The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recreation and leisure service has contributed to the democratization of black Americans for the period 1906-1972. The study attempted to describe the interplay and connection between the black, subordinated community and the dominant white public administered leisure service organizations and how this relationship has influenced the mode of delivery of public recreation for blacks. The study was undertaken to help the field to more fully understand the consequences of the democratizing effect of recreation and the apparent relationship of continuing public recreation deprivation for black people and urban unrest which does not fit with a consistent pattern of egalitarianism and democracy.
Design of the Study

The study approach utilized the historical method which mainly involved the data gathering of primary and pertinent secondary material related to the provision of public recreation and leisure service to blacks. The material used in this study was intended to surface important developments, transitions, and approaches to leisure service delivery in order to provide a more sound historical base on which to make future assessments in race relations as it applies to public recreation.

A variety of approaches was taken to gather the data analyzed in this study. These approaches included: 1) a comprehensive investigation of related literature; 2) interviews with experts in the field; 3) a personal visit to the library and archives of the National Recreation and Park Association; and 4) the solicitation of informal mail responses from key retired officials of the National Recreation Association and National Recreation and Park Association.

The researcher attempted to identify major phases of development in the facilitation of public recreation opportunities for blacks and draw relationships between major social trends as they effected blacks and the recreation movement. These phases of development were summarized in a model of dominant-subordinate relations. The model synthesizes and combines the major societal patterns of dominant-subordinate relations as they relate to blacks and whites,
and the patterns of the provision of public recreation and leisure service for blacks during the period 1906-1972.

Conclusions

From the findings of this study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. While the recreation movement was initially oriented to meeting the play needs of underprivileged urban youth, the recreation needs of black youth were basically ignored during the first phase (1906-1919) of black/white relations in public recreation.

2. Blacks largely accepted the rationalization for existing pattern of recreation and leisure service during the first phase. Blacks were left to provide for themselves through their own social agencies—church, fraternal orders, etc.

3. The traditional egalitarian public recreation service principle of "recreation for all," was geared primarily to the needs and interests of the dominant white population.

4. The philosophical approach of the recreation movement incorporated the traditional assimilation concept of intergroup relations by supporting local, regional and national dictates in areas of social relations.

5. During the second phase (1920-1954) of black/white relations
in public recreation service, special attempts were made to expand recreation facilities and programs for blacks, although primarily on a segregated basis.

6. The leaders of the recreation movement accepted the segregation of blacks as a fact of social relations and attempted to meet their leisure needs through the Bureau of Colored Work and special "colored" divisions of municipal recreation service from 1920 to 1954.

7. Black people have been systematically excluded from participation in most community sponsored recreation programs because: a) the all-inclusive philosophy of municipal recreation initiated just after World War I moved the focus of leisure service away from delivery to underprivileged youth, and b) the various legal and extra legal discriminatory sanctions in the area of social relations have served to restrict black participation.

8. During the second phase two mutually exclusive paths of segregated organized recreation service existed. It was during this stage a re-definition of democratic recreation service was employed in the movement and not seen in conflict by its leaders with the "recreation for all" concept of service.

9. The leaders sought to include blacks in the general offerings
of the public recreation program, but did not see the separatist paths of public recreation as not conforming to the tenets of egalitarian service principles. Democratic recreation service delivery was adjusted to fit local and regional customs and legal requirements.

10. In actual operation, public recreation and leisure service has reflected the larger pervasive societal patterns of dominant-subordinate intergroup relations.

11. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, precipitated the desegregation of public recreation facilities, and eventually led to the improvement of recreational opportunities for black people during the third phase (1955-1965).

12. Attempts to facilitate more equal and inclusive treatment for blacks, particularly since 1954, have been incorporated by most leisure service agencies.

13. Attempts at separate organization, administration and delivery of public recreation during the fourth phase (1966 to present) of black/white relations in public recreation emerged around 1966. These efforts have been consistent with "black power" views for semi-autonomous control over matters of cultural and educational concern.

14. The fourth phase of relations has been characterized by
attempts at shared black/white participation in administrative decisions within the total municipal recreation program and community life.

15. Blacks have been almost entirely dependent upon public recreation offerings and leisure service. Recreation is considered a high priority need among the urban poor.

16. The irony of the "recreation for all" approach of public recreation, which has not worked in practice for subordinated blacks, has been the failure of this method to advocate and recognize the particular cultural and social needs and interests of black people. Rioting has resulted from a lack of sensitive dominant white response to the social needs of black ghetto residents and the frustration of black cultural interests.

by

James Fredrick Murphy

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TO BETTY

for whom all has been accomplished
# Table of Contents

I. **Introduction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background of the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Study</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. **Design of the Study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Data</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures Used in Securing Data</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. **Early Forces Influencing the Provision of Public Recreation for Blacks in America, 1906-1919**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Status of Race Relations</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Camp Community Service</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deprivation in Municipal Recreation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Race Riot</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. **Reconciliation and Association: "Recreation for All," 1920-1954**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation for All</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureau of Colored Work</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Support and Organization of Local Programs</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Democratization of the Recreation Program</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation Facilities for Blacks</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Impact of World War II</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-World War II</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC LEISURE
SERVICE, 1955-1965

Introduction
The Desegregation of Public Recreation Facilities
Elements Influencing Segregation Practices
Immediate Compliance
Civil Rights and Public Recreation
Delivery of Leisure Service in Urban Areas

Page
114
116
124
127
129
136

VI. ATTEMPTS AT SEPARATISM AND DECENTRAL-
IZATION OF PUBLIC RECREATION AND
LEISURE SERVICE, 1966 - PRESENT

Introduction
Separation and Neglect of Public Recreation
Urban Affairs Department
Civil Disorder and Reform

Page
142
144
153
156

VII. THE FUTURE OF DOMINANT-SUBORDINATE
RELATIONS IN PUBLIC RECREATION
AND LEISURE SERVICE

Introduction
The Future Course of Race Relations
Pluralistic or Singular Program Design

Page
165
167
174

VIII. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary
Conclusions
Recommendations

Page
183
198
202

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Page
204
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Distribution of Facilities in Relation to Negro Areas.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Public Recreation in 17 Southern Cities.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Public Recreation in 40 Northern Cities.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Attendance of Black Children at Public Sponsored Recreation Facilities.</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fifteen Years of Public Recreation for Black People.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Democratization of Public Recreation and Leisure Service: A Model of Dominant-Subordinate Relations.</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EGALITARIANISM AND SEPARATISM: A HISTORY OF APPROACHES IN THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC RECREATION AND LEISURE SERVICE FOR BLACKS, 1906-1972

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The recreation movement was spawned in the latter part of the nineteenth century because of the recognition by such socially concerned leaders as Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Joseph Lee, Luther Gulick, and others, that there was an imperative need to provide constructive leisure opportunities for children and youth in urban slums. In fact, many of the pioneers of the movement conceived recreation as a means of counteracting some of the effects of poverty, such as bad housing and juvenile delinquency. Butler (31, p. v) states that

...the conscience of civic leaders and social workers such as Jacob Riis in New York City and Jane Addams in Chicago was stirred into action by the slum conditions and their effect upon the children and youth living in blighted neighborhoods. Joseph Lee was shocked to see boys arrested for playing in the Boston streets, and George E. Johnson was moved at the pathos of the attempts of little children to play in the narrow crowded alleys of Pittsburgh.

While the early efforts of the recreation movement in America were oriented to the needs of the urban underprivileged, this concern
was basically limited to white youth. The initial attempts to meet the leisure needs of children and youth did not include a consideration for black children, still confined largely to the southern states in rural areas. Butler (32) states that the early pioneers in the movement were apparently not concerned about providing blacks their fair share of leisure service. "In fact, they do not seem to have been considered as being a special problem in the cities where the movement had an early start probably because they were a relatively small percentage of the population in most northern cities."

The specific interest in providing recreation opportunities for blacks was a consequence of the First World War which resulted in great numbers of blacks migrating to the northern urban communities. For the first time blacks were brought into contact and competition with whites on a large scale, including areas involving employment, education, housing and recreation. The expanding concern of race relations necessitated a change in the provision of public recreation service, resulting in a specialized attempt to meet the leisure needs of black citizens.

The prevailing "separate but equal" doctrine (a result of the Plessy v. Ferguson 1896 Supreme Court ruling) which dictated the nature of relations between blacks and whites, was also applicable to recreation during the first half of the twentieth century. The doctrine viewed the two races to be members of two functionally related
segments of a bi-racial society in which families, intimate friendship groups, and voluntary associations were to be separate (131).

According to Kraus (93) the Bureau of Colored Work of the National Recreation Association, the major professional agency of the recreation movement, provided consultation services aimed at assisting racially segregated community recreation programs until World War II. The National Recreation Association maintained the Bureau of Colored Work from 1920-1942 to facilitate and expand recreation opportunities for blacks and encourage such programs as were provided. This service was one of the few early efforts undertaken by a national agency to help ameliorate the deficient leisure opportunities for a subordinate racial group. The early efforts of the Bureau of Colored Work were significant in helping to establish facilities and programs for blacks, although in most cases they were maintained on a "separate but equal" basis or as was prescribed by the prevailing federal and local statutes (8, 25, 27, 90, 94, 104, 123).

The recreation profession accepted this situation and sought to expand recreation facilities and programs for blacks—on a racially segregated basis. Both North and South, the public recreation facilities provided for blacks tended to be inferior to those in white neighborhoods. The pattern of segregated park and recreation facilities began to break down after World War II. Three decisive Supreme Court rulings advanced desegregation: the Brown v. Board
of Education, Topeka, Kansas Supreme Court decision of 1954 which struck down "separate but equal" educational provisions for black and white children as inherently unequal; the 1955 Mayor and City Council of Baltimore v. Dawson and Holmes v. Atlanta, Supreme Court decisions which declared segregation invalid on public beaches in Maryland and on public golf courses in Georgia, broadening the 1954 Brown determination to include public recreation facilities; and Watson v. Memphis, which affirmed in 1963 that no municipally owned and operated facilities might be segregated (this included parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums, publicly owned stadiums, community centers, and similar facilities).

These landmark Supreme Court decisions along with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title III, provided that it was illegal to discriminate against anyone who desired to use public facilities, including parks, playground, and other recreation areas, and that where segregation in public recreation exists, blacks have been deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

It has always been felt that recreation provides a powerful influence in the assimilation of races for social well-being.

Programs of Americanization, the integration of immigrant groups, the promotion of wholesome race relations, and the constant process of infiltration and blending, they say, find in recreation a strong ally. By its very nature, recreation, with its spirit of togetherness, tends to promote the
socialization, unity, and loyalty which are so desirable in all human relationships (115, p. 67).

However, there have been flagrant inequalities in organized recreation as applied to blacks, especially in the South and in many large northern communities. For several decades a systematic and comprehensive pattern of racial segregation with respect to municipal recreation participation has existed in much of the Southern and border states.

Just as Negroes were not permitted to use trains, buses or other common carriers, or to enter restaurants, theaters, and hospitals that were reserved for whites, so they were automatically excluded from playgrounds, public parks, swimming pools, and organized sports (90, p. 8).

Despite the inequities that existed in public recreation service and the marked pattern of racial segregation which was manifest in much of the South, it has traditionally been held by many in the recreation profession, that recreation tends to promote socialization. Socialization serves to transmit culture to individuals and contribute to their personal development. Unfortunately, public recreation has not incorporated or implemented ameliorative leisure service programs to effect the meaningful inclusion of blacks. The degree to which organized public recreation and leisure service has not effectively served the needs of non-white American groups has become a problem that has gained some consideration in recent years. It has been stated by Kraus (94, p. 388) that it was not until the decade of the
1960's that the recreation profession began to give special attention to the leisure needs of the poor—especially non-white poor—in urban slums. The Federal government anti-poverty program which provided funding to disadvantaged groups gained impetus following a wave of urban rioting which erupted throughout the nation in 1964 and 1965. It was only after these "civil disturbances" that the needs of inner-city residents were brought forcefully to the attention of the public.

The extent to which public recreation and leisure service submits to egalitarian beliefs and values in practice, in relation to the provision of recreation opportunities for blacks, has reason to be questioned. It is generally believed that participation by blacks in community associations, clubs, and other cultural and recreation activities represents a significant step toward integration. "In this respect, the most important consequence of activity in associations is a kind of civic education" (126, p. 60).

However, since blacks have been deprived of the usual social and psychological satisfaction of everyday life and because opportunities for bi-racial association have been restricted by explicit or tacit observance of segregation in public settings, black Americans have not had the full opportunity to reap the benefits of democratic living (14, 22, 54, 59, 66, 86, 89, 99, 120, 131, 136, 147, 168, 176, 180).

The traditional view of recreation as an end in itself and that it
must be of a voluntary nature, which assumes that potential participants in organized leisure service programs must have the necessary attitudes, skills, knowledge, and financial resources to engage in recreation, has reason to be disputed. It appears more reasonable to accept the contemporary view that public recreation and leisure service must be accepted as a major responsibility of local government and that assurance be given each individual of an opportunity to actualize his potential for leisure expression. The majority of black people certainly don't qualify under the former option and recent turmoil during the 1960's and increasing requests for autonomous controls of educational and recreational programs by the black community suggests that the latter option is more congruent with objectives of a pluralistic society within an integrated democratic governmental framework.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify the major factors and consequences of the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recreation and leisure service for blacks since the formation of the Playground Association of America in 1906. The study attempted to describe the interplay and connection between the black, subordinated community and the dominant white public administered
leisure service organizations and how this relationship has influenced
the mode of delivery of public recreation for blacks.

The study was based on the assumption that 1) retrieval of
relevant historical data related to the provision of public recreation
service for blacks, and 2) interpretation of important stages in the
development of the recreation movement in America were of benefit
to the recreation profession. The study was undertaken to help the
field to more fully understand the consequences of the democratizing
effect of recreation and the apparent relationship of continuing public
recreation deprivation for black people and urban unrest which does
not fit with a consistent pattern of egalitarianism and democracy.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to determine the extent to which
the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recrea-
tion and leisure service has contributed to the democratization of
black Americans for the period 1906-1972.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the public provision of recreation and
leisure service as it related to the design and conduct of programs
and opportunities for black people for the period 1906-1972. Since
public recreation has mainly been an urban concern, as rural areas
are ordinarily unable to finance such services as education and recreation, this study primarily focused on the provision of recreation opportunities in urban communities.

This study was limited to the gathering of data which were retrieved primarily from the archives of the National Recreation and Park Association. The NRPA has served as the major organization concerned with the fostering of public recreation opportunities for blacks since the turn of the twentieth century. This study does not consider the provision of recreation as applied to voluntary youth serving agencies, commercial enterprises, private firms or federally sponsored units.

In some cases data covering certain periods of time since 1906 were unobtainable. Therefore, the writer was forced to accept the material without the opportunity for more detailed analysis.

There are some gaps in the chronology of public recreation and leisure service as it applies to the black community. A number of records have been lost or were unavailable for study.

**Definition of Terms**

To attain clarity and some degree of exactness, the following definitions are included:

**Accommodation** - the acceptance by individuals in a minority to remain a subordinate group. They must of necessity accept conditions...
they cannot control; they must to a degree conform to subordinate positions and rules of behavior vis-a-vis the dominant group.

**Democratization** - a philosophy based on the principle of egalitarianism, which provides for all American citizens the benefits of equal protection and equal opportunity to participate in various levels of government, including public recreation and leisure service.

**Dominant group** - one within a national state whose distinctive culture and/or physiognomy is established as superior in the society and which treats differentially and unequally other groups in the society with other cultures or physiognomy.

**Egalitarianism** - the doctrine which promotes and asserts the view that all men are essentially equal, or ought to be treated as such, particularly in political and other social situations, including the right to equal access of public recreation and leisure service. Its premise includes the belief that inequities based on privilege should be undermined and counteracted.

**Integration** - the working together of diverse elements of a social system so that the result is a cohesive whole. It refers to the emotional and attitudinal acceptance of persons in their own right without reference to their ethnic or racial membership. It involves the leveling of all barriers to association other than those based on ability, taste, and personal preference and allows for full participation in society without a loss of identity.
Jim Crowism - in America's Deep South and border states, a colloquial term denoting all or selected aspects of the entire complex of traditional racist discriminatory behavior and practices against blacks. Anti-black legislation discriminated with respect to attendance in the public schools, and the use of such public facilities as railroads, restaurants, theaters, hotels, parks, and public bathing places.

Model - a representation of an aspect or pattern of reality; such a representation being created to facilitate analysis of the reality and to serve as a standard for use as a basis of comparison.

Pluralism - the doctrine which provides that racial or ethnic groups seek toleration for their distinctive characteristics from the majority and the quest for toleration is based upon the belief that it is possible for differing cultures to exist together in harmony. The subculture tends to develop the characteristics that set it apart as a group, and great attention may be given to the customs, religion, manner of dress or language that is distinctively its own. A pluralistic minority seeks to adapt some of the cultural and institutional patterns of the majority while preserving the autonomy of the group in most things so that it can be self-determining and remain distinct. In addition to cultural distinctiveness and majority toleration, the pluralistic minority seeks more economic and political equality in the structure of the larger society.
**Separatism** - the enforced or voluntary process of spatial and physical cessation of a subordinate group from the dominant controlled national state where there is opposition to equality, forcing such group to live apart.

**Subordinate group** - one within a national state whose distinctive cultural and/or physiognomy is established as inferior in the society and is placed in a position of submission with lesser rights, treatment and opportunity.

**Significance of the Study**

Recreation has been an important source of fulfillment and relief for blacks, unable to freely participate in many of the economic, political and social organizations found in the community. While most other racial groups are not entirely dependent upon public, tax-supported facilities and leadership for recreation, this is not true of residents living in the urban slum neighborhoods (144).

Blacks, being the majority group of the inner city, are almost entirely dependent upon some form of public recreation and leisure service support. Unfortunately, public leisure service agencies have followed local *de facto* segregation customs in the North and West and complied with restrictive *de jure* segregation codes and laws in the South (8, 11, 12, 25, 28, 69, 71, 85, 90, 93, 94, 109, 119, 121, 141, 147, 154, 155, 165, 171, 176). This has resulted in limited and
ordinarily inferior park and recreation facilities and leadership at the disposal of subordinated black people (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 65, 76, 85, 90, 100, 104, 118, 119, 135, 152, 154, 162, 165, 169, 171, 173, 176, 177).

The twentieth century has been witness to a sharpening of conflict between blacks and other nonwhite subordinated groups, still largely confined to second-class citizenship status and restricted from various constitutional guarantees. The fundamental inequities of education, employment, housing, health care, and recreation opportunity have stirred blacks, particularly since the landmark Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools, to respond to these atrocities and basic civil rights infringements in the form of increasingly violent protest action (19, 40, 41, 52, 55, 59, 64, 66, 74, 88, 114, 131, 136, 146, 153, 168, 172, 179, 182).

Prior to the establishment of the various Office of Economic Opportunity summer "crash programs" and community self-directed recreation programs beginning in 1964, the delivery of leisure service was still largely outside the sphere of the relatively powerless and unorganized black slum dwellers (31, 38, 42, 65, 78, 83, 90, 93, 94, 104, 119, 123, 157). Public servants have generally assumed that all groups of people are equal in their need for recreation and that it is universally a voluntary experience. An
egalitarian philosophy, or "recreation for all" concept was propagated in the early 1920's and was considered to be a viable administrative policy for the ensuing five decades (25, 26, 28, 31, 35, 45, 46, 72, 90, 94, 115, 116, 124, 127, 138, 145, 158). The fallacy of this view is that it simply hasn't worked for most disadvantaged groups, including blacks (29, 30, 31, 33, 65, 73, 78, 83, 90, 94, 113, 119, 123, 157).

Blacks and most other subordinated groups are not able to participate the way the advantaged citizen does because of discriminatory practices directed against them and the accompanying lack of sufficient values and skills necessary to take part in middle-class oriented public leisure service programs (11, 12, 31, 78, 90, 94, 104, 113, 119, 120, 138, 154). The problem is compounded among disadvantaged populations for several reasons (123, p. 167):

1. Coping with sustenance difficulties produces a pragmatic orientation. . . leisure rewards must be relatively immediate and concrete; and they must accompany income security, or else futility is reiterated.

2. Restricted childhood play experiences. . . implies an underdeveloped recreation repertoire. The disadvantaged population seldom has the opportunity to gain leisure "know-how" in the realms of the dominant society's positively sanctioned leisure and play activities.

3. Disadvantaged neighborhoods are distinguished by their lack of recreation services--whether they be public, semi-public, private or commercial.

4. Disadvantaged populations, though often residentially mobile within their own neighborhoods, infrequently
travel outside this context on their own volition. this factor considerably lessens the extent and degree of potential recreation experience and resources.

