their aspirations, their experiences, joys, and hopes of the world."

American Negro writers and scholars attended the First International Conference of Negro Writers and Artists sponsored by the Society of African Culture in September 1956 in Paris. The following year, a branch of the Society was organized in New York as the American Society of African Culture by those persons who had attended the Paris Conference.

The American Society of African Culture, through its international conferences, the most recent of which was held in April 1963 at Howard University, through its festivals, seminars, art exhibits, and publications, has strengthened the tie between the Negro intellectuals of this country and those of Africa. It has encouraged Negro writers and artists once again to explore their African roots. Though largely to date limited in its impact, except through its publications, to the Eastern Seaboard, the American Society of African Culture continues the tradition of the American Academy in Washington and the Negro Society for Historical Research of New York.

The Arden House Conference on Africa, called in November 1962 by the leaders of the major organizations in the American Negro community, indicates an awareness and an appreciation by these organizations, perhaps understandably a little late, of the impact of Africa on the Negro intellectuals and masses alike. Today, happily, it is impossible for American Negro leaders to exercise any effective leadership without an acknowledgement of some form of identity or interest in Africa. The Arden House Conference symbolized this "New Expression" and, acting through its executive committee composed of the representa-
tives of the National Council of Negro Women, the National Association for the Advance-
ment of Colored People, the Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern
Christian Leadership Conference, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, on De-
cember 17, 1962 it presented ten resolutions on Africa to President Kennedy.

These resolutions included recommendations expressing the need for our govern-
ment and our religious bodies to assist Africa in this crucial period of its history, and
made specific recommendations for the more critical areas of Africa: South Africa, South-
west Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Central African Federation, and Kenya, as
well as the need of this government to implement more American Negro participation in
United States programs in Africa.

After presenting these recommendations to President Kennedy, and having confer-
red also with Adlai Stevenson, the Executive Committee has approved the formation of a
permanent organization which will have as its purpose the continued expression of interest
in Africa and efforts by the American Negro community to influence United States policy
on Africa.

The Negro community now, it seems, has understood that the choice of Douglass and
others to stay here, while perhaps timely, was inconclusive; that the problem of the twen-
tieth century, over and above geographic location and linguistic and other differences, has
truly been that of the color line; and that men of color, or of African descent, once more
an acceptable appellation, must join ranks. Leadership must reflect this knowledge.

Three hundred years of social change is hard to encompass. Much has been left
unsaid, but it seems quite clear that the Negro community at the mass level, at the level
of intellectual analysis and artistic endeavor, and at the level of organizational leadership
knows and feels the impact of Africa. One must rejoice in this recognition but anticipate
responsibilities of the future.

For when completely free, American Negroes will be of one country, expressing one
national image; but when completely free, African Negroes will represent several countries,
several interests, and several subcultures. Differences, even conflicts, will emerge in Africa which in the day of total independence could have considerable international ramifications. As the largest community of persons of African descent in the Western World, American Negroes may be called upon to play extraordinarily crucial roles of diplomacy and interpretation. Our readiness and ability to do this can only be supported on the basis of our scholarship and our political and economic position in this country; to be weak, uninformed, and unprepared for the days ahead would be inexcusable and a disgrace to the legacy of our forefathers.

Selected Bibliography


RELATION BETWEEN CLASS STATUS AND PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS IN NEGRO HIGH
INCOME FAMILIES

Sophia McDowell *
and
Elizabeth D. Huttman *

The thesis that there are class differences in the Negro population certainly does not come as a revelation to anyone here this evening. It would be a revelation, however, to most of the American population. Traditionally members of the majority group have assumed that all members of the racial minority occupy a lowly position on the bottom stratum of our socio-economic structure. Since interracial contacts have been restricted, there has been little individualizing or classifying within the racial category. Instead, a classless stereotype of the American Negro has prevailed about which Dr. Guy Johnson remarked in 1944: "In so far as it has any validity, it is, of course, more applicable to the Negro masses than to the minority of high sophisticated and acculturated Negroes." 1 Whether or not Johnson's "highly sophisticated and acculturated Negroes" of 1944 are the same people whom E. Franklin Frazier described less benignly as the "black bourgeoisie" in 1957 -- there is very little up-to-date research upon them. Generally their existence is ignored in current sociological studies, where statistical generalizations tend to be made in terms of white and non-white populations, with breakdowns for class among white but rarely among the non-white. This is despite the fact that social stratification among Negroes has been recognized and described or diagrammed by many sociologists, notably DuBois, Frazier, Dollard, Allison Davis, Lloyd Warner and Myrdal. This study we are about to report to you focuses upon upper income Negro families, some of their attitudes, and how they contrast with lower income Negro families.

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

Our approach to the study of class differentiation in living conditions and values among Negroes is in specific terms of parental aspirations for their children. It may be

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of interest to you to know how we hit upon "parental aspirations" as the focus of our study. We started out by questioning the assumption of the "low aspiration level of the Negro child" which we found not only in prejudiced popular stereotypes and in practical social reform programs, but also in the sociological literature, where it is linked to caste limitations of opportunity eventually resulting in frustration and futility.

This concept did not agree with our daily experiences and our general knowledge. In the last two decades the Negro population has become differentiated into a wide range of educational and occupational categories. Various forms of desegregation have broken the hard shell of caste separatism, and a considerable number of Negroes in the favored categories are coming to realize living conditions related to their new job status rather than their traditional race status.

Under such changed and changing circumstances, one would anticipate that class more than color, would come to influence the family life and parental aspirations of Negro upper income families. We would expect that parents in such families would have aspirations for their children that reflect their own status. We would expect that they have consciously thought about these goals and conscientiously planned in their direction. We would expect them to stress the importance of a college education and a career in one of the professions. But, we might also expect that under the influence by the prevailing American middle class norms, they voice their aspirations in psychological terms of personal adjustment and self-realization, as well as in terms of specific vocational and social success.

A fine opportunity for testing these hypotheses concerning upper-income Negro families by comparing them with a control population of lower-income Negro families was available through the Community Service Project at Howard University. This project is an

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2 Many sociological studies have found class differentials in family structure and values in the white population. One distinctive sociological study, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," concluded years ago that "there are cultural differences in the personality formation of middle-class compared with lower-class people, regardless of color, due to their early training." Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst in the American Sociological Review, 11 (December 1946). However, nothing in this paper should be construed to mean that class is the sole determinant of behavior under any circumstances. A considerable sociological literature attests to a variety of other factors psychological and situational, that must be taken into consideration in fully understanding the behavior of either individuals or groups.
action-research program under the Program for Continuing Education and Community Development. It is based in the Second Police Precinct of the District of Columbia, popularly known as the "worst" precinct in Washington due to its high crime, public welfare and illegitimacy rates. The Community Service Project is interested in a deeper understanding of the underprivileged families in the Second Precinct area, and is also looking forward to a re-survey of these families in three years to assess the effect of its service program. In these connections the comparative study we proposed in a highly privileged community was potentially useful.

At the same time, Dr. Wm. Stuart Nelson, Vice President of the University, urged that the faculty of the Department of Sociology avail themselves of the opportunity to use the community as a research laboratory for their students.

It was in this way that Mrs. Elizabeth D. Huttman (then Research Associate for the Community Service Project and now studying in Europe) and I came to collaborate on this study of parental aspirations in two contrasting Negro communities. Collaborating with us were 39 students in my undergraduate sociology course in The Family, for whom this study was a valuable learning research experience.

THE STUDY SAMPLES

The upper income community we selected is popularly known in Washington as the "Negro Gold Coast." The reputation of this community and such census indices as "average value of owner-occupied one-family housing structure" -- which exceeds $30,000 -- provide a clear contrast with the lower class communities in the Second Precinct. For the purposes of this study we arbitrarily designate the residents of our upper-income community as "middle and upper class," not trying to specify which. We side-step the issue of the peculiar class-within-caste character of Negro stratification which results in upper-class status accruing within the Negro community to persons whose occupations and income would place them in the middle class if segregation did not exist. 3 (In this connection, however, it is of interest that the terms "Platinum Coast" and Diamond Head" are

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sometimes used by Washington Negroes to designate two other desirable residential areas, and there also seems to be mobility from our area into the newly constructed apartments of a redeveloped area close to the center of the city.)