5. Cultural differences may be the source of leisure habits that are inappropriate to the urban setting, or contradictory to values and norms of the larger society.

6. Minority membership may deter participation in available leisure activities because of social pressures and discrimination by other groups of the society.

Public leisure service has special responsibilities to black disadvantaged populations because of its orientation and close proximity to the people. The urban community is laden with problems of unemployment, sub-standard housing, illiteracy, school drop-outs, etc., and demands particular attention. These deleterious conditions tend to deter voluntary recreation participation. A lack of special or compensatory approaches to public recreation and leisure service for blacks has greatly hindered their involvement in public recreation on a voluntary, willful basis.

While the recreation movement in the United States began in a reaction to dilapidated housing, overcrowding, and immoral conditions in many of the large northern cities at the turn of the twentieth century, Butler (31) states that black people have rarely enjoyed a fair share of public recreation opportunities. They have been commonly denied access to parks and other public recreation facilities and areas, although some cities provided separate facilities for their use.
The process of settlement for blacks has been characterized by a high concentration of residential segregation which has increased over time (53, 70, 98, 159, 160).

Between 1910 and 1960, the Negro has been redistributed from the South to the North and West, and from rural to urban and metropolitan areas; but within the urban and metropolitan complexes the Negro American has become and has remained much more highly segregated than was true of white immigrants who flocked to the cities before them (70, p. 77).

The massive enclaves of black Americans in the central cities of our metropolitan areas has produced educational, occupational, and social segregation. Blacks have been caught in the rigid vise of poverty and residential segregation which has imposed isolation from whites and social segregation, which restricted occupational and income opportunities, inferior education and recreation opportunities, and has maintained and reinforced poverty.

The systematic segregation of black people has effectively deprived them of adequate recreation facilities and leisure opportunities, as well as hindered interracial cooperation (36, 96, 146, 148). Recreation is an important facet of the socialization and individuation processes. Recreation is not only a means to social and individual adjustment and growth, but is a goal and reward for work and achievement. If satisfying leisure experience is not available as an outcome of financial security and regular employment, these accomplishments lose a good deal of their meaning.
Recreation is seen as a constructive and pleasurable use of leisure and a right of all people. One of the major obstacles which stands between the black American and full integration into the social structure consists of the residual effects of spatial and physical separation. "Probably nowhere is this separation and consequent aversion more clearly marked than in the social lives of people" (90, p. 21).

Clearly, the achievement of an integrated society in which each group has the opportunity to determine its own destiny within the framework of national goals is predicated upon the extent to which social, economic, and educational restrictive barriers are eliminated. If organized public recreation continues to accept the pattern of de facto racial segregation, it will fail to make a contribution to the democratization of black people.

The recent civil rights legislation and court decisions discussed on page 4 of this study have brought about a change in the attitudes of minority groups, particularly blacks, and there has been a tendency for them to assert their full rights as Americans (19, 21, 40, 48, 49, 55, 59, 64, 74, 95, 114, 131, 134, 136, 146, 153, 172, 179, 182). Blacks, not only are requesting their fair share of public leisure service, but they are also insisting that recreation programs be designed, maintained, controlled and implemented by themselves. Administrators of recreation and leisure service agencies are
beginning to realize that this new situation calls for a revision of usual policies and techniques if their services, particularly to central city areas, are to be relevant and effective (16, 44, 65, 67, 73, 78, 83, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 117, 123, 132, 140, 144, 157, 174).

The results from this study would be helpful in analyzing and assessing future dominant-subordinate relations as they pertain to the philosophy, administration and provision of public recreation and leisure service. Additionally, this study would help to provide more interest and understanding as it relates to social relations between blacks and whites in an area of particular emotional stress. The relative paucity of information readily available to the educator and practitioner concerning black leisure needs and problems has hindered purposeful and meaningful understanding of the particular cultural and social implications related to the black community.

The increase in black student enrollment in professional preparation programs has made it mandatory for the growing number of recreation curricula in colleges and universities to be able to provide instruction which pertains to and includes a more representative historical analysis of the factors influencing the provision of public recreation and leisure service for blacks. It is particularly important in universities serving urban areas where blacks represent an increasingly majority of the population. Educators and public
service personnel are in need of more meaningful guidelines and approaches to the delivery of leisure service, particularly as it applies to minority groups (166).

Not only is recreation and leisure service recognized as a basic cultural and social need, it is also viewed as a means of correcting these inequities and providing a "threshold" or entry to other forms of social service in the community setting. It may even serve to improve the quality of life, reduce social pathology, build constructive values and generally make communities a better place to live.

The recreation experience contributes to individual growth and fulfillment and to social development. The negation of recreation as an essential component in the cluster of community services necessary for human well-being contributes to social disorganization; continued deprivation of municipal recreation for black people has been linked to urban rioting and civil unrest (36, 41, 44, 69, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 119, 123, 144, 148, 157).

By identifying the most relevant knowledge and experiences related to the public provision of recreation and leisure service for blacks, it is believed that the professional recreation movement will be in a stronger position to eliminate discrimination and inequities of leisure service and effect the provision and delivery of recreation consistent with egalitarian standards and values in a pluralistic democratic society.
Recent developments in race relations require that public servants be cognizant of social movements and become aware of the nature of social change within community life. The need for an effective approach to interpret the previous developments and present status of relations between blacks and administrators of leisure service appears to be paramount in order to more effectively understand how public recreation and leisure services are received in the black community. The possible change in the direction of race relations combined with its impact on social relations in the future requires that more substantive approaches be applied to the delivery of leisure service. A model of dominant-subordinate relations was presented at the culmination of this study to represent an historical synthesis of the democratization of public recreation and leisure service for blacks, 1906-1972. The model attempted to incorporate major patterns of relations between blacks and the dominant-oriented and run public leisure service organizations as a basis for facilitating the analysis of dominant-subordinate relations.
CHAPTER II

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify the major factors and consequences of the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recreation and leisure service for blacks during the period 1906-1972. This was accomplished by determining the relationship between the black, subordinated community and the dominant white public administered leisure service organizations and the resultant influence on the mode of delivery of public recreation for blacks.

A variety of approaches was taken to gather the data analyzed in this study. These approaches included: 1) a comprehensive investigation of related literature; 2) interviews with experts in the field; 3) a personal visit to the library and archives of the National Recreation and Park Association; and 4) the solicitation of informal mail responses from key retired officials of the National Recreation Association and National Recreation and Park Association.

The study approach utilized the historical method which mainly involved the data gathering of primary and pertinent secondary material related to the provision of public recreation and leisure service to blacks. The material used in this study was intended to surface important developments, transitions, and approaches to
leisure service delivery in order to provide a more sound historical base in which to make future assessments in race relations as it applies to public recreation.

Sources of Data

The following sources of data were used in the study:

1) A comprehensive investigation of related literature. Pertinent primary and secondary sources were gleaned. They included histories, accounts and biographies of black Americans and others who were involved in the provision of public recreation as it pertained to the black community. Additionally, other relevant articles, books, comments and pamphlets which related to the provision of public recreation and leisure service for black people was researched and used in this study. This step was necessary because of the dearth of historical source material available within the recreation literature.

2) The solicitation of informal mail responses from key retired officials of the National Recreation Association and National Recreation and Park Association. Letters were received from the following retired leaders of the recreation movement: George D. Butler, former Director of Research, National Recreation Association and author of some 30 publications covering the recreation movement; Charles E. Reed, Director of Field Services, National Recreation Association
(1930-1962); Thomas E. Rivers, Secretary of the National Recreation Congress (1924-1956); W. C. Sutherland, Director of Education and Personnel Services, National Recreation Association and National Recreation and Park Association (1923-1968); and James A. Madison, field worker with minority groups and successor to Ernest T. Attwell, Director, Bureau of Colored Work, National Recreation Association (1943-1960).

3) A personal visit to the library and archives of the National Recreation and Park Association, Washington, D.C. Important official records, annual reports, articles, books, documents, and pamphlets of the National Recreation Association and the Bureau of Colored Work field reports, personal papers, files, speeches, and comments kept by Ernest T. Attwell and James A. Madison were gleaned. Attwell and Madison were the National Recreation Association's primary officials responsible for the fostering of public recreation opportunities for blacks and other minority groups during the period 1919-1960.

4) Interviews with experts in the field. Interviews were conducted with James A. Madison; Ira J. Hutchison, Jr., former Special Assistant for Urban Affairs, National Recreation and Park Association (1968-1970), and currently Assistant to the President, NRPA; and Clarence Pendleton, Jr., Director for Urban Affairs, NRPA.
Procedures Used in Securing Data

The data from the library and archives of the National Recreation and Park Association were collected during a visit to the national headquarters, May 4-7, 1971. The files of the Field Service and Bureau of Colored Work of the old National Recreation Association, which included pamphlets, letters, annual reports, field surveys, summaries, articles, books, personal documents and papers of Ernest T. Attwell and James A. Madison, the administrators in charge of minority group relations for the NRA, 1919-1960, were made available to the researcher.

At the time of personal visit to the NRPA headquarters, the researcher interviewed Ira J. Hutchison, Jr., Assistant to the President of the Association and former Special Assistant for the Bureau of Urban Affairs. The Bureau was created in 1968 in order that the NRPA could give priority attention to matters concerned with urban affairs with special emphasis on programs and services for the culturally deprived. The researcher also interviewed Clarence Pendleton, Jr., currently Director for Urban Affairs. Interviews with Hutchison and Pendleton took place on Thursday, May 6, 1971.

The opportunity was also made available to the researcher to interview James A. Madison at the NRPA headquarters on Friday, May 7, 1971. In every case the intent of the visit was discussed with
each interviewee. Personal notes were taken during each interview. The purpose of the interviews was primarily to corroborate the accuracy of the data retrieved and verify authenticity of documents, records, reports and comments gleaned from the files of the Bureau of Colored Work and Field Service of the National Recreation Association. Additionally, the interviews served to provide direction for the study and yielded important information which strengthened the validity of the research. Also, the future course of race relations as it pertains to the public recreation and leisure service field was discussed with each interviewee.

The letters from retired officials of the National Recreation Association were solicited from individuals who were active in the organization during most of the period under study and who influenced the course of race relations in some way during this time. The information gleaned from the mail responses served to clarify the particular philosophic bases and administrative methods used in public recreation and leisure service for blacks during the period 1919-1967.

Relevant primary and secondary references were made available to the researcher at the headquarters of the National Recreation and Park Association. Practically every major reference to recreation is included in the library of the National Recreation and Park Association.
Their vast collection proved to be of particular benefit in the course of research used in this study.

Important primary source material gathered from original reports, articles, notes, documents and accounts of the Bureau of Colored Work and the National Recreation and Park Association and its predecessors, was of particular relevance to this study. The organizations were in the best position to observe the progress and development of public recreation service provided blacks during the entire period covered in this study. It was believed that the reports of the field staff of the National Recreation Association and other people directly concerned with black recreation opportunities since 1906 would be of help in ascertaining the effects of changes in administrative, philosophical and service delivery methods.

The annual reports of field staff personnel of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and the National Recreation Association engaged in recreation service and consultation to minority groups were valuable sources of information about year-to-year problems facing black people and other subordinated groups. These reports included general information about the provision of recreation facilities, leadership, funding, and programs for blacks. Additionally, problems incurred and achievements made during each year were presented.

In addition to the regular annual field work summary reports,
several special reports were gleaned. Other books, reports, articles, and documents dealing with blacks and the provision of recreation were studied.

Data Analysis

The data retrieved from the various primary and secondary sources were analyzed as they pertained to the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recreation and leisure service for blacks for the period 1906-1972. The researcher attempted to identify major phases of development in the facilitation of public recreation opportunities for blacks and draw relationships between major social trends as they effected blacks and the recreation movement.

In an attempt to clarify and interpret the developments in the provision of public recreation and leisure service to blacks the researcher developed a model of dominant-subordinate relations to serve as a communicative device. The model is presented in Chapter VIII. The model represents an historical synthesis of the democratization of public recreation and leisure service for blacks 1906-1972. The model synthesizes and combines the major societal patterns of dominant-subordinate relations as they relate to blacks and whites, and the patterns of the provision of public recreation and leisure service for blacks during this period.

The model serves as a mechanism for facilitating the
understanding and analysis of dominant-subordinate relations in public recreation and leisure service presented in this study. The model of dominant-subordinate relations, while serving as a device for interpreting and analyzing previous, contemporary and possible future developments in public recreation service for blacks, merely represents an operational device for approaching this study problem.

Marden and Meyer (114, p. 24) state that

. . . relations of the dominant group to any particular minority must be understood in a historical dimension. Present attitudes derive from past patterns of interaction, even when there are now changed relations between the dominant group and the minority.

It was intended that the model serve as a mechanism which can be used to compare and interpret possible future courses of dominant-subordinate relations as it pertains to public recreation and leisure service.

The model was designed to yield the following bases for determining the extent of the democratization of public recreation and leisure service:

1. the means of socialization and facilitation of egalitarian principles and values;

2. the degree of acceptance and inclusion of blacks (subordinates) by whites (dominants) in the overall structuring and delivery of public recreation and leisure service; and
3. the means of social control exercised in the various regions and communities, which either has inhibited or allowed blacks to freely seek public leisure service opportunities.
CHAPTER III

EARLY FORCES INFLUENCING THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC RECREATION FOR BLACKS IN AMERICA, 1906-1919

Introduction

The formation of the Playground Association of America in 1906 culminated some three decades of concern by such socially motivated individuals as Joseph Lee, Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, Luther Gulick, and others, of the need to bring forceful attention to the public of the lack of play opportunities for underprivileged urban youth. According to Henry S. Curtis (45), the first executive officer and one of the founders of the Playground Association of America, the play movement in America developed because of a sense of responsibility and social spirit by certain community leaders. At the time the PAA was started in 1906, there were some 20 cities that were maintaining municipally supported and operated playground programs.

The initial impetus of the recreation movement came from social and civic workers who provided funds for the establishment of the first public playgrounds and began building up public opinion favorable to governmental support and direction of public recreation facilities.

It became clear, as the importance of recreation as a necessary part of normal life was increasingly recognized, that government assume responsibility for the provision of recreation. High
governmental officials, prominent organizations, citizens and economists voiced the opinion that public parks and recreation centers were, like schools, essential to the health, safety and welfare of the community. State legislatures passed laws empowering municipalities and counties to conduct recreational activities. Decisions by state and federal courts declared recreation to be an essential governmental function (127, p. 79-80).

The development of public tax-supported recreation service was primarily a northern urban phenomenon, a result of overcrowding, inadequate housing and general deleterious social conditions arising from the Industrial Revolution. The welfare-motivated leaders of the play movement in America were not primarily concerned about the needs of black Americans. The early propagation of play in urban areas was a consideration directed primarily to white immigrant slum children.

The representative population of blacks in the large northern cities was relatively small at the turn of the century. Eighty-nine percent of black Americans still lived in the rural South. "In 1910, only 29 percent of Negroes lived in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas" (70, p. 76). At that time, before large migratory streams of blacks left the South during World War I to man the expanding industrial plants of the North, 73 percent of the blacks in America lived in rural areas on farms and in areas with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants.
At the turn of the twentieth century the dominant white majority treated the black man's lack of education, training, and wealth as confirmation of inferiority, and justified, on that basis, all forms of discriminatory behavior toward black Americans.

State after state throughout the South and border areas changed their constitutions and instituted statutory measures designed to deprive the Negro of all opportunities for civic and political participation. Other laws imposed segregated facilities in education, travel, public accommodations, and the like; and the concept of Jim Crow was extended to all forms of public activity—frequently under the force of broadly structured laws, but also under the rubrics of "tradition" and "custom" (19, p. 283-284).

By 1910 the categorical segregation of the two races in a large number of social relations was clear. Intermarriage was flatly prohibited. The Southern caste system had two features—segregation and a caste "etiquette." According to Marden and Meyer (114, p. 245) segregation involved the physical separation of blacks from whites, and the caste etiquette system included the rules to be followed when interaction unavoidably took place between one or more members of each race. Both the patterns of segregation and the caste system symbolized the superordination of the white people and the subordination of blacks.

Two opposing trends were apparent during the first few decades following the formation of the Playground Association of America in 1906. A proliferation of Jim Crow laws served to solidify the black man's subordinated state. However, participation, exposure and
successes in World War I provided black Americans with a renewed drive for emancipation and equality. These trends were also prevalent in provision of public leisure service.

There is no indication in the early writings and documents of the Playground Association of America that the plight of the urban black was a particular concern of the recreation field leading up to World War I. Butler states that (32): "Nothing I recall from my reading gives me reason to believe that the early pioneers in the movement saw recreation as a means of providing Negroes their fair share." Blacks were not even considered to be a problem in the cities where the play movement had an early start, basically because they were a relatively small overall percentage of the population in most northern cities.

It seems clear that the pioneers conceived of recreation as a means of counteracting some of the effects of poverty, bad housing and juvenile delinquency as they pertained to white underprivileged youth. Public recreation service was seen as one social mechanism along with education and social work, concerned with the improvement of pathological conditions of the urban North. Race was not a primary consideration (63, p. 416).

While considerable attention was devoted to the play needs of underprivileged youth, recreation service applied to black children received only minimal attention during the first years of organized public recreation in America. In fact, it appears that the lack of
sufficient contact between whites and blacks, particularly in northern communities, may have accentuated the minimal concern of public officials to even attempt bi-racial programming. Curtis stated in his book *The Play Movement and Its Significance*, that it was his opinion

... that in nearly all sections where it is possible to have separate grounds for colored and white children, it is better to do so, for the reason that there is often prejudice on the part of white parents against having their children, especially the girls, play with colored children, and because the colored children are very apt to form a clique by themselves, and be an unassimilable element within the playground. As such they tend to break up the harmony of the playground, and cause quarrels and friction (45, p. 85).

**The Status of Race Relations**

By 1906 the separation of races in areas of personal and public relations was formally established. Blacks were victims of the repressive "separate but equal" doctrine which was formulated as an outgrowth of the 1896 Supreme Court *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling which made it legal to provide separate public accommodations for blacks and whites. While members of both races were participating in a common economic and political order, it was established that blacks and whites were to be viewed as members of two functionally related segments of a bi-racial society in which families, intimate friendship groups, and voluntary associations were separate (49, p. 37-38).

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision legally confirmed the permanent inferior status of black people in the United
Accordingly, blacks were not able to meet whites on a basis of equality in the more intimate social relations.

Consciousness of their racial 'inferiority' is forced upon them in most public institutions. Theatres, movie houses, amusement and recreation centers, hotels, restaurants, soda fountains, stores, commonly discriminate against Negro patrons. They refuse to accept them on a basis of equality with white patrons. This is generally true in the South. It is almost equally true in those northern cities with large Negro populations. (121, p. 152-153).

The problems of maladjustment in urban life arose from unfavorable conditions which existed among blacks in northern and southern American cities. In areas of social relations, contacts were limited and restricted in much of the country prior to 1910. Franklin states that

The parks and playgrounds movement that was developing throughout the country early in the century did little for the Negro; and when he attempted to avail himself of the opportunity to use public recreational facilities, violence and bloodshed frequently resulted (60, p. 437).

The large migration of southern blacks to large northern cities during the period of World War I (1914-1918) led to increases in protest by blacks for equal rights and services. For the first time, a large number of northern blacks aggressively and unconditionally claimed equal rights. As noted by Rudwick (148, p. 3-4): "For many whites it was their first encounter with Negro migrants who competed for jobs and seemed to be making unlimited demands on limited housing, transportation, and recreation facilities." World War I was
fought ostensibly for democracy, freedom and self-determination. The war period brought about expansion of occupational opportunity, advances in economic standards and multiplication of black organizations, contributing to an era of enlarged race consciousness to members of an oppressed race (121, p. 256).

At the outbreak of World War I many recreation facilities existed for white servicemen and their families. These needed merely to be coordinated and supplemented to meet the new demand for war-time conditions. For blacks, on the other hand, nothing existed (141). Suitable facilities for their comfort and recreation had to be almost entirely created.

With the coming of World War I practically none of the communities near the military camps was prepared to furnish suitable entertainment to the large numbers of colored men suddenly thrust upon them; and often the facilities provided for soldiers generally were denied the colored troops (141, p. 1).

**War Camp Community Service**

In 1917, at the request of the War Department, the War Camp Community Service was established. This private war service agency was built upon the Playground and Recreation Association of America (formerly the Playground Association of America) and the two organizations had interlocking directorates. The main responsibility of the War Camp Community Service was to organize the social and recreation resources of every community as to be of the greatest possible
value to the officers and soldiers. The Playground and Recreation
Association of America attempted to meet this need through the opera-
tion of Red Circle Clubs run by its War Camp Community Service.