In acquiring a study sample from this area, we had the cooperation of the past and present officers of the local civic association, who permitted access to their membership lists. We are further indebted to these officers and to several knowledgeable members of the community for examining these lists with us to provide a roster of families which either certainly or probably included children of high school age or under. From a revised roster of 101 possibly eligible families, 68 were visited, their eligibility confirmed, and 68 valid schedules were secured. 4

In all cases, the person interviewed was the female parent. The schedule which included a number of open-ended questions took an average of 45 minutes to administer. Cooperation was excellent.

In selecting our lower income population we used two census tracts in the Second Precinct with high indices of instability and deterioration, as previously described, under special study by the Community Service Project. Female household heads 5 in every tenth household 6 were interviewed. A total of 119 of these interviews were eligible for our study because the households included one or more children under 18 years of age.

METHOD OF STUDY

Our study of the aspirations of upper-income parents was patterned in large part on the schedules already in use by the Community Service Project, so that lower-income

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4 We have no information on the characteristics of the one-third of the households for which no schedules were obtained, except to know that eleven refused cooperation while 22 were not at home on repeated visits or phone calls. They may include some proportion who would have proved ineligible as the basis of family composition, or they may, of course, differ in some other manner from the group from whom schedules were obtained. Thus, there is a possible bias.

5 Female household head is defined for this study as the wife of the male household head or the female head without husband.

6 If the female head of household was not available for interview, the next door household was substituted.
Negro population could be used as a control, and comparisons made. These schedules started out with the usual demographic items, and then asked three questions concerning parental aspirations: What is your greatest desire for you children? How far would you like your children to go in school before they start to work? What kinds of jobs or occupations do you want your children to go into? We added ten more questions for the purpose of a more intensive exploration of parental aspirations among the middle-class parents.

SOME LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

While these additional questions undoubtedly enhanced our understanding of the attitudes of the upper-income population, we have some methodological concern lest the difference in research instrument might affect the results of the study. For instance, had the lower-income population been asked not merely "what is your greatest desire for your children?" as was done, but if this question had been pursued with an item "Would you say something more to explain what you mean?"-- as we did in the case of the upper-income population -- would there have been any significant differences in their answers? Frankly, we do not know.

It would be a useful methodological experiment to examine another sample of the Second Precinct population or a different lower income community -- perhaps one with fewer disorganization indices -- using these same aspiration questions, but giving them greater emphasis.

Additional questions of reliability have to do with sample selection, discussed earlier, with the use of non-professional interviewers, and class differences in verbalization, which we will discuss later.

FINDINGS

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Sample Populations. The socio-economic circumstances of the two Negro communities -- the highly privileged and the underprivileged --

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7 The Community Service Project schedule also contained 20 additional questions about the need for improved community facilities, but these questions were not relevant to our aspirations study, and, therefore not used.
present some sharp contrasts, startling to those who are unfamiliar with the diversification within the Negro population. For the purposes of the report this evening, we shall assume your familiarity with this diversification and merely attempt to outline with a few bold strokes the contrasts between our two sample populations. (For anyone who may be interested, we have a stack of detailed tables.)

Household units differ in size and even more significantly in composition. The upper-income households are smaller and consist primarily of conventional "nuclear" (i.e. parent-and-offspring only) families. The lower-income households consist of combined and "extended" families, each of which may include an entirely unique and unpredictable assortment of relatives; in about a third of the cases there is a female head; often, however, there is no clear indication who, if anyone, should be listed as "household head"; there are more children per household, but only about 40 per cent of the children are offspring of the household head. (It is not within the province of this particular study, but it would be interesting sometime to explore how family unity is maintained with such diverse composition, what are the lines of authority, and how the definitions of family roles become established on an ad hoc basis rather than by pre-established cultural norms.)

Family employment patterns further accentuate the contrasts between the two areas. In the upper-income sample, the main breadwinner is almost invariably the father, and in about half these households, the wife is also employed. Employment of both husband and wife in the same household occurred in less than ten per cent of the lower income sample, and it was often hard to decide whom to designate as "main breadwinner." Employment responsibilities were frequently shared by children, grandchildren, and other relatives.