Recreation opportunities for blacks, residing near northern and
southern war camps, were given greater consideration for the first
time with the impetus of the War Camp Community Service. It was
not until after the fall of 1917 that the need for recreation provision
for black troops was encountered, since only then did black service-
men begin to arrive in any great numbers in the army camps (47, p.
259). Initial work was begun in Montgomery, Alabama and soon
spread to Des Moines, Iowa, Charlotte, North Carolina, and San
Antonio, Texas. The War Camp Community Service was actively
directing 51 Red Circle Clubs for blacks in 54 communities and
employed 86 black assistants by the fall of 1919.

Most of the cities had been destitute of recreational facilities
for blacks and were confronted with the necessity of adjusting northern
blacks to southern cities and vice versa. In an article prepared for
The Playground (170) it was stated that the supply of clubs "seems to
be the best single answer to the problem of recreation for colored
troops. Not only does it serve as a headquarters for them but also
most of the activities for the men seem naturally to center about it"
(170, p. 315). Besides the beneficial aspects of the recreation clubs
stimulated in the camps for adult servicemen and women, they
contributed to the expansion of wholesome opportunities for black youth, particularly girls. "Heretofore practically nothing has been done in most of the cities to organize the leisure time of the colored girls" (170, p. 316).

Every effort was made to provide identical provisions for both black and white soldiers. The War Camp Community Service established Club houses, dormitories, canteens, and community centers for blacks. However, the WCCS, under the direction of Joseph Lee, faced many difficulties before a comprehensive program was able to be developed. As stated in The Playground (47, p. 260): "The colored soldier's conception of what was his due was, in some cases, apt to be an idea that these rights were long overdue, and he was impatient to hurry along that democracy where the colored man would come into his own."

While the officials of the War Camp Community Service were just as perplexed as other community officials regarding the provision of public services to blacks, it was felt that there was an essential need to provide recreation for blacks. The majority of the cities served by the War Camp Community Service had a program for blacks which was organized by a committee composed of black servicemen. In all the cities the effort was made to have the people of their own race undertake the management of the program design and delivery of recreation service (170, p. 315). Community service was initiated for
the purpose of uniting all the people of a community through common participation and common expression in the field of recreation service.

The provision of recreation opportunities made available by the War Camp Community Service in various communities throughout America was the first organized effort by the recreation movement to meet the leisure needs of black people. It was the first expression of the recreation movement to formally undertake a position as a human service agency, advocating the development and promotion of leisure activities and facilities for the benefit of all the people—black and white Americans.

Prendergast summarized the purpose and objectives of the War Camp Community Service and Red Circle Clubs, related to the provision of recreation facilities and activities for black people (141, p. 3):

1. The first function of the Red Circle Club for colored men in the service was to provide regular, orderly gathering-places for colored soldiers and sailors. There they might go at will in their leisure hours for recreation and amusement. . . . The clubs also served as reliable centers of information regarding soldier and other activities and helped provide entertainment for colored soldiers within the camps.

2. War Camp Community Service for colored soldiers was not limited to Red Circle Clubs, though these naturally were the centers for social activities for civilians as well as soldiers. Work was extended out into the community—into homes of colored citizens who had entertained colored soldiers and sailors, and into the churches and other community groups of colored citizens, who, in cooperation with War Camp Community Service, were making possible community recreation and hospitality.
3. The use by the colored people of common centers in the interest of their soldiers accomplished still further results. It brought the colored people together and showed them the power and the advantage of community action. Out of this experience and through the recreational features of the Red Circle Clubs there developed among the colored people as never before, the idea of constructive recreation. Cooperation in the Red Circle Club activities increased the community interest of colored people and deepened their desire for improving conditions and surroundings.

The special recreation service for black communities provided by the War Camp Community Service later merged with the general field service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America following the war.

Deprivation in Municipal Recreation

An article appearing in The Playground (165) attacked the public recreation system which included the provision of playgrounds and recreation centers in municipalities, for not having a sufficiently organic and vital effect upon the surrounding community. Part of the assertion included an indictment against the municipal recreation system as a whole for neglecting the adequate provision of recreation opportunities of black Americans. "Playground and neighborhood recreation centers have not been meeting the needs of the community because they have failed in a large part to provide for the needs of such groups as foreign citizens and for the colored population" (165, p. 305).
Since blacks were considered to be a completely different species of mankind, undeveloped, amoral and much less intellectually inclined, they were meant to be kept in their "place" as servants, while they were tolerable and happy. Much of this type of thinking served to justify discrimination in various spheres of life, including the provision of public recreation facilities and opportunities for leisure expression. The black man's subordinate status was a principle integrated into a whole philosophy of society and of human life (120, p. 1002).

The development of public recreation and leisure service, particularly decentralized play opportunities in neighborhoods, led to more requests from all segments of the community for recreation facilities and leadership. This often led to conflict and disruptions in areas where blacks and whites tended to frequent similar parks and playgrounds.

Northern slum neighborhoods were deficient in recreational facilities and this inadequacy became an issue of central concern as a result of heavy black in-migration to these areas (148). It was typical for disputes to occur when blacks attempted to use parks, playgrounds, or bathing beaches which were controlled by whites (36, 156). In southern cities, blacks were generally excluded from public recreation facilities and only a few cities had parks and playgrounds for them (114).
While discrimination in the provision of public recreation and leisure service opportunities for blacks in the North was not officially sanctioned by law, the administrators often gave tacit endorsement to this extralegal separation and inequity of municipal leisure service (36, 148, 156). In Chicago, when the black population became so large that city officials could no longer restrict them from park and recreation facilities, city authorities "turned them over" to black neighborhoods (156, p. 205-206). Spear states that the municipal Bureau of Park officials

...hired a Negro director and staff, indicating to the neighborhood that the recreational areas were now reserved for Negro use. Segregation on the beaches was even more rigidly maintained. Although three beaches lay adjacent to the black belt, only one—a small and unattractive beach between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-ninth streets—was open to Negroes. Policemen and attendants barred Negroes from other South Side beaches (156, p. 205-206).

Leading up to World War I the recreation movement had advocated the fostering of recreation opportunities for underprivileged youth. However, particularly with the presence of the War Camp Community Service, recreation began to steer away from issues of social concern. Recreation came to be recognized as a fundamental human need, that should be made available to all residents of a community.

In the years preceding World War I, the scope of the recreation movement was gradually enlarged. As its value was demonstrated,
recreation came to be accepted as a need of all groups, not merely
the underprivileged (124, p. 81). Attention was focused upon city-
wide recreation systems rather than upon the provision of recreation
for and by the community. Around 1915 a new interest for local
organizations emerged. The emphasis was on local autonomy,
decentralized control, expanded activities centered in schools, field
houses in parks, playgrounds, and independent social centers.

Recreation as a civic service was heightened during this period.
While some of the recreation leaders fostered the development of local
organizations, few decisions with regard to design and implementation
of recreation programs came from outside central city-wide adminis-
trative units (124, p. 82). Butler sums up the factors which steered
national recreation leaders away from issues of social concern
according to the following (30):

1. The writing of leaders like Lee, Johnson and Hetherington "sold" the idea that play was an essential element in
education and that every child, not just slum children
needed opportunities for play in order to have a well-
rounded development.

2. The experiences of servicemen, who enjoyed the recrea-
tion offerings of War Camp Community Service and other
agencies during the first World War, resulted in a demand
for similar recreation opportunities for young people and
adults in their home communities.

3. The national campaign for legislation to provide physical
education as a required subject in the public schools. As
playgrounds, athletic fields and gyms were acquired, the
demand that they be made available for the use of com-
munity--and not just for school use--gradually developed.
Recognizing the immense problem and the critically unmet needs for black Americans, the Playground and Recreation Association of America (it later became the National Recreation Association in 1930) employed Ernest T. Attwell, a black, to direct the Association's field service program concerned with recreation opportunities for black people. Attwell came to the Association from Tuskegee Institute where he was employed by the business department before assuming the position with the Playground and Recreation Association. While officials of the Playground and Recreation Association of America became concerned about the need to stimulate recreation opportunities for blacks, this service was dictated by the enforcement of separate park and recreation facilities in much of the South and lack of significant provision for leadership and facilities in the North.

Attwell had been known for his qualities of understanding and statesmanship in the field of interracial well-being, particularly his work with the United States Food Administration on the organization of a nation-wide campaign among black people for the wartime conservation of food (27, p. 161). While at Tuskegee Institute, Attwell associated closely with Booker T. Washington. This may have served as an additional reason for his employment by the Playground and Recreation Association of America.

Attwell's first task with the Playground and Recreation Association of America was to translate the War Camp Community Service's
Red Circle Clubs for black soldiers into permanent peace-time recreation centers for black people in some 27 communities (56, p. 307). His early assignments included difficult recreation problems in behalf of blacks in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Montgomery, Mobile, and other cities. It was in July, 1920, that Attwell became Field Director of the Association's Bureau of Colored Work. The Bureau operated officially until 1942 when it no longer seemed to exemplify positive relations between blacks and whites in public recreation service.

Chicago Race Riot

The heavy influx of black migrants from the South to northern communities during World War I had a marked effect on the competition for jobs, housing, and recreation. These conditions of deprivation were pronounced in Chicago at the time of the race riot in the summer of 1919.

The legal status of blacks in Illinois at the time of the racial outbreak in Chicago in 1919 and in East St. Louis two years prior to the "Red Summer" of 1919, were no different from that of white persons. The limitations which affected blacks were established through sanctions imposed by persons who offered public services and accommodations, despite a rather detailed Civil Rights Act originally passed in 1885, and amended again in 1903 and 1911. The prejudice
of the theater operators, recreation center directors, and ice rink managers caused the unequal application of the Illinois Civil Rights Act (148).

This type of behavior, overt or covert, was responsible for infrequent participation of blacks in many of the borderline community recreation centers in Chicago--areas where black and white population were fairly equal and blacks "understood" they were not welcome to participate in the various neighborhood recreation programs.

Prior to the riot, the NAACP had issued several recommendations to alleviate racial tension and demanded equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which they were being taxed (149). Additionally the NAACP recommended that there be an end of neglect of neighborhoods occupied principally by blacks and the abandonment of all attempts at racial segregation.

The Chicago Commission on Race Relations (36), following the riot of 1919, issued a comprehensive document which reported the nature of the disturbance which precipitated the outburst and detailed the background of social conditions which gave rise to the riot. The report stated (36, p. 267):

Negro children are limited in their recreational activities by lack of recreation centers where they are welcome. There are playgrounds for the younger children in the areas of Negro residence, but no recreation centers with their varied indoor facilities for the older children.
The type of recreation facility most commonly found in the black community of Chicago was the playground. The lack of recreation centers was conspicuous, as was also the fact that six of the seven recreation centers accessible to blacks were not used by as much as 10 percent by them as noted in Table 1. Typically, the recreation center has been the most elaborate, inclusive and expensive facility provided by a recreation department. It was indicated by the Commission that while the black community was supplied with a good number of playgrounds in their vicinity, they were by no means free and undisputed (36, p. 272).

Table 1. Distribution of Facilities in Relation to Negro Areas.

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<th>Total for city</th>
<th>In Negro areas</th>
<th>Near Negro areas</th>
<th>No. used 10% or more by Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playgrounds</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation centers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathing beaches</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chicago Park District was one of the first city-sponsored recreation programs to be developed and the recreation center was the most notable feature of the city's recreation system but one from which blacks received little benefit. The Commission noted the inconsistency of service and provision of community recreation centers for blacks which ordinarily included complete indoor and outdoor facilities.
It represents an investment of from $200,000 to $800,000, according to the amount of ground, the location, and the extent of its facilities. Though the argument that wholesome recreation makes for better citizenship applies to Negroes as well as whites, no recreation center has been located within the Negro areas and only seven near them (36, p. 273).

Even though the black population had been increasing in density in the neighborhoods of three recreation centers, this had not increased the use of the centers by blacks. As reported by the Commission, "encroachment" of blacks tended to increase the antagonism of the whites in the vicinity to the use of the recreation centers by blacks. When whites were unable to enforce segregation in the parks by non-violent means, overt racial clashes often erupted (36, 148, 156). In these neighborhoods the hostility toward blacks by whites, especially hoodlum gangs, was shown by the many attacks upon blacks.

At the time of the outbreak of violence in Chicago in 1919 there were three beaches near the black community but the whites "expected" the blacks to confine themselves to one bathing area, the Twenty-sixth Street Beach. The beach was very unattractive and quite difficult to reach. The beach consisted of a strip of sand about 50 feet wide and a short block in length. According to the Commission (36) and Spear in his study of Chicago (156), it offered the chance for blacks to gain access to Lake Michigan, but the atmosphere of wholesome recreation and outdoor life was completely lacking.
Representatives of the park commission of Chicago stated that they had no rules or regulations of any kind that were discriminatory against blacks, and that all races were treated equally. However, unoffical discrimination frequently and did creep in—largely influenced by the white center director attitudes. It was found that it was almost impossible to control discrimination because the white directors were greatly influenced by the feeling of the whites in the neighborhood who did not want the playground turned over to the blacks.

At one or two of the parks, definite efforts had been made to encourage larger numbers of blacks to make use of the facilities but the directors of these facilities did not believe this to be advisable. "I have never gone out to do any promotional work to bring them in... because I would not choose personally to be responsible for the things that would happen outside my gates if I were responsible for bringing large groups [into the center]" (36, p. 278). This director also stated that she would feel it necessary to warn any black group that might come to her park that she could not be responsible for their protection outside the park.

The reasons advanced by the park officials for the non-use of convenient recreation facilities was that the black people of the community were timid and reluctant to go where they feel they are not wanted, or that they feared attack in the parks or near them.

The area of social contact was the most blatant form of
discrimination practiced by whites—particularly where dancing was involved. The Municipal Pier was a recreation facility that drew a number of blacks, although in relatively small proportion to whites who frequented the facility (only eight percent were black of a total of some four to five million participants).

The blacks that did attend the dances held at the Pier were well dressed and well behaved according to attendants. However, they tended to segregate themselves. Many of the attendants were blacks as well as many of the bands that performed for the dance concessionaire. A statement by the head of the concession was a typical response of most of the white personnel involved in areas of intimate or physical contact with black people. "Negroes are welcome everywhere on the Pier, as are all races, according to the director, except in the dance hall, where their appearance is discouraged by the concessionaire" (36, p. 281).

The significance of voluntary racial grouping appears to have been related to the fear held by blacks for their safety and the amount of animosity engendered by their participation with whites in public places. It was more characteristic of the large parks and beaches, which the adults frequented, rather than of the playgrounds which were used mainly by children. For example, blacks tended to confine their presence to certain sections of public beaches—though there was no official rule compelling them to behave in this manner.
Stereotypes were easily developed by the separation of racial groups during this era and it was apparent in Chicago. Blacks very rarely used the swimming pools and would often segregate themselves when they did go in. A director of one of the swimming pools believed it was a natural impulse of the blacks to segregate themselves from whites in a pool. Further, he thought that many blacks did not use the pool more because "they were afraid of the water" (36, p. 287). This view was consistent with the limited awareness of many recreation administrators and perpetuated by biased value judgements which did not consider the black perspective.

A representative of the South Park Commission said that in the South Park District the parents were opposed to race contacts in swimming and wading pools and that "not 10 percent of the families will allow contact with Negroes in the pools" (36, p. 288).

A distinction was made by several directors between formal and informal activities at playgrounds and recreation centers. This behavior was typical in most communities. It was their theory that blacks and whites mingled successfully in informal activities, but not in formal ones.

The attitudes held by recreation directors did much to influence the course of relations developed on park and playground sites operated by municipal recreation authorities. Park and recreation representatives felt that proper attitudes were important in bringing about
amicable relations with a park or playground facility, and that the
director was largely responsible for the maintenance of the proper
environment on such a facility. However, as it existed in Chicago,
there was considerable difference of opinion as to whether the park
and recreation management could or should attempt to influence the
surrounding neighborhood (36, p. 294).
CHAPTER IV

RECONCILIATION AND ASSOCIATION: "RECREATION FOR ALL," 1920-1954

Introduction

At the close of World War I the demand for opportunities for wholesome recreation was urgent in every city and town in the United States where blacks were living in appreciable numbers (141). In many parts of the country any form of black participation in community life was almost totally lacking. Over three million black children "had never known the joy of playing together on a big, well-equipped playground nor had the stimulus of play leadership or guidance" (141, p. 5).

The years following World War I black Americans increased their pressure for improved living conditions and equal status with whites. After the war the migration of blacks to urban centers continued as it had during the war years. However, jobs were not as plentiful as they had been during the war years, and competition strained the relations of whites and blacks.

From 1941 to 1954 constant pressure of the black protest movement, coupled with the realities of change at home and abroad, inexorably forced American society to recognize the necessity of interracial reform. Among the numerous adjustments the American
people had to make at the end of World War II was adaptation to a new position of black people in the United States. This new status arose because of gains made during World War II and intensification of the drive by many blacks to achieve complete equality.

Considerable gains were made by blacks in the area of civic and social relations including the increased accessibility to parks and playgrounds. The expansion of public recreation and leisure service to blacks was equated by leaders in the recreation movement with the proper extension of democratic tenets and principles to all citizens. However, the availability of public parks and recreation areas for blacks was limited mostly to the North and in a few large southern cities.

Public recreational facilities were generally scarce in the South outside the large cities, and whites in the nonurban areas did not share those that existed with the Negroes. In Southern cities, Negroes were generally excluded from public parks, and only a few cities had parks for Negroes. Except in a few instances where a special section of a public playground was set aside for them, the colored people were not permitted to use public playgrounds. At one time, a fairly common sign in Southern parks was "Negroes, Soldiers, and Dogs Keep Out" (114, p. 245-246).

The success of the War Camp Community Service and the continued enlightenment of the American people concerning the value of recreation sparked interest in community sponsored leisure service programs for all ages and groups of people. Communities began to recognize that it was just as necessary to find wholesome outlets for
man's play instincts as it was to foster his religious and educational life—that parks and well-equipped play spaces were as necessary for his development as were churches and schools.

Recreation for All

Attwell (12) believed that while recreational provisions and programs were essential to the welfare of individuals and to all communities, it was not to be mistaken as a panacea for every social, physical or character ailment in the catalogue of human deficiencies. However, it was Attwell's position and that of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and later the National Recreation Association that it was necessary to provide for the proper play of children and wholesome recreation of adults, whites as well as blacks, if an essential service for normal living were to be obtained.

The desire on the part of black people for proper recreation facilities in towns and cities was in evidence in every community but until the first efforts of the Red Circle Clubs during World War I and the emergent Bureau of Colored Work, only a comparatively small provision was made in this respect by the early 1920's (121). In 1921 428 municipalities claimed 3,969 playgrounds and recreation centers under paid leadership. Fifty-six of the cities reported maintaining 108 playgrounds for the exclusive use of black children. At this time only 14 cities reported that their playgrounds were integrated.
Approximately three percent of all the publicly sponsored playgrounds operating in America in 1920 serviced black youth. Only 70 cities provided open recreation areas for black children.

New York City was seriously lacking in its provision of equipped playgrounds and recreation space in Harlem, having made only play streets available to black youth. This existed despite some 5,000 people from the black district who petitioned to have a playground installed for North Harlem. Several cities, including Macon, Georgia, Charleston, South Carolina, Kansas City, Missouri, Louisville and Newport, Kentucky, Memphis, Tennessee and Washington, D.C. all had set aside separate facilities for the black community by 1920. Typically, white citizens had allowed such provisions to be made and the members of the black community had raised money to acquire playground equipment. In some communities where the racial "problem" was not handled by civic authorities, recreation areas were being provided through the auspices of other agencies (7, p. 87-88).

The effort of the Bureau of Colored Work to reach out to blacks in a special way underscored the social reality that blacks were not being provided adequate community recreation facilities and leadership and were not sufficiently involved in many of the day-to-day offerings of public recreation departments.

The War Camp Community Service provided leadership training to large numbers of black people. It was characteristic of municipal
recreation programs during the first several decades of the twentieth century not to have very many trained black personnel. At the close of the war several black leaders trained by the Community Service, equipped to organize dramatics, music, and to supervise playgrounds and handle general leadership in community recreation, served to increase the development of recreation programs serving black people.

Some state schools and colleges provided recreation training for prospective community recreation workers but very few provided such preparation for blacks. The Recreation Training School of Chicago admitted blacks to the program and some YMCA colleges provided instruction for blacks, but several, including the American College of Physical Education, reported "that they did not admit Negroes to any courses, saying that their students would object to physical contact with Negroes" (36, p. 296).

The Bureau of Colored Work was the major organization which undertook the training of black recreation leaders for service in cities that requested such services. Training was an integral aspect of the Bureau's work. Since many of the recreation training schools (including one sponsored by the Playground and Recreation Association of America) and colleges denied blacks an opportunity to participate in their courses or failed to include instruction covering the problems and techniques of service related to black groups, the Bureau initiated its own training schools (8).
Blacks often didn't qualify for the regular training institutes held by the various professional recreation organizations because participants were often required to be a director or superintendent of a municipal recreation program. If recreation personnel were interested in advancing their careers but failed to participate in one of the various regional, district or national training institutes, advancement in the profession was often impeded. They could never get into top administrative positions because they were black. They were similarly excluded from membership on boards and commissions which established policy for the governance of local park and recreation department programs.

By mid-1926, specialized leadership training for blacks had been provided 211 students by the Bureau of Colored Work in 29 states. This was a growth from the 26 students from eight states who had received training in mid-1921, when the program was first initiated. When the training schools for black workers began, the measure of admission, except for high character standing, was almost "whosoever will." While the increases in recreation for blacks were not as great as was desired during this period, still some 400 black playground and year-round community recreation workers had been employed during this five-year span of time. Some 90 cities reported playgrounds in black neighborhoods in 1926, an increase of 49 from the figure reported in 1920. However, there were still large numbers
of blacks not being served as cautioned by Attwell (8, p. 7): "While perhaps we may have 250,000 to 300,000 colored children who are reached through playgrounds, a large number is yet to be reached."

It was Attwell's contention that several million black children were yet to be reached through public recreation service offerings. The presence of black people was not yet felt, and the non-working hours of black people was not considered to be a very serious responsibility of city government. As stated by Attwell (8, p. 7): "Here and there it takes a Negro criminal or a swimming pool to call attention to their presence in the community." The efforts toward inclusion of this segment of the population which represented approximately one-tenth of the total, were still in a pioneering stage in the mid-1920's.

The problem of securing adequate cooperation of black and white citizens in providing for the recreational needs of blacks became less an area of concern through the diligent efforts of Attwell and his staff. The development of separate recreational facilities for blacks was primarily stimulated by the interracial posture in the organization of some local recreation programs. Whenever possible, the Bureau attempted to have black and white community leaders act jointly in promoting recreational facilities and opportunities. This procedure was a progressive move during this era of the twenties, which educated white city officials on the dilemma facing black people.
While considerable progress was being made in many communities throughout America to provide parks, playgrounds, athletic fields, recreation centers and wholesome leisure opportunities for white citizens, the concern for decent recreation facilities and opportunities for black people lagged behind. The position of the Bureau of Colored Work was that public leisure service for blacks was needed because they commonly had even a greater need than white citizens. As stated by Attwell:

Because of economic disability the colored people are often unable to provide wholesome opportunities for themselves; in many cities busy streets and dirty alleys are, even more for colored children than for white, the only playgrounds; for the young men and women, improperly supervised pool rooms, dance halls, low grade picture shows and other forms of commercial recreation, sometimes of not too high a standard, are often the only resources for colored youth; possibly even these may not be available at all (12, p. 3-4).

Bureau of Colored Work

The establishment of the Bureau of Colored Work in July, 1920, under the direction of E. T. Attwell was an important step in the development of recreation opportunities for black people in America. It was one of the first attempts made by a national organization to include blacks in the overall consideration of community life. The establishment of the Bureau was stimulated by increased pressures from black leaders to provide equal services for black people. The source of stimulation came partly from the success of the Red Circle
Clubs that functioned during World War I and the broadened philosophy of community recreation to make available leisure opportunities to all citizens. The Playground and Recreation Association of America made an important contribution to this development. Attwell stated:

The Playground and Recreation Association of America very wisely discovered that the millions of colored children and adults representing over a tenth of our population were afforded few opportunities in the types of recreation being prompted by this organization. In remedying this defect and in fulfilling the intent of including all people of the community in the movement, it was found essential to develop the Bureau of Colored Work within the Playground and Recreation Association. The achievement and success of the activities promulgated have reflected very satisfactory returns for the investment. We have confined our activities to developing recreational progress in which colored people might participate than trying to solve the so-called race problem (8, p. 1).

Attwell's service to the Bureau of Colored Work was during an era when segregation was the accepted law in many states and when the doctrine of "separate but equal" opportunities was in effect in the country. According to Butler (27) this situation justified the existence of the Bureau of Colored Work of the Playground and Recreation Association and the separate recording of black facilities, centers, and leadership in the Recreation Yearbook.

Charles E. Reed, Director of Field Services for the National Recreation Association for more than 30 years, stated that the establishment of the Bureau of Colored Work, a unit within the Field Services division, was based on the National Recreation Association's fundamental principle that community recreation should be provided
for every boy, girl, man and woman in need of recreation (145). Reed stated that communities generally throughout the country started serving children, adults, and older youth but the inclusion of minority groups was effected only after education of community leaders, especially local government officials.

Minority groups were slowest in receiving provision of recreation services. This was particularly true of blacks, Mexicans, Indians, and Orientals. Hence, NRA felt these latter groups should have special stimulating national leadership in recreation to insure their inclusion more rapidly and more fully in local community recreation service programs (145).

The prevailing approach of "separate but equal" allocation of facilities for blacks required that public recreation service make available dual facilities where needed. The Bureau of Colored Work was created to provide consultation and service to communities desiring to implement recreation facilities and programs for blacks. They did so only upon receiving a formal request from an interested community (8, 12, 27).

The Bureau trained black leaders to work in communities striving to initiate programs for blacks and to supply assistance in training recreation leaders. Their work consisted of the following: 1) studying local needs; 2) arousing public sentiment; 3) helping organize committees; 4) training song and game leaders; 5) organizing orchestras and choruses; and 6) assisting in financial campaigns (1925 brochure).

The organized cooperation of representative white and black citizens was a fundamental principle of the program.
This special service for blacks was initiated only in communities where there was a definite request from a representative group of citizens and financial commitment to help defer at least part of the organization expenditures for providing consulting service. When the work was completed and funds for the continuance of the program were raised, the national worker was withdrawn and a permanent local executive employed by the community.

The Bureau's budget of approximately $25,000 a year during the 1920's maintained black recreation personnel who were skilled in music, drama, general recreation and organization work and prepared as campaign directors to help local community efforts. The money allocated to finance the Bureau of Colored Work's program represented approximately 20 percent of the total budget of the Playground and Recreation Association of America.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America (137) had come to believe by the onset of the twenties that the millions of black people brought to the North during World War I and now living in close proximity to other groups in America, needed opportunities and encouragement for self-expression through the use of and provision for proper playgrounds and recreational facilities. The isolated condition of black people, confined to segregated ghettos in large northern communities, became more and more manifest following World War I. While blacks were living near other groups in the
community, little or no effort was being made to include them in the cultural, social, health or recreational activities. Attwell's surveys of small town communities and larger metropolitan areas continuously revealed a lack of opportunities for a "normal" life among blacks (9).

Much of the attention of the Bureau was directed not only to white civic and recreation leaders but to blacks themselves who had not developed the necessary leadership to stimulate a general social program for their own people. The inferior status stamped on blacks had a marked influence on their behavior in community life. The staff of the Bureau of Colored Work had the responsibility of arousing general public sentiment not only about the lack of facilities necessary to meet the general needs of black people, but what had to be done to meet the needs of a wholesome recreation program (8).

In a brochure published by the Playground and Recreation Association of America (137), a plea was made for the establishment of indigenous leadership in the black community to organize recreation programs on a permanent basis. The meagre, temporary, summer enrichment recreation programs often used in black neighborhoods, did not provide a stabilizing effect on community life.

The furnishing of entertainers and song leaders and the giving of money will not meet the recreation needs of colored neighborhoods. What they need from a recreational agency is an organizer who can inform their own leaders and help in the establishment of a type of permanent organization that will go from year to year enriching their recreational and social life (137).
The "problem" of recreation for black people became a concern not only for the South but for the rest of the country with the emergence of the twenties. A recreation official in Charlotte, North Carolina, stated:

The problem of recreation for colored people is no longer sectional, no longer applies alone to the South and to some of the big cities in the East and West. It is nation-wide, applying with equal face to Sacramento, California, Selma, Alabama and Saginaw, Michigan (8, p. 5).

The Chicago Commission on Race Relations (36) reported that there was an urgent need for additional recreation centers in areas largely inhabited by blacks. In small parks and playgrounds the discrimination against blacks was less severe, but the injustice was often of the same magnitude.

There were some achievements in the provision of recreation opportunities for blacks, despite the severe inadequacies in facilities and leadership. The early progress of the Bureau was largely a result of its efforts in stimulating cultural programs such as music, drama and pageantry in black communities. A pageant, "The Milestones of a Race," which depicted the achievements of black people, was presented in several cities during the 1920's. Ten episodes on the history of the Negro race, beginning in Africa down through the days of slavery to World War I were depicted (8, 137).
Financial Support and Organization of Local Programs

The origin of the recreation program for black people has varied. Affiliation with the general municipal or other recreation systems was encouraged and found to be advantageous in the development of public leisure service programs for blacks. In many cases, the effort undertaken by the Bureau of Colored Work was the first and only national or local organization which had ever assisted in the development of a recreation program for black people.

Recreation programs for blacks were sometimes undertaken as a community house activity, sometimes through the authorization of a program for black people in an evening center in a public school, sometimes in the setting aside of suitably located playground areas by a city recreation department. Frequently, separate recreational, social and cultural activities for blacks were inaugurated and supported at the outset by private funds from such organizations as the Harmon Foundation or by a Community Chest (10, p. 658; 12, p. 5). Usually, with the help of the Bureau of Colored Work, the ultimate development led to the inclusion of recreation programs for black people in the general community program, with management and support on the same public basis as for the community at large. Recreation service for blacks grew more rapidly and more securely on the basis of public support and management (4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 58, 122, 124, 137, 143, 150, 152, 175, 178).
Public appropriations for black citizens were ordinarily made specifically for the recreation branch of the community's work; and at times such appropriations were included, without special designation, in the general recreational budget. Ordinarily the development of recreation service for blacks included a broader, more inclusive program design requiring greater financing due to the special health, education and recreation needs of black people.

The city of Norfolk, Virginia, implemented a community health and recreation center in 1923 (58). The center served not only as a center in which recreation activities were provided, but also included facilities for a health clinic, staffed by black physicians employed for three days a week. Indianapolis, Indiana, was able to develop a community center for black people the same year with facilities for social service and recreation activities, following a fund drive by public spirited citizens (178). Previous work with the black community was limited to one recreation leader who was responsible for work with the entire black community. He carried on the program without a suitable place and adequate equipment. Typical facilities and equipment were provided in the center along with other social services that included a well baby clinic, classes in nutrition and prenatal care, and space for a chapel.

The public recreation center was an essential instrument for socialization of the black child as well as a social vehicle utilized by
adults to meet pressing human needs (4, 6, 128). Other services were available for use by blacks but ordinarily these organizations were located in neighborhoods where the white population predominated and rejected black participation in programs, or the activities were not suitably designed for the black clientele. These factors combined together tended to discourage black involvement (18, 20, 59).

According to Attwell:

Aside from the playfield, the colored citizen, more than any other, has a special need for a recreation center that can be used for indoor activities by adults. The reason for this is that in many sections of the country he is either unwelcome or excluded from facilities offered the townspeople generally. The community house or center for colored folks has become a rather inclusive domicile. It has a rest room, library, nursery, women's club, men's club, employment and housing agency, cultural and social center, and many other things not necessarily included in a similarly named house for other racial groups (9, p. 163).

Aside from the important void filled by community recreation centers, the need just for play spaces was paramount in the overcrowded, densely populated black ghettos. According to Maxwell Bond, a recreation center director in Chicago (20, p. 211):

These playgrounds are of great significance in the life of the colored child, for the colored child, unlike the white one, is without proper facilities for training both in physical exercise and the development of the spirit of true sportsmanship--factors that are so necessary in developing good American citizens.

A survey taken by Bond revealed that only one recreation center facility--a gymnasium--in the entire black district of Chicago in 1926
was available for black youth besides some playgrounds. The
gymnasium was maintained by the Y.M.C.A. and served only a select
few.

Imes (79) felt that the home life of many blacks was already
too unsubstantial, having only some 60 years since the abolition of
slavery to establish a refined home setting. It was his contention that
recreation programs and facilities should be developed near the home,
in order to retain the amusement and fellowship with friends and
family lost when facilities were located outside the black community.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America (138)
noted that the white communities had only begun to feel any large degree
of responsibility for organizing the leisure interests of black youth
and adults by 1925. The experience had shown the desirability of
developing leadership among members of the black community for the
conduct of the program (150). These early efforts to establish recrea-
tion programs for blacks in community social centers were usually made
possible by the initiative of black leaders and enhanced later by the
coordinated efforts of white and black citizens (8, p. 2).

To insure community-wide guidance and safeguard the objec-
tives, the organized cooperation of representative white and
colored citizens is fundamental to a plan which will give
adequate opportunity for recreation developments. Thus
through organized committees there is joint planning and
unification of the program, with direct responsibility for
leadership in the work placed upon the colored citizens
themselves.
The unified efforts of the dominant white and subordinate black communities helped to insure a place for specialized efforts in meeting the recreation needs of black citizens. Usually each participating community would establish an interracial committee of black and influential white citizens to organize the recreation program for blacks. Following this procedure, a committee of black citizens would be organized to give particular guidance and interpretation to the program (12, 34, 137, 141).

In most cities the general community authority for recreation and leisure service appointed or recognized an advisory committee of black citizens to be responsible for handling the general regulations of the community-wide program related to black people.

It was the consensus of opinion of participants at a national recreation profession meeting held in 1941 that the support of all the people of a given area was necessary if the program for blacks was to be adequate and beneficial. To this end biracial committees and conferences were recommended so that unified efforts could foster play opportunities for all the people of a community. Clement summed up the opinion of the participants when he declared that

...people must learn to be interested in other people as human beings, must realize that cooperation is based upon the principle of working with rather than for the other fellow, and that mutual respect is the only firm foundation upon which good will and national unity can ever be built (39, p. 187).
Infrequently, black citizens would be a member of the public recreation commission. More often white members of the general board would serve as ex-officio participants on the black advisory committees, sometimes as chairman, sometimes as consultative members. However, it was found by the Playground and Recreation Association to be more helpful when a black member of the recreation staff work particularly with the black community (12). It was felt the biracial committees brought about community unification and black leadership provided a stronger impetus for the black community to participate in recreation programs.

Just the provision of recreation was not ordinarily meaningful in the lives of black people. The use of community recreation centers by blacks for various social needs, including health and welfare concerns, was usually not acceptable to the general community. Blacks had many additional pressing concerns not generally faced by members of the dominant community, and recreation by itself was a more frivolous activity, less a priority in the lives of blacks.

The total community center program offerings which ranged beyond the provision of play opportunities for youth and adults was ordinarily unacceptable to public officials because they would have had to: 1) assume too high a cost to operate such programs, compared to the rest of the community operation, and 2) redesign the rest of the general community program to conform to the multi-service centers
operated in the black sections of town. Sometimes the operation of one or a few black multi-service community centers assumed as much as one-fourth the cost of the total city-wide recreation program.

The Democratization of the Recreation Program

The ability of blacks to wield any kind of power to alter community receptivity to the institution of recreation programs for black Americans was limited. As stated by Attwell:

... there can be no doubt but that the colored children are more voiceless and voteless than are children of the majority group. In fact, if welfare, social or recreational movements were to start from the logical point of need, they could well begin their inaugural efforts in neighborhoods where reside the families of the sun kissed; they invariably represent the socially and economically marginal group (12, p. 7).

It was Attwell's contention that the acid test of democracy in public recreation was primarily the provision of opportunities for participation of black citizens (11, 12). Accordingly, recreation had no meaning in America, unless it was to become thoroughly democratized. The Playground and Recreation Association of America inaugurated the Bureau of Colored Work to stimulate among black people an increase of opportunity for participation in local playground and recreation center programs. The leaders of the recreation movement felt that there was a tremendous possibility for development of black people in America through the provision of recreation opportunities. T. S. Settle, a district field representative of the Playground
and Recreation Association concurred with Attwell's belief about the potential benefits available to black children through the provision of recreational opportunities.

Settle, like Attwell, did not believe that the recreation movement should be concerned about the social life and segregation of blacks and their legal rights. It was Settle's contention that the movement spoke only for the provision of adequate recreation opportunities. Recreation was not seen as a force for social justice, despite segregated and inferior recreational provisions for blacks. "So many of us start out for recreation or education of the colored people or something else, and the first thing we know, we are fighting all the battles of the colored race. . . . Let us just remember that we are talking about recreation for the colored people" (152, p. 598). However, Settle felt that the inadequacy of recreational opportunities for black people was at least twice as bleak as for any other community group. It was just not recreation's role to get "over-excited" about social concerns and propriety was to be limited to the domain of the public recreation system.

Settle, Attwell and others, however, advocated the existence of separate facilities for blacks and whites using the example developed in public education:

If there is any large number of colored people, it has its white schools, colored schools, white staff of trained workers, colored staff of trained workers. And all of them are supported
by public taxation and supervised by the superintendent of schools. So we have a fine analogy there. And if we will start out in the same way and provide playgrounds and recreation systems for the colored people, we can't go very far wrong (152, p. 612).

Emmett Scott, onetime Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University, stated there had been comparatively few provisions made for the development of playgrounds and recreation centers for black people (150). Scott felt that blacks should have an opportunity to participate in the overall municipal recreation program, although there was a general lack of encouragement from the dominant white community. Scott advocated integrating blacks into the overall community recreation program, although he too recognized that because of a definite prohibition against blacks, they were often left out of consideration in both city planning and maintenance of recreation centers in many sections of the country. Scott's views echoed the opinion held by many black leaders in the country with respect to the provision of adequate recreation facilities and leadership for black people.

In my opinion there should be increased consideration throughout the country given to the needs of the colored people in this matter of wholesome recreation. In the planning of recreation programs and in the employment of leaders, opportunity should be given for colored people to participate in the general programs. For they, more definitely than any others, have a sympathetic knowledge of the needs and considerations of their people (150, p. 596).

The question of proper provision of public recreation and leisure service was not an issue of one regional bias over another. According to Attwell:
...it is not a question of North, South, East or West, so far as I have been able to sense it. I have made surveys in Southern and Northern cities, and the farther North I have gone, the less recreation, under proper leadership, have I found among colored people (10, p. 657).

The opportunities for the right sort of recreation for blacks was sadly neglected. In many communities, high school auditoriums or social halls of various kinds that were open to "the public," were not available for particular use by blacks for recreation. This was true in cities where buildings were used by white and black people alike.

In communities that did not emphasize or sponsor public recreation for any group, the opportunities available for wholesome leisure activity in the black community were almost non-existent (10). The dependence upon the public domain by black people for wholesome recreational outlets was critical during the period 1920-1954. In many communities only unsavory amusement places were available to black Americans; this, combined with their limited socio-economic ability, curtailed their social intercourse. For many blacks the community house for special use by them became a rather inclusive domicile: it often contained a library, a nursery, a women's club, a men's club, a drill room, a health center, a trade school, a welfare and employment agency and other things not ordinarily included in general recreation centers frequented by other groups.

The value of the recreation movement to black people during this era was that its benefits were not limited or contained solely in the
playground or recreation center building program. The need almost
overshadowing the other activities was that a recreation program
could be both educational and cultural, such as the inclusion of and
participation in community music, dramatics, and civic and literary
activities that for a large mass of the adults were often the only
attractive phase of the recreation field. These latter activities were
seen as phases of social life which blacks needed and because of
prejudice and discrimination, could not avail themselves of the
opportunities through any other means.

Recreation Facilities for Blacks

A study was undertaken by Washington (171) of public, private
and commercial recreation facilities for blacks in 57 communities in
1928, of which 25 contained the largest black populations. It was
Washington's belief that very little attention had been devoted to
recreation, and yet it was at the same time at the root of the migra-
tion of black people (along with housing, employment, etc.) and of
much of the social pathology which had grown out of it.

Of the total, 40 of the cities in the Washington study were
located in the North and 17 in the South. Washington assumed that in
discussing recreational facilities for blacks in the South, both public
and private, it was hardly necessary for the study to state that no
integration of the races was found. The only interesting fact to be
gleaned in the study connected with southern cities was whether or not any accommodations at all—even segregated—were provided blacks.

An account of the public recreation facilities found to be evident for blacks in the various participating cities investigated by Washington is given in Tables 2 and 3. It was obvious from the findings shown in the tables that the chief problem in the South in connection with public recreation and black people was the number of cities in which there was no provision or very limited provision for public recreation for blacks. In the case of public parks, for example, 4 out of the 17 southern cities had facilities for whites only; one-half of those cities which had recreation centers did not have any for blacks; 3 had public bathing beaches for whites only, and 10 out of 17 had swimming pools for whites only.