Almost all the employed parents in the upper-income sample, except for the 28 per cent who are self-employed, work for the government — Federal or District — or Howard University. The occupational distribution in our upper-income group is completely out of line with the Census figures for the employed Negro population of Washington for over three-fourths of our employed upper-income parents are both in
professional occupations and 13 per cent of the males are classified as "managers, officers, and proprietors." Thirteen per cent of the females are classified as "clerical and sales." In contrast the lower-income sample includes less than 10 per cent professional; the largest number of male household heads are unskilled and service workers, and the largest number of female household heads are domestic and service workers.

In our upper-income sample it was reported that over 85 per cent of the fathers and mothers have completed their college education. Furthermore, over half of these have had graduate work. While we do not have data on the education of male parents in the lower income area, we know that only about three per cent of the mothers have completed college and over half of them have had less than tenth grade high school education.

Obviously, the upper-income parents have emphasized education for their children. Many of them exercise a choice in the selection of the public junior and senior high school which their children attend. Over-one-third of the upper-income families are paying for a private or parochial school education for some or all of their children. Only one of their 62 school-age children was reported behind one or more grades, while almost 30 per cent are known to be retarded in this manner in the lower-income area.

The people in our upper income sample are obviously more well-established in the Washington area. Ninety-nine per cent of them own their own home. None of them has been here less than three years, and well over three-fourths has been here more than ten years. There are more newcomers in the lower income area; four out of five do not own their own home.

Our upper income group seems to maintain a more active church affiliation than our lower class group, but the most significant contrasts are with regard to the types of churches attended in the two communities. In the upper-income sample, one-fourth belonged to the Episcopal Church and a second fourth to the Catholic Church. The Congregational Church ranks third with 15 per cent belonging, Methodist fourth with 12 per cent and the Baptist a low fifth, with ten per cent belonging. The other
church affiliations in the community are Presbyterian, Unitarian and Pentecostal. There is no such departure from traditional religious patterns in the lower class community. Here, the majority are Baptist and most belong to churches characterized by their emotional services and small congregations.

With regard to membership in voluntary organizations besides church, our data strongly support current sociological findings concerning class differentials. Well over three-fourths of the parents in the upper-income sample are affiliated with several voluntary organizations, besides churches, while well over three-fourths of those queried in the lower-income sample have no organizational affiliations besides the church. The most noticeable difference in the organization participation of children in the two samples is the greater club and organization membership in the upper-income area and the greater use of public recreation facilities in the lower income area.

Parental Aspirations in the Two Sample Populations.

Community differences in parental aspirations are clearly revealed in response to the question, "What is your greatest desire for your children?" as you can see in the tables that have been handed out. The percentage of upper income parents who volunteered psychological goals was five times as great as the percentage of lower income parents who spoke in these terms - 85 per cent as contrasted with 17 per cent. Moreover, upper-income parents stipulated psychological goals almost twice as often as they stipulated either educational or occupational goals when asked for their "greatest desire."

When we analyze the specific psychological replies, we find that more than 40 per cent of those in the upper-income community and less than ten per cent in the lower-income community spoke about "happiness," "good adjustment," "self-realization," and such. Over 85 per cent of the lower-income answers which we have classified as "psychological" fell in the category of "good citizenship, responsibility, morality," and were generally coached in terms of "keeping out of trouble" rather than the achievement of a more positive personal goal. Seventeen per cent of the upper-income people replied
in part or in whole, to the query about "greatest desire" with some response to the effect that the child should decide for himself.

An easy interpretation of the foregoing, in keeping with the hypotheses with which we started, is that these parents are under the influence of American middle-class child-rearing norms, which advise "good parents" to be concerned about psychological values in the lives of their children, to see to it that the children are "happy and well-adjusted," that they "achieve self-realization" and that their individuality is respected at all times. This interpretation is probably correct. However, we have come to suspect that when middle-class parents use these terms they are often sloganizing rather than accurately reporting their attitudes. In fact, 16 of the 17 parents who stated that they wanted the child to "decide for himself" proceeded to limit this freedom of decision by such suggestions as "I want most that they have financial security" or "I want them to be successful at a career of their own choice"; it must be "their own choice" because "rebellion may set in if there is no choice." Or, there is the parent who wanted her children's occupation left "entirely up to them. If they will be happy digging ditches I will have no objections," but insisted on a college education.

"A good education" was definitely verbalized as a primary concern in both samples in response to the "greatest desire" question. About half of the upper-income parents, and slightly more of the lower-income parents named some educational goal. As you can see from the tables, the lower-income parents were more likely to give an unqualified answer, like "good education" while the upper-income parents stipulated college or even graduate work beyond the bachelor's degree, reflecting, we think, a class differential in familiarity with educational opportunities and occupational requirements.

Occupational and economic goals were named more often by upper-income parents than by lower-income parents in response to the "greatest desire" question. Upper-income parents talked of achieving general success, "making something of themselves" and "marrying well." They sometimes specified a particular profession, while the lower-income parents were more likely to speak more modestly in terms of economic security - good clothing, "a decent place to live" or "a secure job."
You will recall that in addition to the "greatest desire" question, parents in both samples were asked separately and specifically, "How far would you like your children to go in school before they start to work?" and "What kinds of jobs or occupations do you want your children to go into?"

With respect to the specific educational question, about one-third of the lower-income parents talked of "finishing high school" as though this would be quite an achievement. It is noteworthy, however, that over 40 per cent of them mentioned college. In the upper-income sample, no one mentioned high school, and everyone talked of college except for those who insisted that the child should "decide for himself" or "go as far as he can go." Thirty-five per cent specified graduate school or some professional training.

When asked directly to name their occupational aspirations for their children over half of the upper-income parents, and about a third of the lower-income parents said something to the effect that it was "up to the child." Parents in both groups wanted professional occupations for their children, but the lower-income parents were likely to name only one of those few professions traditionally open to Negroes (nurse, physician, dentist, lawyer, teacher, minister). A few of the upper-income parents made reference to less traditional professions, like scientist or diplomat.

More about Parental Aspirations in the Upper-Income Community.

We have some additional data which concern only the upper-income sample, because we asked these parents some extra questions about the nature of their aspirations, and the circumstances that gave rise to them and modified them.

Almost all of the mothers told us that they had thought of and/or discussed this subject before; some had made practical plans, including the setting aside of a trust fund for the college education which they considered essential to future success and happiness.

When asked to evaluate the likelihood for achieving the aspirations which they named, almost all were entirely optimistic. When asked to name the circumstances -- "either within themselves or outside forces" -- which might help in the achievement of
these goals, the largest number (40 per cent) named the child's own initiative, motivation and ability. (Another group said "good home environment" - which seemed to us a self-conscious recognition of their responsibility as parents, in contrast with the "irresponsibility" of the lower class Negro parent who either does not seek or cannot afford to provide this "good home environment"). Similarly, the answer most frequently formulated to an open-ended query about the "circumstances that might hinder the child's realization of aspiration" was "lack of interest and ability on the part of the child."

When asked to compare the opportunities open to their children with their own opportunities when young, 99 per cent of our upper-income parents saw a change for the better. The improved situation was attributed to the decrease in discrimination - new job openings for Negroes - "in government," "outside of government," "in new fields," "in scientific fields." One cheerful respondent remarked, "if a Negro is truly qualified, there are no limits!"

We tried to trace back into the generations to see how aspirations had changed. We asked our parents what were their own aspirations for themselves when they were in high school, and the majority (78 per cent) responded with a specific professional goal. When we asked them what their parents had aspired for them, they responded mostly in terms of finishing college, sometimes in terms of going on to graduate work, and often in terms of a specific one of the traditional professions. (A good percentage did comment that their parents wanted to "leave it up to me" or "let me choose something I would like.")

We then asked those parents with high school age children what these youngsters aspired for themselves, and the relatively few answers we got concerned the completion of college. (A small group mentioned going on to graduate school, and the choice of a specific profession, which more often than not was one of the untraditional professions.)

**INTERPRETATIONS AND COMMENTS**

With some modification, our original hypotheses are supported by our findings. However, we have gained some understandings beyond the confines of these hypotheses.
Class Comparisons of Aspirations.