Even in those communities where there were some provision for playgrounds, parks, recreation centers and bathing facilities for blacks, the amount of acreage was also far below their proportion of the population. These instances of discrimination were numerous in the findings of Washington. In Charleston, South Carolina (171, p. 275), blacks were compelled to pay a tax for a city stadium they couldn't enter.

In the 40 northern cities some form of segregation was practiced in public recreation in most every type of recreation facility. The
Table 2. Public Recreation in 17 Southern Cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Facilities for whites only-no provision for blacks</th>
<th>Complete segregation of whites and blacks</th>
<th>Some segregation</th>
<th>No segregation</th>
<th>No facilities for either race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playgrounds</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation centers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathing beaches</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming pools</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Public Recreation in 40 Northern Cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Facilities for whites only-no provision for blacks</th>
<th>Complete segregation of whites and blacks</th>
<th>Some segregation</th>
<th>No segregation</th>
<th>No facilities for either race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playgrounds</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation centers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathing beaches</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming pools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lack of provision of bathing beaches for blacks was the dominant recreation facility denied them, according to the study.

It was obvious from the data compiled by Washington that black people were being denied wholesome recreational opportunities by public leisure service in large sections of the South. According to Washington, the exclusion of blacks in connection with recreational facilities was on the increase in the North. The findings of Washington paralleled Attwell's analysis of the provision of public recreation facilities for blacks. The difficult problem posed at this time was that the black population of cities both in the North and South was increasing due to in-migration and the proportionately greater need than before for wholesome recreation facilities for blacks meant that these facilities were being denied them altogether or were inaccessible because of segregation (171, p. 281).

These findings were later corroborated by Johnson (85) in a study of 75 cities with the largest black population. Johnson's findings as to the problem of recreation for blacks included the following comments (85, p. 299-300):

1. In the larger cities of the North, where long established Negro communities are in proximity to city parks and playgrounds, the Negro children have access to them along with other children. Parks are freely open, however, it most frequently occurs that difference in management, population ratios, and equipment, influence in various ways the use of the playgrounds.

2. In cities of the North where new Negro residence areas are in proximity to parks and playgrounds, there is access
to these, but frequent racial friction tends to influence attendance adversely.

3. In certain Northern and "border" cities playgrounds have been designedly located near Negro residence areas, and special attendants, sometimes white, sometimes Negro, placed in charge. These are used chiefly and freely by Negro children, but the number of children benefiting by them is an almost negligible proportion of the number of children of playground ages.

4. In cities of the South recreation facilities are meagre for whites as well as for Negroes. However, there are several cities in which special provisions have been made for Negroes, but space and equipment are inadequate in nearly all of them.

5. The most common point of racial friction in the recreation field has been in the use of the swimming pools.

6. Where expenditures have been made for Negro recreation in cities of the South they bear a relationship to expenditures for white children similar to the relation which expenditures for Negro education bear to expenditure for white education.

7. Where there are public parks in the South, unless specifically set aside for Negroes, it is usually assumed that they are for the exclusive use of the white population.

According to Johnson's study, of the 81 playgrounds in Cleveland eight were used by blacks. They had access to all of the nine parks of the city. In Denver, two of the 27 city playgrounds were used by blacks. In Knoxville, Tennessee, blacks used two of the 14 provided playgrounds. The city had 20 parks, which, however, were not used by them. Waco, Texas, had seven playgrounds and 18 parks. Blacks could use two playgrounds and were not allowed to use the parks. The daily attendance at these playgrounds was 550, and there was one
paid worker and two volunteer supervisors on the facility to provide leadership. Twelve cities provided more complete information as noted in Table 4.

Table 4. Attendance of Black Children at Public Sponsored Recreation Facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Estimated no. Negro children</th>
<th>Average daily attendance</th>
<th>Percent attendance</th>
<th>Total no. paid Negro workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic City</td>
<td>4,425</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>15,713</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>3,284</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>3,310</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macon</td>
<td>8,283</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>11,543</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>24,817</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>5,010</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah</td>
<td>12,143</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, it was found that in both the North and South one important condition of free participation in play activities was separation; that where public support was sufficient for an adequate dual system, the black facilities for recreation suffered; and that in 28 of the cities studied there were means for accommodations of not more than eight percent of the black children (85, p. 302).
By 1930 it was estimated that there were about 11,000 paid supervisors of recreation. Of this number, some two percent were black.

In almost every instance the provision of recreation facilities for black people came about as a result of awakened interest stimulated by recreation surveys. The provision of recreational facilities for blacks in Chicago, Rockford, Waco and other cities was generated by surveys which disclosed that there were either no programs or only the most meagre of attempts at conducting such programs. "In most cases these disclosures started not only the city officials into action, but the colored groups, suddenly awakened, organized citizen's councils and began campaigns to help themselves secure facilities and leadership to supply their recreation needs" (76, p. 395).

Woodward (176, p. 99-100, 117-118) judiciously has pointed out that during the first three decades of the twentieth century, a huge bulk of legislation piled up at the state level that effectively prohibited social contact between the races. Much of the Jim Crow segregation code was enforced by city ordinances, or by local regulations or by extralegal practices of exclusion. By 1940 laws had tightened in the provision of public recreation, sports and various commercial amusements. Woodward states (176, p. 117-118):

An Atlanta ordinance of June 1940 made the single exception of its park segregation 'so much of Grant Park as is occupied by the zoo.' Only in the presence of lower anthropoids could
law-abiding Atlantans of different races consort together. The same city in 1932 prohibited amateur baseball clubs of different races from playing within two blocks of each other. In 1933 Texas prohibited 'Caucasians' and 'Africans' from boxing and wrestling together. Federal law stepped in to hinder the circulation of films showing interracial boxing. An Arkansas law of 1937 required segregation at all race tracks and gaming establishments 'in seating, betting, and all other accommodations.' In 1935 Oklahoma extended the white man's law to separate the races while fishing or boating. A Birmingham ordinance got down to particulars in 1930 by making it 'unlawful for a Negro and a white person to play together or in company with each other' at dominoes or checkers.

By 1937 Attwell could state that (11, p. 491):

One hundred thirty-nine communities providing special or exclusive facilities, mainly in southern states, plus hundreds of other cities where the adjustments are less difficult but where cooperative or biracial uses of recreation centers make playgrounds available are real testimony of a forward march in democratizing America's recreation movement.

The evolution of black recreation programs and provisions, from meagre vacant play lots to well-equipped all-purpose community centers, was an important factor in the democratization of black people. While the community centers located in black neighborhoods tended to represent a rather generous interpretation of leisure time provision, such facilities often represented the only available headquarters for all the recreational, social and welfare needs of black citizens (11).

During the twenties and thirties recreation service began to reach more people, including women, and more adequate consideration was given to the recreation needs of blacks (25). The gradual success
in the development of public recreation opportunities for blacks was associated with the presence of biracial recreation councils. This group would typically steer away from "solving the race problem," and strive to aid, in an advisory capacity, the stimulation of participation and guidance of community recreation programs. Attwell described an "outstanding" example in Cincinnati, Ohio, of the type of development of recreation programs designed to reach black citizens. A forward looking recreation superintendent, and a "liberal" recreation commission were important ingredients which helped develop the program which served some 404,199 blacks in 1936. The department operated two, year-round, separate centers which were located on spacious play fields, in addition to a number of school and neighborhood center programs (11, p. 493).

Where under legislation there was a dual system of education for the two racial groups, dual provision for recreation was found to be necessary if the needs of blacks were to be served. It was the dominant belief held by the recreation profession that municipal recreation was a need of all people, however designed and implemented (25, p. 50). The pattern found in Cincinnati was typical where dual operation existed, particularly in the South. The existence of separate provisions of recreation services was consistent with the common practice of de jure and de facto segregation of public facilities (25, 90, 94, 119, 123).
The Bureau of Colored Work, which fostered much of the early development of recreation programs for black people, operated during an era of segregated social life in America. It was the Bureau's philosophy that, where possible, attempts should be made to include blacks in the general offerings of a public recreation program. However, the more numerous and "successful" programs were stimulated primarily for the exclusive participation of black citizens. As noted by Attwell:

One thing the Bureau of Colored Work has learned, and that is that in nearly every section the Negro group, so far as the complete program of activities is concerned, represents a community within a community. That is, a general city program may be ever so good intentioned, but it does not reach far enough to contact or welcome the inclusion of colored groups. Special planning to reach them and make available the program seems a need everywhere (11, p. 515).

For comparative purposes (Table 5) statistics were taken from the Yearbooks of the National Recreation Association for the years 1927 (The Playground, June, 1928), 1938 (Recreation, June, 1939), and 1942 (Recreation, June, 1943) the last year separate reporting of statistics on facilities for blacks was made, to show the growth of service in black communities (104).

A study of the recreation needs and facilities of Louisiana (100) showed that blacks, who made up 37 percent of the population of the state, had almost no recreational facilities for their use. There were no publicly supported large recreational areas of any kind for black
Table 5. Fifteen Years of Public Recreation for Black People.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities and expenditures</th>
<th>1927 Black</th>
<th>1927 Other</th>
<th>1938* Black</th>
<th>1938* Other</th>
<th>1942 Black</th>
<th>1942 Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Playgrounds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities reporting</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playgrounds</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>6,021</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>9,089</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>8,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation Buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities reporting</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total buildings</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor Recreation Centers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities reporting</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total indoor centers</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>2,053</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,059</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>2,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure for recreation</td>
<td>$32,191,763</td>
<td>$60,629,200</td>
<td>$34,824,829</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data for 1938 include expenditures from emergency funds of $31,263,728.

groups. A few of the larger cities in the state provided meagre
playground and playfield areas for blacks. In the main, however,
blacks had to depend upon a small number of private facilities for their
recreation.

Lyons (100) stated that public parks and playgrounds afforded
an opportunity for "normal" recreation:

These are especially necessary for city children, most of whom live in sections so crowded that normal opportunities for play are impossible of all the population. Negro children suffer more in this respect than the white children, hence of all the children in the community, they are the most in need of public recreation. Few cities and towns make any provision for this need (100, p. 9-10).
A study by Batchelor (15, p. 3) found little provision had been made of adult recreation facilities and services for blacks. Todd (163) in a comprehensive investigation of the provision of recreation in Chicago found there was an almost complete lack of public parks and playground facilities for the black population. "This absence of suitable recreational opportunities combined with the unsuitable housing of the [black] district and the low economic status of the residents has had an unsocial effect is attested by police records of juvenile delinquency" (163, p. 87). Judd and Judd (87) found that recreational activities in a black section of Pittsburgh to be inadequate and because of their general low economic position, they were relatively powerless to alter the situation. According to the Judds the reason there was a lack of recreational facilities as well as other essential community needs (87, p. 21):

The residents are largely in a low economic group so that they have no money to put into any community programs, businessmen who would be interested in the community do not live in Manchester and so lack community interest, the community is not organized so as to be able to exert influence on outside groups to bring necessary facilities into the community, and housing and general living conditions are depressing to the extent of being demoralizing.

The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, established to consider the needs of youth and appraise the facilities and resources serving these needs, found that black youth was among the most seriously lacking in recreational advantages (177,
The report recommended that recreation be understood to have a further utilitarian value (that is beyond its usual consideration as worthy of being sought for the satisfaction it provides) to the individual in contributing to his mental health and physical fitness and to his social competence, and in providing him with creative and cultural experiences. The conditions arising from overcrowding in the slums and in tenement housing contributed to the tendency to eliminate forms of recreation requiring considerable space.

The Youth Commission report cited black youth having a double handicap (177, p. 19):

The Negro youth belongs to a group that suffers from the double handicap of extremely low average incomes and being a racial minority. In every field of human welfare this circumstance operates to his disadvantage. In recreation its effects are painfully apparent.

Depressed economic conditions in the thirties made a great difference in the lives of most people in the United States. There was less money to spend and in many cases there was much more time to spend because so many people were out of work. This meant that recreation was more than ever important and that public, tax-supported recreation activities needed to be promoted. The success of this approach would enable people to enjoy their leisure with the least possible expenditure of money. The low position relegated blacks compounded their need for subsidized recreational opportunities.

James A. Madison, special field consultant for minority
relations of the National Recreation Association, noted that community recreation programs during the depression years were greatly advanced. "The extent of Negro participation stood out because many of the communities previously had no organized recreation program for Negroes" (104, p. 15). Special training courses were set for thousands of black leaders employed by the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration. The courses, in many instances, constituted the only training in recreation the workers had ever had.

Blacks gained new facilities through the Public Works Administration. Outstanding facilities were constructed in Kalamazoo, Michigan, Toledo and Troy, Ohio, and in other communities. Through the cooperation of public housing programs, recreation facilities were provided in housing projects in Columbus, Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio, Louisville, Kentucky, Birmingham, Alabama, Chattanooga, Tennessee, St. Louis, Missouri, and Atlanta, Georgia, and many more.

The black slum dweller was said to be subject to all the limitations that an inadequate environment imposes. Wholesome recreation was often impossible in the home setting and this unfortunate situation was not enhanced when blacks would turn to public playgrounds or community centers in certain areas and find them closed to them. In the communities where blacks attended school the recreational service and equipment available was usually meagre. Significant development
in recreational provision of facilities and leadership occurred between 1930 and 1940, but they were still insufficiently appropriated in black communities.

The provision of recreation facilities on a racial basis, which was often impractical and always expensive, was not accepted by the Youth Commission as a complete solution to the recreational difficulties of black youth.

These difficulties will never be wholly overcome so long as Negroes are regarded and treated as people for whom the leftover and the second-bests of everything are sufficient. We must banish from our social thinking the attitude that any class of our youth is less worthy or less deserving of the benefits of our civilization than another (177, p. 4).

It was felt by the American Youth Commission that wholesome recreation had a healing potential and corrective power for black youth. Negro youth, it was felt, had a special, psychological need for recreation because of the many social, economic and political restrictions imposed upon them. As a result, they were likely to develop attitudes unfavorable to their own welfare and to the welfare of society. Feelings of inferiority, resentment, and aggression would inevitably arise among black adolescents as they became aware of what it meant to be black in a white man's world. The potential influence of recreation had still remained largely undeveloped, according to the Commission.

The inadequate provision of recreation service and facilities
was a pervasive northern pattern as well as southern tradition. The most convincing example was the city of Chicago. Drake and Cayton (51, p. 102-106) documented a city-wide pattern of segregation and exclusion of blacks from public facilities and programs. The increased flow of black migrants from the rural South and the expansion of Chicago’s black neighborhoods, resulted in segregation becoming more rigid through the 1930’s. Parks, playgrounds, playfields, pools, and beaches were in many cases tacitly closed to blacks through the resistance of white residents who were supported by police and recreation officials. Drake and Cayton noted the continuation of inferior recreation service to blacks, supporting the findings of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations in 1922. Usually other areas and facilities, generally less numerous and well-equipped, were specifically designated for blacks. Their study revealed that a lack of formal organized recreation activity, although accentuated by the Depression, had been characteristic of life in Chicago since the Great Migration.

The Impact of World War II

During the 1940’s the most serious race riot of the era broke out in Detroit, Michigan, June 20, 1943 on Belle Isle, a recreation area frequented by blacks and whites. Detroit, like other northern industrial cities, had an increasing number of blacks entering the city
to work in defense industries and related businesses. Belle Isle was not unlike recreation areas in other cities which became battlegrounds of racial hatred spurred by urban squalor, unemployment, poor housing and discrimination in public services. Inadequate recreation facilities contributed to the Detroit violence. According to Lee and Humphrey race riots were (96, p. 6):

...the end products of thousands of little instants in an atmosphere of growing tension. Riots are in the making when irritating frictions ignite latent intolerance between Negroes and whites. When the two races are not consciously preparing themselves to live democratically, frictions occur in overcrowded street cars, parks, swimming pools, motion picture houses, restaurants, and the like.

It was further stated by Lee and Humphrey (96) that people's patience was easily frayed by the "fatigue of war-prolonged work-weeks and by the snapping of war-strained nerves and temper." The over-crowded conditions of exorbitantly high rent dwellings and competition for jobs and slum housing contributed to the racial tension. The sense of tightness and distress was revealed by Lee and Humphrey as they portrayed the scene characteristic in several communities in the early 1940's.

Think of the saloons, the pool parlors, and the movies as the only easily accessible recreational facilities to furnish much needed respite from these crowded living conditions. Think of being thrown into inter-racial job situations for the first time with no positive preparation for cooperation between Negroes and whites. Think of the tension that grips both races (96, p. 6).

In the North, segregation of public facilities was not legal,
except in instances created by residential segregation and anti-black feeling which deterred interracial mixing in recreation programs. De facto segregation served as a northern pattern of de jure Jim Crow "separate but equal" pattern of separation of the races. However, "the Deep South has been more rigorous, more detailed, and more strictly enforced segregation than the Border (western and northern) states. They also [have discriminated more] in the application of the laws" (147, p. 121).

Myrdal (120) stated that most public recreation facilities—such as parks and playgrounds—were available to blacks with about the same amount of discrimination and segregation, in the various regions of the country, as in schools.

Negroes are not permitted to use these in the South unless they are acting in a servant capacity. Many Southern cities have separate parks, playgrounds, and libraries for Negroes, but in all cases they are poor substitutes for those available to whites. In a few cities in the Upper South Negroes are allowed to enter some of the general parks (120, p. 634).

The impact of play on small black children was reflective of the larger institutional barriers restricting youth and adult recreation. Frazier (60, p. 70-71) described the play of black and white children in Washington, D.C.:

The colored children seemed to form a play group within a play group, the white children's talk almost being addressed to other white children. Moreover, the colored children seemed to hang back and let the white children take the lead during the play. The colored children stood around and watched the white children as if admiring them. However,
when the number of colored children increased and the two groups were about equal in numbers, the colored children showed much greater courage in swinging higher and longer on the limb, and much less fear than did the white children. . . . It is apparent overt behavior that the colored children hesitated to participate freely in the play group until they had the support of larger numbers of their own race. Even then it appears that they did not participate individually but rather as a group. Their self-consciousness was indicated not only by their initial hesitancy about participating freely in the play but also by their attempt to outstrip the white children.

Myrdal (120, p. 982) stated that recreation for black people was conditioned by three factors:

First, Negroes are barred from using public recreational and amusement facilities in many places even in the North, and are inadequately supplied with private facilities. Second, their geographical concentration in the South means that many of their recreational patterns follow those of the rural South. These are carried over to the urban North by the migrants from the South and are further shaped by the fact that the great bulk of the Negro population is of low economic status and lives in slum areas. Third, because recreation and amusement must be carried on almost entirely within the isolated Negro community, Negro recreation has developed peculiar traits of its own, different from those that characterize recreation in the white community. One of the most striking characteristics of Negro amusements and recreation is their tendency to be informal, intimate and sociable.

Myrdal (120) concluded in his comprehensive study of black Americans that everywhere in the South public parks, beaches and playgrounds were customarily closed to blacks. Everywhere he found white southerners unconcerned about how blacks spent their leisure, as long as they kept out of facilities that were reserved for the use of whites. Whitney Young (181) noted that in his childhood many parks within the cities of Kentucky were segregated. Usually the white parks
were more beautiful and spacious than the facilities made available to black citizens. They were often felt to be so unwelcome when using recreation facilities that many blacks never went to a public park or playground.

At the same time when recreation programs and facilities were expanding during World War II throughout the United States, Myrdal found a uniformly inferior provision of facilities for blacks in the South. He claimed that blacks had a greater need for public recreation facilities than whites (120, p. 346-347):

... the visitor finds Negroes everywhere aware of the great damage done Negro youth by the lack of recreational outlets and of the urgency of providing playgrounds for the children. In almost every community visited during the course of this inquiry, these were among the first demands on the program of local Negro organizations.

Further, because of the lack of facilities, recreation was found to be unorganized. Besides swimming, hunting, and fishing, a considerable amount of time was spent in loafing, boasting, telling tall stories and singing (120, p. 982). The lack of sufficient opportunities for blacks to acquire well-rounded and varied leisure skills, had a detrimental effect on black people. According to Myrdal (120, p. 982-983): "While it is true that the Negroes' recreational behavior is relatively unrestrained and uninhibited, it is not a constructive form of amusement; it is monotonous and offers no chance to develop skills, physical or mental."
In the years preceding World War II, Myrdal states:

In the enjoyment of public services the Negro was discriminated against severely in the South in blunt repudiation of the Constitution and the State laws. But even in this sphere we saw a slow improvement of his status as a result of the rising legal culture of the region; the pressures from the Negroes; from public opinion in the North; from the federal courts and administration as well as from the white Southerners' own better conscience. It was becoming somewhat less unusual that a playground or even a little park was arranged for Negroes in some cities. .. Without question the New Deal was of tremendous importance for the Negro in respect to the share he received of public services (120, p. 1000).