With regard to parental education aims, upper-income Negroes have higher aspirations than lower-income Negroes. These findings confirm the direct correlations demonstrated in other sociological studies between the emphasis upon college education as essential to advancement on the one hand and the individual's own occupational educational status on the other. 8 We are more impressed, however, with our finding that well over a third of our lower-income parents also specified a college education. Perhaps this tells us more about our interviewees' dreams than their plans; certainly this tells us that a portion of the Negro urban lower class are coming to assimilate some of the dominant values of our culture. This indicates a higher aspiration level than we would have expected in view of previous sociological knowledge, but it should not be surprising in view of the day-by-day testimony of the civil rights movement: the Negro not only aspires for educational opportunities now -- he demands them.

With regard to parental occupational aims, the upper-income Negro parents are more consistent and versatile in their choice of professional goals. Yet a good portion of low-income parents also aspire for their children to have "professional jobs." This reinforces our earlier conclusion that the urban Negro, even in an area of poverty and social disorganization, is coming to have visions of upward mobility for his children. The old sociological formula was that a low aspiration level prevailed among lower-class Negroes as a prophylactic against frustration. This formula must be revised. Of course the broader stereotype of low aspiration level among Negroes in general is completely contradicted by our findings, just as it is contradicted by the historic evidences of the contemporary civil rights movement.

When we turn to the answers to our "greatest desire" question, we are suspicious about how neatly our findings fit our hypotheses, for instance those concerning

the emphasis on psychological goals by middle class people. True, it can be expected that people who have solved some of the practical problems of survival can turn more easily to the infinite goals of individual fulfillment. True, also, these goals are part of our democratic and middle class values, that get translated into parental aspirations. Yet we wonder whether these psychological statements are an accurate index of class-differentials in basic orientation to life. We surmise, instead, that both our study and a great many others are biased in the direction of eliciting such psychological statements more frequently from middle-class people than from lower-class people. We surmise that these statements may have as much to do with verbal concepts as with parental goals. To illustrate from our own data: While the upper-income aspiration schedule contained precisely the same three aspiration questions as were included in the community survey schedule used with the lower-income group, it encourage multiple answers to the "greatest desire" question. Our upper-income mothers were inclined to be more talkative; they gave us longer answers, and as you can see from the tables, we coded an average of 2+ answers to that question from the upper-income mothers, and only a little more than one answer each from the lower-income mothers. In examining these multiple answers, we find that the parents in the upper-income area enjoy a kind of verbal versatility, shuttling freely from psychological to practical idiom and vice versa, intermingling practical and abstract terms. For instance, one parent who starts out with "I would like my children to learn to live their lives very fully," (code "psychological") continues with "To do this they must get broad experience and a good education" (code "educational"). Conversely another parent begins with an educational reply, "to finish school" but when asked "Would you say something more to explain what you mean?" she switches to a different level: "to be a good citizen; understand why he has to do things; respect the rights of others; learn that he can't live by himself, etc." Still another parent talking about "fulfillment of potentiality," explains that a "minimum of education" is needed as "a tool to get ambitions." Generally, we assume that this is because lower class people have a limited potential, or that they feel it is futile to try to achieve the potential they do have. Might it not be at least in part because they use a different vocabulary, because they are inclined to speak in concrete rather than abstract terms? Certainly in the sociological and anthropological literature there is evidence of semantical hazards in cross-cultural studies.
This should alert us to similar language problems in studies that cross the subcultural class lines. And though our research finding of this class differential in stated parental aspirations is indisputable, we must be wary in our interpretation of the finding.

More about Upper-Income Attitudes toward Mobility.

What impressed us most in the responses we got to the additional questions we asked upper-income parents about their aspirations was their confidence that outside circumstances are now benign and personal prosperity depends primarily on personal ability and effort.

The prevalence of the traditional American success formula is somewhat surprising in the context of the racial group whose cultural heritage lacks what one researcher called the "achievement syndrome" and whose vocational aspirations have therefore generally been lower than those of other racial or ethnic groups. 9 But it is not so surprising if seen in an occupational rather than racial context: Other studies based on non-Negro samples of workers have shown that professionals and executives feel their own advancement depends on their own abilities and efforts, while people in lower-income occupations feel that forces outside of themselves, for instance, "pull" and "luck" are more important. 10 Our sample is composed mainly of professional