The federal government did not succeed in stamping out discrimination from the various phases of community life but it definitely decreased it. According to Myrdal (120, p. 1000-1001) a new kind of public servant emerged in the South, educated officials who were not primarily interested in "keeping the black man in his place" but in encouraging and advancing him. This served to introduce a new and wholesome type of public contact for black people in the South and blacks got a feeling that public authority could be other than arbitrary and suppressive.

Essentially, blacks were beginning to feel the effects of democratic and egalitarian values characteristic for the dominant group in American culture. Blacks were increasingly becoming less well "accommodated," and beginning to form a more self-conscious subculture defining ever more clearly their fundamental grievances against white America.
Post-World War II

By the mid-1940's the condition of the black man had improved but had not changed significantly. He certainly had increased opportunities for leisure through expanded recreation services, but his subordinated position further deterred his ability to participate in community recreation programs. It was the expressed opinion of a community center director from New Haven, Connecticut, speaking at the National Recreation Congress in 1946, that black people had been kept in an inferior status, largely because of physiognomic and cultural differences which had served to limit black recreational opportunities. The restrictions and inhibitions imposed from without upon blacks had created, he felt, special problems which were not encountered by the majority group who dictated and set the social pattern. "I refer to things such as limited facilities, inadequately trained leadership, insufficient funds, and poorly administered programs of recreation" (173, p. 102).

Through recreation, the problem arising from different cultural and racial characteristics, were unfortunate liabilities and handicaps, instead of being assets and challenges to the recreation movement. A few "liberal" minded community recreation leaders were able to respond to these differences in a constructive manner, but the dominant and legal response was not favorable to such development. An
increasing interest, however, was being generated for the inclusion of blacks in the mainstream efforts of the municipal recreation program.

The delegates at the National Recreation Congress in 1946 (173) felt and expressed themselves very strongly that through bi-racial committees there would be better recreation programs and more wholesome community attitudes. An outgrowth of this form of organization structure, according to Watts, was a recreation center that could serve as a community laboratory where persons of different races, creeds, and social stratas would be able to work, play and interact together, developing attitudes of tolerance and understanding (173, p. 103).

The recognized importance of recreation in city-wide planning included a trend to involve representation from all groups in the post-war developing communities. The potential visualized in recreation and leisure service as a medium for unifying and weaving various racial and cultural strains into a mosaic pattern consistent with democratic tenets and ideals, was an outgrowth of post-World War II events. This development, which conceived of public recreation service as a catalytic agent for making available leisure opportunities for all races and creeds, reflected a new position. This belief supported the integration of all community groups in the overall recreation program.

Drake (49, p. 38) indicates that the first decade after World War
If the doctrine of "separate but equal" was abandoned as a guide to the formulation of public policy applied to the armed forces, public transportation, public accommodations and public schools. It had been demonstrated that, while it might be theoretically possible to achieve equality within the framework of a segregated school system in the South, it seemed impossible to practice.

Kraus (90, p. 14) states that the first breakdown in the pattern of segregation in recreation came about during World War II, when army hospitals and armed forces centers moved toward desegregation. On the basis of a Presidential Executive Order in 1948, the armed forces carried out efforts to integrate sleeping and eating arrangements, bars, clubs, athletic fields, and swimming pools.

Applied to public recreation service, the fostering and development of integrated use of facilities was a very uneasy position to assume. The flow of national and regional policy related to race relations affected the waxing and waning of local developments related to integrated recreation service. It was noted by Meyer and Brightbill that:

This problem of race relations is of national significance and its adjustments and adaptations must produce an equilibrium which takes into consideration what is best for the Negro and the whites, for the South and for the North, and, therefore, for the race and the nation (115, p. 639).

The general stance of public recreation service was the concern for adequate leisure opportunity for all groups. The ability of blacks
to maximize their opportunities for recreation had to be worked out between the dominant white and subordinate black groups. The eventual solution rested with the adaptation of black people to white interests, demands, and needs. Differences of racial and cultural characteristics were subordinated in favor of a more mutual propagation of a unified community approach to recreation—to be worked out by both races.

According to Meyer and Brightbill (115, p. 639-640) the adjustments necessary to assist and benefit black and white groups involved three principles: 1) the welfare of all the people depends on the cooperative effort of both races with joint responsibilities, joint obligations, and joint opportunities for serving and working; 2) sane leadership by the many strong and good leaders is better than universe leadership by the few weak and ignorant leaders of both races; and 3) clear recognition that problems of race relations are very real and very difficult.

The consideration of the "race problem," in post-World War II American society with respect to the recreation movement, was an important realization by the field that problems could not be solved by sentiment nor by superficial ideas concerning the relationship of race and the provision of public recreation opportunities. This was a marked departure for the recreation movement from its previous stand of nonalignment and ambivalence to the status of blacks—inferior
or otherwise. Meyer and Brightbill (115) suggested that the race issue could not be ignored or allowed to run its course. It was their contention that frank and honest recognition by both races of the difficulties involved was essential for a viable solution to be developed.

The egalitarian principle which provides that all residents of a community are entitled to a fair share of the services provided through tax funds was just as applicable to recreation as to other city services. The special problem created in the various sections of the country where there was a dual system of education and municipal services for whites and blacks effectively separated recreation facilities and offerings and undermined this principle.

By 1950, the provision of public recreation opportunities for blacks had increased substantially since 1920 but there were still several factors which handicapped black participation in community recreation programs. Madison noted six factors which still served to retard black involvement in community recreation programs (104, p. 15-16):

1) very few Negroes trained in recreation and directing community recreation programs were available; 2) few colleges in the country offered a curriculum leading to a degree in the field. No Negro college, where most of the teachers of Negroes are trained, had a major curriculum for preparing recreation workers; 3) the attitude in general was that the Negro did not have bona fide leisure time, outside of that which should be spent in the church; 4) in many states, gymnasiums were deliberately left out of schools constructed for Negroes because gymnasiums were associated with play and recreation; 5) Negroes, for the most part, lived either in the rural areas
or the congested, run down sections of the cities. The homes in these sections were constructed before playgrounds and community centers were generally accepted and provided by public funds. Since then land values have become so high in these areas that where the attitude is favorable the costs are prohibitive; and 6) a substantial number of the few recreation facilities reported the National Recreation Association did not meet minimum standards. This was often true in the northern communities where many of the centers in Negro areas were converted dwellings or churches unsuited for the development of good recreation programs. The playgrounds were generally without standard equipment and the softball diamonds so small that the fielder's regular positions were in the streets.

The growth in acceptance of recreation, justified by socially important by-products, contributed to municipal support for community recreation programs. Concerns of juvenile delinquency, physical and mental health, and family stability which were related to community solidarity and fostered by public recreation's appreciation for democratic precepts, enhanced the social integration of black people through recreation offerings. However, it was significant that all of the independent community social centers serving blacks were located in the North. In most instances these centers were the first to invite interracial participation.

The full inclusion of blacks in the community recreation programs was deterred until federal legislation and court litigation overturned legal separation and subordination of black people. Factors which inhibited this development involved: 1) personal prejudices held by whites denied blacks the use of recreation through segregated
housing; 2) gerry-mandering of school districts; and 3) the development of private recreation facilities (104, p. 20).

An example of the effects of white prejudice and discriminatory behavior which served to retard the development of adequate recreation opportunities for black people was expressed by Madison (104, p. 19):

The development of a park in a precinct with 83 percent of the residents colored is being delayed because of the objection from whites led by a white man who is not a resident of the precinct. The city owns over 1,000 acres in its 39 parks. Less than one percent is available to colored who constitute 14 to 20 percent of the population.

The isolation and exclusion of blacks from the mainstream of American life have served to remove them from general public concern. The northern migration of blacks increased the growth of segregated black communities within larger cities. Cowgill (43) indicated residential segregation in 129 of 185 major cities increased between 1940 and 1950. Residential segregation of blacks contributed to the separation of blacks in other social spheres—including recreation service, with the result that segregated and inferior facilities and opportunities was prevalent in 1950.

The relevance of most of the community recreation offerings as applied to the black areas was often limited and treated with indifference by black recipients of public leisure service. This often resulted in black people receiving little or no consideration when
recreation programs were developed in various communities throughout America. This was particularly true of lower-class blacks, who were even rejected by middle-class blacks (61).

The larger society provided blacks with few resources. The white community only minimally interfered in the black community on matters which did not seem to affect white interests. Accordingly, the black subculture and "particularly that of the lower-class, the slum Negro, can be seen as his own creation out of the elements available to him in response to 1) the conditions of life set by white society and 2) the selective freedom which that society allows" (142, p. 165).

However, at the same time this "freedom" meant that many of the services offered by white institutions stopped at the edge of the ghetto and did not permeate the black slums, resulting in poor and insufficient opportunities for education, health service, employment opportunity and recreation.

The extension of recreation facilities and services to black citizens increased during the post war years leading up to the 1954 Brown Supreme Court decision--mostly on a segregated basis. A number of cities in North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia built their first playgrounds or athletic fields for blacks during this period. Full time black recreation directors were employed for the first time in Montgomery, Alabama, Joliet,

In the western states a growing practice of serving all racial groups through the general recreation program was recorded by the Association's field representative for the Pacific Southwest District:

Through the Pacific Southwest no attempt has been made to show a difference between races in the development of recreation programs or the placement of facilities in the community. In nearly all instances those differing from the white race have been absorbed in the total community program, leaving few race problems. It is true that facilities have been developed in areas representing a certain race and the program has been geared to that race but in no instance has there been the feeling that there was segregation. A good example of this was the employment in Pima County, Arizona, of a colored girl as Director of Recreation Activities for the County and although she is colored she works with all race groups (13, p. 41-42).

Increasingly local programs for black citizens were included as a part of the total municipal tax-supported recreation department where feasible. During the summer of 1950, Cincinnati, Ohio, opened all of its municipal pools to blacks for the first time (103, p. 23). Austin, Texas, became the first city in 1951 to allow blacks to play on a general public golf course in the southwest. Also, for the first time in the southwest, a black was appointed to a recreation and park board in Little Rock, Arkansas (105). A black woman was appointed to a recreation board in Pulaski, Virginia, in 1952 (106).

In 1952 (106) two significant advances were made: 1) admission of black recreation workers to membership in the South Carolina
Recreation Society, and 2) agreement upon black participation in the Southern District Recreation Conference. Moreover, there was less evidence of friction in the use of public swimming pools by blacks in sections of the country where non-segregation was traditional. Despite the favorable developments in the provision of recreation for blacks, Madison (106) stated there was still a great lack of service in many communities. By 1953 attendance by blacks occurred for the first time in all district conferences sponsored by the National Recreation Association (107). As in previous years, there were still difficult problems and continued need for the Association's special service to minority populations as "prejudice and indifference show themselves" (107).

Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas

State-imposed racial discrimination was struck down as unconstitutional in the Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, 1954 Supreme Court decision. The decision concerned five separate cases, which the court consolidated since the same legal question was involved in each of them. The primary case was the Brown determination. The Court postponed its implementing order until May 31, 1955, when it ordered compliance "with all deliberate speed" (114, p. 295).

Blaustein and Zangrando (19, p. 406) state that the precise
decision was:

a) since all legislation necessarily involves classification, the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment cannot demand absolute equality; state laws and practices protecting people according to age, sex, and the like are constitutionally valid; b) discriminatory state action will be upheld providing that it is reasonable; a statute devoted exclusively to regulating the working hours of women is not violative of the equal protection clause, because of the real differences between male and female and the reasonableness of the legislative purpose in protecting the latter; c) discriminatory racial practices are inherently unreasonable, a racial classification based on race is unconstitutional per se as violative of the equal protection mandate.

The Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation of 1954 and 1955 were the culmination of many years of legal struggle by the NAACP, begun in the 1920's against segregated education. The Court's vague mandates "with all deliberate speed" and "at the earliest possible time" gave public officials, including leisure service representatives, very little guidance.

It was felt that the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools presented some difficult problems of future planning of recreation in many sections of the country, particularly in southern communities (108). In most of the northern cities, services to blacks were fairly well conceived and well balanced. It was reported that

...all too frequently the public recreation agency, along with the bi-racial services offered by private agencies, and the offerings of the traditional neighborhood or voluntary agency are channeled to conform to a traditional agency policy rather than geared to meet community needs (108).
In a few communities in New York and Pennsylvania, it was reported that the presence of sizable black neighborhoods directly affected the planning of recreation facilities. It was felt that while the need was evident, program content was not as divided between racial groups in sections outside the state, and fewer problems were expected as a result of the non-segregation law. However, it was reported that in many sections of New York, tensions were still very noticeable due to the presence of blacks within various cities and villages. The modus operandi in these cases was timely field service and the best kind of consultation.

In the midwest, desegregation took place in the borderline states of this district with a fair amount of success. However, many communities needed a practical guide on desegregation, with detailed case histories, to give direction to this sensitive subject. Losses or decreases in attendance at swimming pools occurred as expected when certain cities desegregated their public facilities, including Kansas City, Missouri, St. Joseph, Missouri, Topeka, Kansas, etc. In St. Louis, Missouri, attendance remained lower than before swimming was desegregated.

In the South, the problem posed communities to desegregate public school facilities, where many recreation programs were operated, deterred some cities from going ahead with plans for the construction of such facilities as pools and community centers.
Recreation service was affected in two significant ways by the landmark social policy changes at the close of this era:

Two decisions by the Federal government have greatly affected the problem of racial integration through recreation activities in the South. One of these was the Supreme Court decision regarding non-segregation in public schools; the other was the decision by the military to have non-segregation on all military posts and bases (107, p. 87).

Madison (107) reported that the events surrounding the 1954 Supreme Court ruling greatly influenced the status and provision of public recreation opportunities for black people. While some gains were made, much of the development of programs occurred on a segregated basis.

During the past year, city after city throughout the South has constructed new pools, community centers and parks for Negroes. The Supreme Court decision on non-segregation in public schools seemed to tighten segregation policies in the use of recreation facilities.

This problem will be worked out eventually. The superintendents of recreation in general are far ahead of the members of their recreation boards and city commissions in trying to work out a solution to the problem, but it is not one that can be solved overnight (107, p. 87-88).

In several states the impact of the Supreme Court decision was significantly related to the use of public recreation facilities as one state--Mississippi--even prepared a law to abolish its public school system. The state of Louisiana declared its intention to continue separation of the races in schools and prepared a constitutional amendment which was to direct separate schools for whites and blacks.
The impact of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on segregation of public schools had a direct effect on the provision of recreation service in those communities where public leisure service was conducted cooperatively with the school system. However, the condition of recreation facilities by 1950 and the "equal" provision doctrine applied in the South fell far short of egalitarian standards. Rose (147, p. 119) states:

Moreover, duplicate institutions are frequently not even provided. Negroes have not nearly the same public recreational, library, and hospital facilities as have whites in proportion to their numbers. In Houston, Texas, there is a ten-acre park for Negroes donated by ex-slaves, the whites have 2,600 acres of parks.

Studies made by Pharr (135), Temple (162) and Moton (118) revealed insufficient and substandard recreational facilities and leadership for blacks in Monroe County, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; and Richmond, Newport News, and Norfolk, Virginia. Pharr's study revealed that there was no organized recreation programs for 12,866 blacks during the school year, 1950-51. One year-round supervised park served 40,000 blacks in Nashville. A community center sponsored by the city serving blacks was not initiated until 1950. Moton's study of three Virginia cities revealed inadequate recreation provisions and opportunities were made available to the various cities investigated. The relative importance of recreation in the lives of blacks was documented as follows (110, p. 98-99):
The majority of Negroes are employed in menial occupations, and in Richmond earn a median income of $1183, in Norfolk, $1308, and in Newport News, $1469. A low family income seems to have a close relationship to other conditions of public welfare, as it was revealed that many Negroes live in congested areas with poor housing conditions. These circumstances are accompanied by a low education level. Under circumstances of limited income, congestion and poor housing, and limited formal education, public recreation becomes of greater importance. The need for an adequate recreation program is therefore obvious and should be provided as a community service.

The changes in social and cultural milieu of the South at the close of this period had a marked effect on the provision of public recreation. According to William Hay, Field Representative, National Recreation Association (71, p. 2-3), the South experienced a rapid economic change from agricultural to industrial and a resulting population shift from rural to highly urbanized, which together with the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, created a great social transition. These changes created a "new leisure." As a result, the South began to more rapidly and decisively move into the field of public recreation. "More has happened in the advancement of recreation and parks since the end of World War II than had happened prior to the beginning of the War" (71, p. 2).

The Supreme Court ruling of 1954 relative to integration in recreation created problems in the beginning stages of public recreation in the South. There was a tendency for cities to go out of the recreation business, stop further development, and slow down
service. Hay (71, p. 2) indicated that several types of information were needed before recreation in the southern region could be advanced, following a two-year study of intergroup relations:

1. The importance of human relations, and the value of establishing a Committee on Human Relations—so as to maintain communications between the white and Negro populations.

2. The great importance of leisure, and the actual part that recreation must play in the future.

3. The need for expansion rather than contraction—of acquiring rather than selling, recreation areas or facilities.

4. The importance of facing up to sound basic standards in advancing recreation and parks—especially in administration, personnel, finance, areas and facilities, and public relations.

5. The problems created by integration actually should provide a sound argument and reason as to why public recreation should strive toward maturity and growth in every aspect—and especially within the profession itself.

6. The need for professional recreation people to strengthen their ability to do the vital job ahead, and a need for upgrading personnel for better technical performance. There is an additional need of learning fully about what is happening in human relations, and how to implement a sound approach in tackling this problem as it arises.

It was Hay's contention that the race "problem" had to be approached objectively and that fact-finding needed to be undertaken to understand the particular issues involved. In this way

... as new communities become confronted with some aspect of integration or human relations, they may be able to move more positively and with less loss to either good human relations or to the progress of public recreation. Without facts and sound guidance available, mistakes in judgment
will be made which might set public recreation back for many years or, in some localities, cause it to pass almost completely from the picture (71, p. 3).
CHAPTER V

INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC LEISURE SERVICE, 1955-1965

Introduction

The decade following the 1954 Supreme Court public school desegregation decision brought about a general improvement in black welfare and a corollary decline in segregation in the public sectors of community life. During this decade the tempo and demands of the black protest movement intensified. A younger generation, angered by continued delays on the part of segregationists, disheartened by the high costs of extensive litigation, and suspicious of the intentions and sincerity of public leaders, turned to the tactics of non-violent, direct action (59, p. 469). These tactics included "sit-in" campaigns and "freedom rides" aimed at challenging the segregation of public facilities.

The improvement of the status of blacks was neither uniform nor without vigorous opposition in some sections of the country. While the threats were not always successful, they did serve to slow down the advancement of blacks. The struggle for civil rights by blacks gained momentum at the close of this era and overt racial violence occurred in several large northern communities, intensifying black Americans' sense of their disadvantaged position and reinforcing their feelings that white society was lined up against them.
The Supreme Court decision of 1954 struck down the ethics of separate black and white school facilities and thereby had a great impact on public recreation service. In 1950, the National Recreation Association reported the use of 5,575 school buildings as centers for community recreation. In the southern states, where a dual system of education and municipal services for white and non-white racial groups existed, dual provision for recreation was likewise customary to the same degree.

The Supreme Court decision which declared the illegality of segregated public school education had a marked influence upon local recreation services throughout the country, especially in the South. A substantial majority of southern white people were unprepared and unwilling to accept the drastic changes implied by the various court decisions against segregation. A continuous struggle was emanate between those committed to traditional continuity and those intent on basic change in the southern interracial system.

Two basic patterns emerged following the 1954 Brown Supreme Court school desegregation determination: First, southern whites viewed the situation as a crisis and the prevailing segment reacted accordingly with strong resistance, antagonism and trickery, with blacks challenging further areas of segregation and second, under the impact of congressional civil rights legislation, interracial protest activities and additional Supreme Court rulings, the resistance
movement weakened and reluctant compliance with desegregation increased.

The Desegregation of Public Recreation Facilities

The sharp awareness of the integration problem during 1955-56 resulted in little actual combination of public services in the South for blacks and whites (109). While some communities immediately made recreation facilities available to all citizens, regardless of color, a few cities took action to dispose of public recreation areas rather than to integrate their use. The antagonism and reluctance in the South was fairly widespread as stated by Butler (28, p. 101):

Some communities abandoned plans for new facilities; others have provided new facilities, especially in neighborhoods with Negro residents. The decisions were undoubtedly a factor which stimulated the formation of hundreds of community clubs that built swimming pools and other recreation facilities for the exclusive use of their members.

According to William Hay, the Little Rock racial incident of September, 1957, with respect to the admission of black students to all-white Central High School, provided a rallying point for anti-integrationists. As a result, some governmental agencies sold their public golf courses; some took action to sell golf courses and swimming pools; many no longer planned to build pools for whites; capital improvement programs lagged; many communities proceeded with a
"wait and see" attitude; and others used this episode as an excuse to keep from spending money on recreation (71, p. 3).

For the most part, acquisition of all types of facilities to serve blacks in the South were increased but on a segregated basis. As stated by Madison (109, p. 128):

Too, the subsequent reports of the Southern district field workers show advances during the year [1956] in budgets, programs and leadership services for minority groups but similarly segregated. With few exceptions, all facilities and services for them are still inadequate in comparison with services for white citizens. The most serious lack is in qualified leadership.

Private suits in many cases were responsible for the opening of public and private facilities. Baltimore and Atlanta were both involved in 1955 in court action which led to the integration of public bathing beaches and golf courses. On July 3, 1955, a black mailman and his four small children were ordered off a municipal beach in Baltimore. The letter carrier pleaded his case before the Federal District Judge. The court ruled that the family had no right to use the beach because Baltimore maintained "separate but equal" swimming facilities for blacks. The judge further held that the United States Supreme Court, in its decision banning segregation of public schools, specifically refrained from a decision regarding segregation in fields other than education.

The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond over-turned the District Court decision and was upheld by the Supreme
Court. The court held that racial segregation in recreational activities could no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the state. It reasoned that if that power cannot be invoked to sustain racial segregation in the schools where attendance is compulsory, it therefore cannot be sustained with respect to public beach and bathhouse facilities, the use of which is entirely optional.

Following the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, there were many court cases in various states, involving the free use and enjoyment of public recreation and park facilities by blacks as they became more and more opposed to the inadequacy of the existing facilities which were available to them. Just as segregation in public schools had been ruled unlawful by the Supreme Court, the appellate and the circuit courts also tended to rule segregation in the use of public recreation and park facilities unlawful (154, p. 38).

It required later Supreme Court rulings to provide the full meaning of the Brown decision that all state-imposed racial discrimination was unconstitutional per se. Relying specifically on the 1954 Brown determination, the Supreme Court in 1955 declared segregation involved on public beaches in Maryland (Mayor and City Council of Baltimore v. Dawson, 350 U.S. 877) and on public golf courses in Georgia (Homes v. Atlanta, 350 U.S. 879) to be unconstitutional (19, p. 418).

Reports reaching the National Recreation Association reflected a
pervasive national pattern during the years immediately following the Brown Supreme Court ruling. Some advances as well as losses served to reflect adverse reactions by municipal authorities to the Supreme Court decision on desegregation.

In 1956 (109) Louisville and Baltimore integrated their recreation programs and leadership services. Some Virginia communities integrated park and golf services while blacks joined white recreation leaders in Tennessee on an equal basis in the State Recreation Society. The establishment by state law of previously separate white and black recreation commissions and boards in Kentucky communities and the placing of both services in a combined program under the city administration, was an important advancement which provided a pattern for better financing of services for blacks.

However, gains made in 1956 were also offset by distinctly negative public reaction. Increased use by blacks of a major park in Kansas City, Missouri, and of swimming pools in St. Louis and Baltimore resulted in general refusal of white participants to use these facilities. Missouri was reported to be "very backward" in providing facilities and services for blacks. Because of the paucity of swimming pool facilities in many of the southern tier Pennsylvania communities due to their inability to cope with the question of black participation, all community residents were customarily denied swimming benefits. The issue was partially solved in some cities by the building of private
neighborhood swimming pools on a membership basis.

The membership fee is usually high enough to prevent the marginal prospect from joining which excludes many, white and Negro, apparently considered undesirable by the pool membership board. Reading exemplifies this condition with its four recently built membership pools. There is no Negro membership regardless of financial status (109, p. 130).

The situation in 1957 actually worsened, as many communities undertook this practice. The membership pool gained in popularity because it afforded the directors the opportunity to regulate and control the types of individuals permitted to swim. Almost without exception, these private facilities operated for the exclusive use of white citizens.

The Field Service Minority Service annual summary report in 1956 stated that no city in the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi or South Carolina was adequately providing recreation facilities and services for black people. It was felt that "the Supreme Court decision delayed integration in these states and . . . caused many problems between the races which otherwise would never have existed" (109, p. 135).

By 1957, Kentucky, Maryland, Alabama and Texas had done the most to integrate recreation activities and program services among the southern states. However, no perceptible changes had occurred in states of the so-called "deep South." The field workers' reports to the National Recreation Association did indicate that in some instances,
as in North Carolina, the sale of public golf or swimming pool facilities. Plans were made in Virginia to close all state parks and hold them as preserves (110, 111). Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana continued to operate on a segregated basis and in the latter case the superintendents of recreation voted to close all recreation and park facilities in integration was made compulsory. Mississippi seemed most determined to keep things unchanged.

Fort Worth and Houston were forced to open their golf courses by court order in 1958. The desegregation of recreation in Dallas proceeded on a slow basis. A regional National Recreation Association representative stated (111, p. 67): "Resistance to integration was greatly underestimated. I never thought so many people felt so deeply about it. You can expect to see segregationists fighting every inch of the way now."

The delicate nature of desegregation attempts were evident in Newark, New Jersey in 1958 in connection with several proposed swimming pools. The National Recreation Association and the city collaborated together in the preparation of two separate pools (one black and one white) since one large, centrally located pool was considered to be unfeasible at that time. Here the "separate but equal" facilities concept was still in practice.

In some large northern communities, where racial friction in the use of recreation facilities, especially swimming pools, had
occurred in preceding years, no difficulties arose during 1957. However, in northern sections, hypocrisy and service inactivity prevented blacks from enjoying certain types of recreational opportunities. Swimming, boating, picnicking and participation in certain sports were denied by reason of their absence in these areas.

Madison (110) reported that the adequacy of recreation facilities and services to minority groups was significantly effected by urban development projects, as many of the slum clearance projects did not provide recreation facilities. Black citizens, being largely dependent upon public housing, were therefore deprived of recreation and actually received a decrease in public leisure service.

The masses of blacks, located in densely populated, poorly serviced sections of the large cities were dependent upon public recreation service. The land costs in these sections were such that relief was seen to be available only through urban renewal and similarly financed programs. The continued major migration of blacks to central cities helped to worsen neighborhood life in the slums.

The unavailability of needed public services increased the tension and friction between subordinated blacks and white people. This tension was considered to be a definite factor in determining the recreation activities for the various age, sex, and racial identity of the participants. Of some 20 cities visited by Madison in 1959 only one public recreation department, Washington, D.C., had a positive
program for training its leaders to cope with this ever increasing problem. It was stated by Madison (112) that special institutes in inter-group relations as conducted for many public officials would have been timely and of inestimable assistance to public recreation leaders.

Vaughn's (169) study of city-sponsored recreation programs among blacks in Tennessee in communities with populations over 6,000, found that some communities still maintained separate budgets for blacks and that there was a need for general improvement for all black recreation programs in the state.

Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, sold its public golf course, St. Petersburg, Florida, closed its public spa and beach and Montgomery, Alabama, closed all of its parks and playgrounds by the close of 1958. The various forms of de facto segregation, decreases in service, and the increase in private recreation facilities which left public areas virtually all black or completely eliminated service, contributed to a step up in black demands for equality of opportunity. These demands were manifested in direct protest action in the form of sit-in demonstrations which began on January 31, 1960, when a black college freshman in Greensboro, North Carolina, tried to get something to eat at the bus terminal in downtown Greensboro. The next day four blacks sat down at the lunch counter in Woolworth's beginning a new era in the
civil rights movement, involving the desegregation of lunch counters and outdoor theaters.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's southern and border cities responded to desegregation pressures in a variety of ways. The reaction tended to follow the pattern characteristic of other public agencies, as park and recreation facilities were opened in the main as a direct result of some form of protest initiated by blacks. In some cases, all park and recreation facilities were thrown open for use by blacks, except for those locations that involved the most severe racial taboos of the white southerner, such as swimming together or close social contact. Many communities closed down their pools, golf courses and parks rather than be integrated.

While the various Supreme Court decisions required the desegregation of public recreation programs and facilities, acts of participation by blacks occurred in formerly segregated facilities, and the policy of segregated use was resumed with strong support from custom and community folkway patterns that had existed for years previous to the Brown Supreme Court ruling of 1954.

Elements Influencing Segregation Practices

The impact of prevailing customs and attitudes had a great deal of effect upon the method of leisure service delivery following the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. It was common knowledge
that, where segregation was the standard, there was almost invariably a substandard difference in what was available to blacks as to local parks, golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts, etc. (154).

This contention was confirmed by the National Recreation Association and the Southern Regional Education Board in their intensive three-year study (1952-1954) of recreation leadership and educational needs in the southern region of the country (84).

When courts ruled segregation unlawful in that it deprived many black citizens of the free and rightful use of public financed facilities, especially parks, golf courses, swimming pools, and the like, most all of the divisions of state governments and local governments after the 1954 Brown desegregation ruling followed one of the general patterns described below according to Smith (154, p. 43):

1. The facility was immediately made available to be leased to private groups, corporations, or individuals.

2. The facility was made available for use by members of both races but at separate times. Usually the facility is made available for the use by the Negro on one or two days of each week, and most often at times which are most inconvenient for him to partake in his desired activity.

3. The facility was closed to members of both races.

When contemplating legal action against segregated public recreation facilities, the primary question facing the black plaintiffs was determining whether to contest the custom of segregation itself, or challenge the equality of facilities provided in the particular case.
under attack. Smith stated that for the most part the main or fundamental thrust of the litigation was leveled at the lack of equality for members of both races (154, p. 44).

Woodward (176, p. 148) has noted that only part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States normally has any application to public recreation. Its last two clauses, namely that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, directly relate to public recreation administration. Where segregation in public recreation existed, blacks, it was contended, were deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, consequently segregation was declared unconstitutional. The white supremacy doctrine of "separate but equal" was no longer acceptable in the fields of public education and recreation because they perpetuated a mode of life which was inherently unequal.

1954) were opened to all on an equal basis. Even as late as 1963 in *Watson v. Memphis*, 373 U. S. 526, 532, the Court struck against the gradual approach of desegregation and the "all deliberate speed" of the second *Brown* decision was unapplicable to the desegregation of public parks and municipal recreation facilities (125, p. 141-142).

The Court's decisions in the areas of public recreational provision, as well as the domains of public education, housing, and accommodations, heightened the opposition of the South, and brought into existence the White Citizens Councils, and gave rise to some shrewd evasive tactics. When some states leased or "sold" their public parks, golf courses, and amusement areas to private organizations, the policy of these establishments was to continue the discrimination outlawed by the Court. Other states simply closed their parks and recreational facilities.

It was not until the Supreme Court decisions of this period that black people were actually released from a servile and inferior status. Prior to the decade beginning in 1954 black people had a right to work, to eat, to have a roof over their heads, and could enjoy all public facilities, provided that the work was servile, the house slum-ridden, and the public facilities inferior and segregated.

**Immediate Compliance**

In 1963 the Supreme Court in three decisions reaffirmed that no
municipality owned and operated facilities might be segregated and that no unreasonable delay would be allowed in carrying out desegregation. In two suits involving the states of Virginia and Georgia, the Court held that "it is no longer open to question that a State may not constitutionally require segregation of public facilities" (69, p. 164). The Court also held that a municipality cannot arrest and prosecute blacks for peaceably seeking the use of city-owned and operated recreational facilities (69).

The Supreme Court rejected on May 27, 1963, a scheme submitted by the Memphis city authorities (Watson v. Memphis, 373 U.S. 526) for the gradual desegregation of parks, swimming pools, playgrounds, libraries and museums over a 10-year period, and ordered the desegregation to be carried out immediately. The unanimous court decision denounced the policy of gradual desegregation of the city's recreational facilities and ordered immediate integration (19, p. 415; 88, p. 105; 125, p. 142). Three days after this decision, Memphis ordered all recreational facilities immediately desegregated except its swimming and wading pools, which it closed (69, p. 165).

The Supreme Court had previously overturned on May 20, 1963, the conviction of six black youth who had been charged with breach of the peace after they had refused to obey a policeman's order to stop playing in a park in Savannah reserved for whites. Chief Justice Warren stated in his ruling that "one cannot be punished for failing to
obey the command of an officer if that command is itself violative of the Constitution (125, p. 105).

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, blacks were guaranteed their civil liberties in areas of education, housing, voting, public facilities, employment and public accommodations. Title III—Public Facilities section of the Act forbade racial discrimination in publicly owned and operated facilities such as parks, libraries, swimming pools, golf courses and stadia.

Civil Rights and Public Recreation

By the onset of the 1960's the provision of recreation in public facilities for black people was beginning to be considered as an important social mechanism for minority groups, especially black people, in providing citizens with an opportunity to be better able to cope with their lives and provide some relief from the depressing conditions of slum life. Smith (154) noted that some important conditions were apparent as a result of his study of the administration of public recreation for blacks in three Virginia cities. Recognizing that public recreation existed on a dual basis in southern states, Smith attempted to study the effect of separate recreation jurisdiction on blacks. Among Smith's conclusions were the following (154, p. 73-78):

1. Today, recreation is a principal instrument in awakening
citizens to cultural values, in preparing them for later life, and helping them to adjust normally to their environment. In these days, it is doubtful whether any individual may be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of free and unrestricted use of all public recreation facilities which can be utilized to enhance individual well-being. Such an opportunity, where the state or local government has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

2. The segregation of citizens in public recreation programs solely on the basis of race, even though the physical features and other tangible factors may be equal, deprives the citizens of the Negro race of equal recreational opportunities. Therefore, where segregation exists in public recreation programs, Negroes are deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

3. To segregate one group of citizens from another group of similar age, ability, qualifications, and desires solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. Segregation of white and Negro citizens in public recreation has a
detrimental effect upon the colored citizens. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro race. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of an individual to excel. Segregation with the sanction of the law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the cultural and mental development of Negro citizens and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would received in a racially integrated public recreation system.

4. Public recreation administration does exist on a dual basis in each of the cities studied. A Negro supervisor is in complete control of administering programs and services for Negroes. The Negro supervisor is responsible to the chief executive of the department of recreation for administering programs for Negroes.

It was not until the early 1960's that the recreation profession began to take a special interest in meeting the leisure needs of non-white poor in urban slums. The pattern of segregated park and recreation facilities, which began to break down after World War II, accelerated by Supreme Court decisions and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, served to militate against adequate recreation service for blacks. Because the National Recreation Association's Bureau of Colored Work, which operated from 1920 until 1942, primarily sought
the expansion of recreation facilities on a segregated basis, public recreation opportunities available for the masses of low income blacks tended to be inferior to those in white neighborhoods.

The civil upheaval of the 1960's, beginning with the sit-in demonstrations, was a harsh reminder that court decisions and civil rights laws were not enough. The gains in income, education, recognition, and status were, after all, mainly limited to a relatively small urban middle-class of blacks (176, p. 190).

In the South, during the 1950's and 1960's, nonviolent civil disobedience emerged as the dominant form of black protest which elicited violent responses from local police and white mobs. After 1963, there was an increasing tendency in the North and West for groups of blacks to burn and loot within the ghetto and central business areas, and to fight policemen and firemen (41, p. 223). As the pace of racial unrest increased, the response of public officials to meet the various needs of deprived citizens, including public recreation and leisure service, also expanded.

The increased emphasis and concern in local, state and federal government jurisdictions on recreation came as a result of a wave of urban riots beginning in 1964-65 which brought the needs of black inner-city residents forcefully to the attention of the public (94, p. 388). The Federal anti-poverty program, which provided special funding to serve the black disadvantaged, gave impetus to this concern
for the needs of inner-city slum residents. Many summer crash programs and special seasonal "cooling off" cultural, employment, health, education and recreation programs were instituted to improve the conditions in the slums and provide ghetto residents with "something to do" during the time of year when people have a lot of time on their hands.

Throughout America, with the help of private enterprise and the federal government, attempts were made to supplement municipal and voluntary youth agency recreation departmental efforts to reach out to the various economically and culturally deprived groups in slums. Kraus states (94, p. 389):

In city after city, recreation and park administrators began to develop expanded recreation programs in black and Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. Sports clinics and tournaments were initiated, along with busing programs, workshops in Afro-American arts, dance, and the theatre, and similar activities. . . . Since recreation and park facilities in Negro neighborhoods were often minimal, vacant lots, littered with garbage, were quickly transformed into vest-pocket parks, often with community participation and supervision. Portable pools and other mobile recreation units were rapidly built or purchased and trucked into disadvantaged neighborhoods. Busing programs transported large numbers of Negro children and youth to municipal, county, or even nearby state parks.

The major initial weakness of these programs was that they were often only designed for the summer needs of black slum residents. Because so many of them ended so abruptly as soon as the "peak" danger period was passed, they failed to visualize the more permanent
need of leisure service opportunity as a year-round concern in the
ghetto as elsewhere, and as more than a last-minute enrichment
program.

The viability of the federally sponsored recreation programs
conducted through the auspices of municipal recreation operations,
was not so much that they provided socially desirable and approved
community leisure activities. As stated by Kraus (92, p. 99),
recreation served "as a means of improving the self-concept of
participants, of overcoming apathy, and encouraging community
involvement." Leisure service came to be viewed as a "threshold"
activity which drew participants to other forms of involvement for the
purposes of improving community life and organizing neighborhoods
for socially constructive activity.

The major focus of the federal programs offered the black poor
by the Office of Economic Opportunity has been on education or
"remediation," and of providing job training and actual employment
for youth and adults. However, as noted by Kraus (90, p. 7) in a
great many of the major projects of OEO initiated after 1964, recrea-
tional services and activities represented a sizable component.

While significant developments in the provision of recreation
occurred for black people in the period 1955-1965, new tactics were
applied by blacks which centered on mass participation in non-violent,
direct action. The arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks on a Montgomery,
Alabama, bus on December 1, 1955, for failing to yield her seat to a white man, initiated a style and tone of protest which shifted away from the courts and legislative halls and into the streets.

The actions of Mrs. Parks and of the Montgomery Negroes were both expressive of social change and instruments of further change. The drift toward egalitarian values, the legitimacy given to black aspirations by the Supreme Court, the egalitarian and integration rhetoric that filled the mass media of communication—these, combined with accumulated resentment, replaced endurance with action (21, p. 66-67).

It was apparent, however, to many black militants, that most everything connected with American society was meaningless to and destructive of black needs. The American dream of egalitarianism exemplified by the American Creed had proven faulty and unoperative. The frustration of blacks reached to such a point in 1964-65 that the only alternative was to burn and loot to demonstrate to the public the futility of slum life (182, p. 153).

The normal governing processes have been ineffective in ending discrimination, requiring blacks to respond to inequities through collective forms of behavior. The unfair and repressive laws which forbade black participation in the civic and social life of the community, produced increasingly violent expressions of behavior in reaction to these day-to-day atrocities. According to Endo and Strawbridge (55):

... the civil rights movement was and is essentially concerned with the structure of law and social justice: its goals were equality before the law and equality of individual
opportunity. As a movement it was begun by people whose aim was not to aid the Negro as such but to bring society into closer conformity with constitutional principles.

**Delivery of Leisure Service in Urban Areas**

Urbanization has placed a serious strain on the adaptability of both man and his institutions, for not only has it compounded the problems of urban life and the provision of municipal services, it has magnified the conditions which encourage social stress, frustration, and isolation. *De facto* segregation arising from zoning and residential barriers has produced black dissociation with the surrounding dominant culture, thus reinforcing cultural and economic deprivation among black people. The dissension and violence emanating from black slum neighborhoods began to highlight the urgency of the deleterious conditions, and the imperativeness of human needs.

Federal legislation, programs for underprivileged youth, civic development projects and research efforts which materialized in the early 1960's, were signs of an increasing concern for the alleviation of inequity and poverty in affluent American society.

The intervention of public recreation and leisure service in the lives of deprived black slum dwellers in response to conditions of urban squalor and cultural disadvantage, initially was repudiated. The lack of receptivity by the black community and continued deprivation in the area of public recreation was epitomized by a set of
attitudes and behavior patterns indicating limited acquaintance with
the dominant society. These gaps in attitudes and knowledge contri-
buted to a state of isolation and tended to encourage alienation toward
middle-class intervention and adaptation (117, p. 4).

A study of New York City neighborhoods (83, p. 123-124) in
regard to recreation needs and services found a deficiency of group
work and recreation facilities in the areas most in need. The
philosophy of the study was to assume that priorities in community
services should go to persons least able to pay, as well as those
experiencing maximum pressures involved in neighborhood change,
or in social disorganization. The study further assumed that if the
most urgent needs are met, not only specific neighborhoods but the
entire city would benefit through improved standards of community
living and reduction of problems which affect all residents (83, p. 11).