9 "The achievement syndrome is composed of achievement motivation, achievement values and educational-occupational aspirations." Bernard C. Rosen found that "the disparity between the vertical mobility rates of some racial and ethnic groups can, in part, be explained as a function of their dissimilar psychological and cultural orientations towards achievement." While recognizing class differences among Negroes in motivation, he concluded that "vocational aspirations of Negroes . . . are the lowest of any group in the sample." His explanation was that "their culture . . . is least likely to accent achievement values. The Negro's history as a slave and depressed farm worker, and the sharp discrepancy between his experiences and the American Creed, would appear to work against the internalization of the achievement values of the dominant white group. Typically, the Negro life-situation does not encourage the belief that one can manipulate his environment or the conviction that one can improve his condition very much by planning and hard work." Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24 (Feb. 1959) pp. 47-60.

people who have "made the grade," often after an arduous climb. Certainly these parents would aspire for their children to attain at least as much as they. But they cannot permit their children to take success for granted; like the nouveau arrive, they must strive for it with all the inner force they can command.

Our upper-income respondents aim to provide their children with inner strengths and prerequisite skills for success and they are convinced that social circumstances are now felicitous for the upwardly mobile Negro. Today a realistic assessment of possibilities for his advancement encourages the ambition of the middle-class Negro though yesterday it inhibited the ambition of the lower-class Negro.

Dr. Frazier regarded the optimism of the middle-class Negro as excessive, and suspected "exaggerations concerning economic well-being . . . (which) tend to create a world of make-believe into which the black bourgeoisie can escape from its inferiority and inconsequence in American society." We do not know whether this is so or to what extent. Our study was not geared to this hypothesis and we have little relevant data. Only rarely did our interviewers report that a parent tried to impress them with her affluence, like the mother who aspired for her children "to accept and spend with care the wealth which my husband and I will leave them."

On the other hand we can vouch that there are a good many parents in the Negro middle-class community who, at least verbally, stress the importance of inner satisfactions rather than economic well-being. For instance, one mother wished that her children "should find their own way and be exposed to everything. I will try to expose

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11 Edwards, G. Franklin, The Negro Professional Class, Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1959, p. 165. Though we ourselves collected no data on the occupations of our respondents' parents, we can assume that what G. Franklin Edwards found out when he examined three generations of occupational history of the contemporary Negro professional closely applies to our sample -- namely, that there is "somewhat greater vertical mobility than in the case of most studies on Native Whites; the pattern resembles more that found for second generation immigrants."

them to all possible, so that when they choose their fields, they will choose them with full knowledge of as many other possibilities as possible. This is to insure personal satisfaction and happiness." To us this statement does not reveal any peculiar psychology of the "black bourgeoisie," but bespeaks only a universal quality of parental devotion, expressed in the semantics of the middle-class.

The Continuing Emphasis on Education.

We do not have complete confidence in the upper-income parents' answers to our queries about what their own parents' aspirations for them had been or about their own aspirations in high school, or about their children's aspirations, currently. Recollections are not reliable; the temptation to project onto one's children one's own unrealized ambition is often too great to resist. However, if there is any one thread that runs through the three-generation cross-section, it is the continuing emphasis on education. Indeed we found the same thread woven into the aspirations of a considerable portion of our lower-income parents.

What is the significance of this consistent emphasis on education through different generations and classes? Obviously the word "education" is an easy answer to give an interviewer. Education is so universally accepted as a value in our culture that people may use the term ritualistically, without thought and without fear of challenge. But this is not the complete explanation.

We use a single code for all our "education" answers, and punch a single hole in the IBM card. But as we have already seen from the answers of our verbally facile middle class parents, the term may have many connotations and consequences, depending on who uses it. Frequently it is a symbol for "the good life" with its spiritual privileges and obligations. Alternatively or additionally it may be a means of attaining the material things that enter into "the good life" -- "spurious" things like the showy cadillacs and the art objects Dr. Frazier observed in the homes of the "black bourgeoisie," and ordinary comfortable things like reliable plumbing and delicious foods and a good green backyard for one's kids.
The focal position of the demand for educational equality in the civil rights struggle today is further evidence of its basic importance in achieving other essential "rights" and goals. Certainly in a mobile society it means access to the vocation of one's choice, for some a minimally secure job, for others a satisfying profession. Furthermore, for members of a minority group, education may come to be idealized as the open sesame of acceptance not merely in the job market but in American society generally.

Social equality is a tremendous aspiration, but beyond social equality is social responsibility. And these are the terms in which some of our upper-income parents speak: "not education just for itself. Being able to give back to society wherever they see the need. That they be curious -- probing. Never content to sit and rest on what little they have. Being their brother's keeper. Service to the community."

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Among Negroes of differing income groups, this research has disclosed facets of parental aspirations not previously stressed in the sociological literature. In view of these, it would be useful to refine and modify our original hypotheses and to retest them in other upper-and-lower-income Negro neighborhoods, both similar and different from our sample, as well as in middle-class white neighborhoods.

Certain methodological improvements are also suggested by the experience of this preliminary study. We do not hope completely to avoid speculation about the significance of answers we receive to questions regarding aspirations. For so long as peoples' motivations are mixed, and their language does not completely or accurately reveal what their motivations are, differing interpretations of their statements will be possible. However, our schedules can be improved, and questions for use in future studies that cross class lines must be designed with an awareness of class differences in verbalization. Aspiration questions that are likely consistently to elicit the term, "education," must be framed so that the interviewee's connotations are made explicit.

Possibilities for future studies in related areas also have been suggested from this present research. Since there was no adequate class index for the communities
in our sample we avoided sharp class specifications and used the terms "upper and lower income" instead. Empirical studies of current stratification systems in varying Negro communities are prerequisite to a functional definition of class and a formula for class identification.

Once class has been defined, however, we can anticipate that we will find within not just one style, but several different styles of family living, thinking and aspiring, within any particular class. We do not propose merely to substitute one gross category, "class," for another, "race," in the understanding of complex human behavior. We know that parental aspirations are not merely the product of "class" but can result from a variety of psychological and situational factors. The relationship between aspiration and such factors as family experience, parental acceptance, parental planning, rural vs. urban residence, ethnicity have each already been explored in some segmental research. There is need for a comprehensive study analyzing these different contributing factors in a single context.

Finally the most conspicuous aspect of Negro aspirations today is that they are the focus of a mass movement of historical proportions. Reading the newspapers one might think that all the Negroes in the United States are out on picket lines or demonstrations. We know this is not true. In fact, none of the respondents in our study volunteered any comments concerning this movement, though it must have some relationship to their aspirations as well as to the possibility of their fulfillment. We ask, therefore, who are the people who are active, and who are the non-participants, and in each case, why? If the movement involves only a numerical minority of the racial minority, to what extent do they speak for the rest? The entire field of collective behavior would be enriched by deeper understandings of these phenomena.

All this for the future. For now we trust that our present study may help to update sociological thinking in a subject area where social change is invalidating old truths. We would be glad if this study could contribute to the erosion of an obnoxious and inaccurate racial stereotype.
# TABLES

## I. PARENTS' GREATEST DESIRES FOR THEIR CHILDREN

(Number and Percent of Sample Persons Who Expressed Indicated Desires)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Desire</th>
<th>Upper-Income Area</th>
<th>Lower-Income Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Goals - Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate work beyond Bachelors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unqualified (e.g. &quot;good education&quot;)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupational and Economic Goals - Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific profession or vocation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General economic success (1)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General economic security (2)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psychological Goals - Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of persons expressing such goals</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>85.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of such desires or goals</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness, good adjustment, self-realization, etc.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good citizenship, responsibility, morality, etc.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decide for self</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other goals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Persons</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of &quot;Greatest Desires&quot; or goals</strong></td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average number of &quot;greatest desires&quot; per person</strong></td>
<td>2+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Includes "make something of self," "well-paying job," "marry well," etc.
(2) Includes "have food and clothing," "decent place to live," "secure job"

*Excludes 21 "no answer"
### II. PARENTS EDUCATIONAL DESIRE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Upper-Income Area</th>
<th>Lower-Income Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finish High School</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school and vocational/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>business school</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48.5</td>
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<td>Graduate school or Professional</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decide for self, go as far as can</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>68</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. PARENTS OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Upper-Income Area</th>
<th>Lower-Income Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Up to child, &quot; &quot;something they</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Decent, &quot; &quot;secure,&quot; &quot;well-paying&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>job</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional job</td>
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<tr>
<td>Specified lower level job (semi</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>skilled)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Artistic or humanitarian job</td>
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<td>8.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5.8</td>
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