The study yielded important data as well as new concepts in the
delivery of public leisure service. By recognizing individual differ-
ences in consumer patterns, a long-held tradition in programming
that has seldom been practiced, recreation service could assume that
individuals would seek activities of their choice. However, the
primary determinant to achieve satisfaction through socially approved
activities has usually been equated with one's financial capacity to
purchase enjoyment. "For socially necessary services, lack of
sufficient income on the part of a segment of the population imposes a
responsibility on the community to provide such [recreation] programs" (83, p. 13). The need for public sponsored recreation programs was considered to be important in the lives of disadvantaged groups, particularly impoverished blacks.

The inability through the years of the recreation movement to be as cognizant as early pioneers in the field were in making available healthful and socially motivated leisure opportunities for white immigrants in overcrowded, blighted, crime-centered slum areas appears to have contributed to urban rioting and unrest by blacks. The need and concern of adequate recreation facilities and opportunity was a precipitous cause of the urban unrest and turmoil which flared up in 1964-65. In 1964, Jersey City, New Jersey, was the scene of a riot sparked by the lack of financing of recreation facilities in housing projects. The playgrounds in the projects were the center of several riot incidents. Black leaders cited the lack of recreational facilities as one of the grievances that precipitated racial tensions and contributed to the bitterness behind the rioting (90, p. 17).

Jenkin's study found the deprivation of recreation in the nation's largest city to be particularly severe in areas of greatest socio-economic need. It was found that nine of the city's 74 neighborhoods contained over 53 percent of the total park space and outdoor recreation acreage in the city. In contrast, 45 of the city's neighborhoods, particularly those in poorer and older areas, had only 10 percent of
the park and recreation space. As a general pattern, it was found that the 16 neighborhoods with the highest degree of socioeconomic need and community disorganization rated well below the city average in terms of available public and voluntary agency group work and recreation services and resources.

Additionally, many of the problems associated with segregated housing were reflected in neighborhood recreation center racial composition. The fact that an agency was found to be open to all citizens did not mean that services were used by members of all groups. A higher percentage of black residents comprised a larger share of membership in public recreation centers than did of the population, which reflected a need for subsidized recreation for deprived groups (83, p. 150-152).

Community-subsidized recreation has never been assumed to be the cure for social disorganization. The healthy neighborhood has a wide variety of services to meet particular needs where special problems exist. However, public recreation service has been presumed to have a role in the reduction of tension by the provision of opportunities for people to obtain satisfactions through socially approved activities. "The extent of social disorganization in any neighborhood, therefore, is assumed to be another indication of a particular need to strengthen community-subsidized group work and recreation services" (83, p. 12).
Blacks, trapped in central cities of most of the nation's largest cities, have largely been unable to meet their leisure needs on their own and in many cases lack the financial capacity to pay for recreational opportunities. The inability of public sponsored recreation service officials to recognize that the poor, in general, are unable to satisfy their leisure needs through socially approved outlets, has been a source of major discontent in the black community. The pervasiveness of the problem became more fully illuminated at the onset of the decade of the 1960's.

Clawson and Knetsch (38, p. 151) who studied the urban patterns of park and outdoor recreation opportunities, corroborated the findings of Jenkins. They revealed that in:

...many American cities, park and playground acreage is more unevenly distributed than is personal income. The lowest income parts of the city have an even smaller phase of recreation areas than they have personal income, while the higher income sections have relatively generous park and recreation areas. This situation is made still worse by the racial patterns of urban living. The low income central city areas so deficient in recreation space are likely to be Negro; the suburban and outer city ring areas, generally supplied with recreation, are likely to be white. One of the great myths of the outdoor recreation field is that free public parks are a boon to 'poor' people; actually it is the poor who frequently lack them.

These inequities have arisen partially as a result of urban growth patterns, in which the practice for several decades has been to build parks and other recreation facilities around the periphery of the city, where more open space is available (92, p. 98). These trends
also reflect the extent of pressure brought by middle- and upper-class residents in nearby areas—in contrast with poor black people who have lacked the ability to work through neighborhood associations to bring about changes in their communities. Since blacks have been deprived of normal access to recreation facilities, this has further deprived them of the day-to-day social and psychological satisfaction of everyday life, compelling blacks to seek satisfactions through other means (126, p. 59).

The "run down" nature and overcrowdedness of the black ghettos in America has contributed to the physical and psychological scars of black people whose "life chances" have not been equal to those of other Americans (50, p. 106). The opportunities for association have been restricted explicit or tacit observance of segregation in public places of recreation and other forms of amusement and entertainment. The oppressive atmosphere of slum living combined with neglect and deprivation characteristics of ghetto life in America led to rioting and general overt expressions of dissatisfaction by blacks with urban life. At the close of this period riots were seen as partially an extension of violence and frustration faced in areas of interpersonal relations in public places by black people.
CHAPTER VI

ATTEMPTS AT SEPARATISM AND DECENTRALIZATION OF PUBLIC RECREATION AND LEISURE SERVICE, 1966 - PRESENT

Introduction

Advances made by blacks in the late 1950's and early 1960's were assisted by court decisions, particularly in the area of public accommodations and facilities and executive orders and legislation by the Congress, which were largely a result of black demands, and in turn have reinforced black demands for equality (21, p. 59). There has been a new appreciation of being black; a developing interest in the historical heritage of blacks which is rooted in Africa; and increasing demands that the contribution of black heritage to American culture be fully appreciated (74, p. 109).

Coinciding with growing racial solidarity has been a lessened emphasis on integration. For many black spokesmen, integration has not been the salient goal it was in the 1950's and early 1960's, partly because it has turned out for the present to be unattainable. These developments have resulted in a decreasing emphasis upon integration, understood by some people to be racial balance, as a "cure-all" for the American dilemma. There has been increased pressure for separation by blacks themselves. The separation has been seen as
the base for new power to demand equality in all things cultural and social (74, p. 109).

The prevalent pattern of residential segregation constitutes, of course, not only evidence of but a barrier to integration. As stated by Hauser (70, p. 96):

The massive enclaves of Negro Americans in the central cities of our metropolitan areas are allowing a generation of Negro Americans to be born into a new form of segregation—de facto segregation, Northern style, as contrasted with de jure segregation, Southern style. Residential segregation produces educational segregation, social segregation, and, to a considerable extent, occupational segregation as well.

Integration of all Americans has not been achieved, and it appears that it won't be realized until desegregation and full equality of opportunity break down present barriers to communication and social intercourse. The black revolt since 1966 has accelerated efforts toward desegregation and the establishment of equality of opportunity for black Americans.

Blacks have been segregated from white people and will probably remain segregated from whites. Part of the separatist and pluralist demands by black people have been that a semi-autonomous living pattern does not mean inferiority, but that black people as a group shall be able to function effectively as citizens, that they shall share fully in the goods of the society, and that their distinctive contributions as black people shall be acknowledged as equally as important as those of
whites in the formation and development of a pluralistic American culture (74, p. 116).

**Separation and Neglect of Public Recreation**

Public recreation and leisure service is the right of all people; that being constitutionally guaranteed and affirmed by the Supreme Court. On two grounds, that of segregation in one form or another, or through inadequate and inferior provision, it has in effect been denied to large masses of the black population (90, p. 19). One of the major obstacles which stands between black Americans and full integration into the life of society consists of the residual effect of centuries of apartness. "Probably nowhere is this separation and the consequent aversion more clearly marked than in the social lives of people" (90, p. 19).

One of the most difficult problems facing recreation service has been the achievement of integrated participation. Whether as a consequence of neighborhood housing patterns, the aggressive or antisocial behavior of some black participants, the withdrawal of whites on various age levels, or the tendency of blacks to avoid activities with white participants for numerous reasons, the problem has been found to be a pervasive one (83, 90, 144).

Resentment toward blacks by whites contributed to a riot in a Chicago slum area in July, 1966. The disturbance was partially a
result of the lack of adequate recreational facilities and forced exclusion of blacks (where some 300,000 blacks were jammed into 800 square blocks) from nearby facilities. Initially, the rioting began when police turned off a fire hydrant being used by black children during a particularly oppressive and sustained heat spell.

The park district has 20 pools on the West Side, four of them within walking distance of the hydrant over which the first disorder began. Officially, none of the pools has a racial restriction. But practically, authorities concede, only one of the four has been readily available to blacks because of hostility in white neighborhoods near the others (82, p. 17).

The amount of neglect and deprivation of ghetto life in America finally resulted in some of the most violent and bloody racial disorders during the summer months of 1967 and 1968. President Lyndon Johnson appointed a commission to determine the reasons for the civil disturbances that occurred in America during the summer of 1967. According to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (146), inadequate recreation facilities and leadership was the fifth most important cause of the riots. Among the 20 cities that accounted for the 24 most serious disorders, grievances relating to recreation were found in 15 cities and were ranked of first importance in three, second in one, and third in four cities.

The Commission examined ghetto grievances and identified those complaints which seemed most causal. Of the 12 most significant grievances, poor and inadequate recreation facilities (parks,
playgrounds, athletic fields, gymnasiums and pools) and programs ranked fifth behind police practices, unemployment, housing, and education. Recreation was regarded as a more significant grievance than the ineffectiveness of the political structure, discriminatory administration of justice, inadequate municipal services and inadequate welfare programs. In several cases dissatisfactions over recreation facilities were the proximate cause or issue in a violent outbreak (144, p. 143-150).

Most of the participants in the recurring central city disorders have been adolescents and young adults—the age groups that require more recreation services than any other. The antisocial activities of many of these young people have often been extensions of the only organized leisure activities they know—vandalism, gang fights and crime.

The fundamental inequity of opportunity in health, housing, welfare, education and recreation has stirred the more youthful and emotional elements of the ghetto communities to respond to these atrocities in the form of increasingly violent protest action. The public and its representatives have largely failed to serve as catalysts for social change and progress in slum areas. Rigidity has led to a failure by public officials to respond adequately either by ethical or professional standards.

A study by Kraus (90) of the five boroughs of New York City and
24 suburban communities in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and by the National League of Cities (144) of recreation in 15 major cities also showed that public recreation service to blacks and other deprived groups was poorly conceived, extremely inadequate, underfinanced and in demand by inner-city residents. Egalitarian principles consistent with professional recreation objectives to serve all people with quality service was questioned by the researchers of these studies.

The whole question of delivery of public recreation and leisure service has been scrutinized as a result of surveys and investigations of impoverished conditions in central cities growing out of civil unrest during the 1960's. Public servants have assumed that all groups of people are equal in their need for recreation and that it's universally a voluntary experience. The fallacy of these concepts is that as an operational set of guidelines they have not worked for subordinated blacks. Subordinated blacks have never been able to engage in recreation programs as freely and possessed with uniform knowledge and skills as the advantaged white citizen because of discriminatory practices leveled against blacks, insufficient discretionary money, and inadequate leisure opportunities and service available in their communities.

The voluntary nature of recreation has been presumed to be a requisite for participation in public recreation programs. It has never
been voluntary, however, for blacks who have lacked the "appropriate" knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for engaging in white structured and operated recreation programs (123).

A lack of specialized approaches to recreation and leisure service for blacks has deprived them of the opportunity to participate on a voluntary, willful basis (65). The aim of public servants has been to protect individual prerogatives (123).

The National League of Cities study, co-sponsored with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and Department of Interior, found that "in most cities surveyed, officials readily admitted that the needs of all population groups were not being adequately met. Only in recent years have cities begun to recognize an obligation to provide recreation for the handicapped and the deprived" (144, p. 2). The survey also stated that the inadequate and inappropriate provision of facilities has resulted in resentment by urban inner-city residents toward administrators of leisure service.

The study conducted by the National League of Cities reached eight conclusions in their study of municipal recreation problems and needs. Two of the findings of particular relevance to the provision of recreation service for black citizens were (144, p. 2):

1. Residents of deprived urban neighborhoods are almost entirely dependent upon public recreation facilities, whereas residents of more affluent neighborhoods have a wide range of recreational alternatives. Adequate recreation programs and facilities are considered a high priority item among the deprived.
2. Residents of urban slum neighborhoods frequently charge that too much effort is directed toward middle and upper income groups, and that recreation planning is being performed by persons having no real knowledge of the needs or desires of the deprived. ... To be successful, recreation programs must be what the people want, not what the recreation department believes to be best for the people. Increased emphasis on citizen participation can be an essential component for the development of meaningful programs.

Comments appearing in the National League of Studies report noted that municipal recreation development projects and programs have often been activities in which the economically deprived, especially young people, have been unable to participate. This form of planning by leisure service agencies appears to have been consistent in depressed areas where recreation is often being planned by persons having no real knowledge of the needs or desires of black people.

While many city officials have claimed that the recreational needs of economically disadvantaged persons are essentially the same as the rest of the community, studies by Jenkins (83) and Staley (157) have documented the dependency of the poor on public recreation facilities. They concluded that the deprived, of which blacks represent a sizable number, require greater opportunities for recreational and cultural experiences than do the economically advantaged. It was suggested by the National League of Cities in their investigation of urban recreation that (144, p. 17): "the special needs of the poor require more neighborhood recreation facilities in inner-city areas
and more person-oriented recreation programs in which supervisors can work with small groups in meaningful interpersonal relationships."

The study undertaken by Staley (157) determined that there were measurable social characteristics (juvenile delinquency rate, density of population, youth population and median family income) and neighborhood recreation resources (number of full and part time professional staff hours, and the acreage and number of recreation centers) which together indicate a comparative need for recreation in given neighborhoods. It was his estimation after analyzing the recreation services and social needs in south central Los Angeles neighborhoods, that priorities in community subsidized recreation services should go to those experiencing maximum social pressures. The greatest deprivation in municipal recreation was found in hard-core districts in Los Angeles.

The data from these studies clearly revealed insufficiencies in the quantity of recreation facilities and opportunities as defined by the needs' criteria, and relative deprivation of black and other economically disadvantaged groups as compared to more affluent population groups. Of particular importance, the studies of Gray and Jenkins developed the concept that disadvantaged areas require relatively greater staff-to-clientele ratios, more specifically educated recreation workers, as well, as certain program adaptations.

Awareness by citizens, increased demand for recreation
services, and participation of the public in planning has come about as a direct outgrowth of black demands for social justice. Increasingly, residents of slum neighborhoods have found that they have the power to demand and receive services from their local governments.

The use of this power, and an increasing knowledge of the governmental process that is being acquired through participation in various new social programs, are being translated into planning activities that recreational officials must consider in development of recreation programs (144, p. 23).

The determination of the recreational needs of deprived black urban residents has become an essential concern of public officials that has developed since 1966 because of the threat of violence and the realization that the value of subsidized recreation is of paramount importance to central city residents. Many successful efforts in Oakland, and Los Angeles, California; Baltimore, Maryland; Atlanta, Georgia; New York City; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Tampa, Florida, among many other cities, have demonstrated that those programs and activities that have actively involved citizens at the planning and development stages, and involve a comprehensive educational, vocational, cultural and recreational approach are those that, for the most part, have been found most successful during the period since 1966.

Kraus' findings (90) revealed there was a striking contrast between the reported recreational involvements of black and white participants. As a group blacks tended to dominate such sports
programs as track and field, use of swimming facilities, and basketball and participate less in tennis, golf, and archery. Their pattern of recreational involvement differed widely from the white community population. Black children below the age of 12 tended to be very active in public recreation programs; their use of playgrounds was considerably higher than the percentage of the black population. This finding was similar to the one presented by Jenkins (83).

Kraus (90) reported that while recreation has often been regarded within the professional literature (25, 35, 46, 115, 127) and in programs of professional training, as a means of achieving racial integration in community life, the findings of the study indicate that these claims have generally not been realized.

In sports activities, for example, many teenage and adult teams are racially segregated. Almost invariably, when teams are formed on a neighborhood basis, or submit themselves as individual entries in citywide competition, they are all-Negro or all-white. Only when the recreation director, on certain occasions takes a hand by actually making up the teams is racial integration achieved (90, p. 33).

The tension between blacks and whites has increased racial antagonism and it has become difficult to schedule interdistrict or interneighborhood play for this reason. Participation in activities that represent "upper-class" cultural taste tends to be heavily white, with infrequent black participation at all.

Opportunity for participation in recreation was reported by community center directors to be equally open to all residents in the
various communities studied by Kraus (90). Investigation revealed that recreation facilities, stated to be comparable in both black and white neighborhoods at the onset of the study, were usually of a basic type in black neighborhoods (a playground, school yard, etc.), with the more attractive and diversified recreation centers in the majority of communities studied (centers with varied sports and outdoor recreation opportunities) located in predominantly white neighborhoods at a distance from the black area of cities.

In a number of the communities examined by Kraus, programs of desegregation had been instituted through redistricting, open enrollment, and, particularly, school busing plans. Usually black children were found to be bused back to their home at the end of the school day, not permitting them to remain for extracurricular or other organized recreation activities. Kraus reported that (90, p. 35):

This procedure suggests that desegregation efforts have been seen narrowly in terms of academic involvement, rather than in terms of achieving the broader benefits of social integration as well. Specifically, recreation directors regard the policy of desegregation, when it is carried on this way, as one that hampers the effective provision of recreation services to these children in either the home neighborhood or the host school.

Urban Affairs Department

In July of 1968, the National Recreation and Park Association
initiated an urban affairs program under the guidance of Ira J. Hutchison, Jr., designed to give increased attention to the special needs of economically and culturally deprived groups. Initial special emphasis was devoted to black citizens, with the Association's annual Congress for Recreation and Parks later that year devoting primary consideration to the problems and issues confronting this group. A department was created in January, 1970, with Clarence Pendleton, Jr. as director. Unlike the previous National Recreation Association's Bureau of Colored Work, the Urban Affairs Department was not established to foster separate recreation opportunities for black and white citizens.

The Bureau of Colored Work, as noted in Chapters III and IV, was founded on the premise of advancing recreation opportunities for blacks, largely on a segregated basis, because of the various legal and extralegal circumstances which existed from 1919 to 1942 (the years of operation of the Bureau). The Bureau was basically a direct service operation catering to the establishment of segregated neighborhood facilities and the recruitment and training of black recreation service personnel to run them.

According to Reed (145) the NRA discontinued this service in 1942 when its presence appeared to some people as an attempt to segregate minority groups. The National Recreation Association sought to avoid this controversy and thus, the Bureau of Colored Work
was no longer an instrument of separate service and was officially dropped. However, Attwell, Madison, Walker, and other black field specialists were continued as national field workers and were widely used by localities as consultants in both special and general recreation needs until 1960.

The employment of Hutchison, who came to the National Recreation and Park Association in 1967 as coordinator of therapeutic recreation services and executive secretary of the National Therapeutic Recreation Society, and Pendleton, began a new era of National professional recreation concern for the needs of black people and other subordinated groups.

Recognizing that the racial turmoil of the 1960's had identified inadequate recreation facilities and programs as a leading grievance of urban residents, the National Recreation and Park Association established an "Urban Plan." The approach of the program was designed to be a "dynamic, long-range and progressive program to organize the collective resources, leadership and expertise of the park and recreation profession into a response and effective urban human-service system" (166, p. 47). The objectives of the program were conceived to stimulate change and improvement in the quality of urban life through (166, p. 47):

1. stimulation of effective communication among residents, elected officials and service organizations to insure cooperative effort and achievement;
2. development of a cooperative framework which allows allied organizations to join with NRPA in a comprehensive effort to ameliorate related socioeconomic problems;

3. identification of supplemental sources of funding and channeling these funds into the expansion and upgrading of facilities and programs;

4. establishment of a New Careers program as a means of generating greater service capability and increased employment opportunities in the inner city;

5. establishment of a National Advisory Task Force on Urban Park and Recreation Services;

6. provision of a wide range of direct and indirect technical assistance to agencies and organizations responsible for local operation of park and recreation programs; and

7. stimulation of innovative approaches and modifications in inner-city park and recreation systems.

Civil Disorder and Reform

The turmoil and urban unrest which occurred in the 1960's was evidence that violence has been an important factor in accelerating the progress toward goals set by blacks. The earlier riots of the twentieth century were generated by attempts of dominant white groups to maintain the racial status quo, in such areas as segregated housing and recreation facilities, at a time of rapid social change. The whites were particularly reactionary to black attempts of securing free access in areas of public accommodations, employment opportunities and decent housing. In areas of intimate relations, whites have been particularly obsessed with maintaining some sort of
inhibiting barrier so as not to allow its members the disgrace of mingling with an innate, racially inferior group of people (120, p. 60-61).

Caplan and Paige (34) have concluded that the reasons for the riots of the 1960's were not explicable by categorizing the rioters as "rifraff" or as "relatively-derived" people. They theorize that black rioters responded to years of prolonged exclusion from the mainstream of American economic and social life. This theory views white discrimination as a constant barrier to black occupational mobility; the blacks who were most likely to react violently to this barrier were those who wanted to improve their position and who felt that their own economic and social situation was a result of discrimination rather than of personal inadequacy (34, p. 15).

Caplan and Paige both served as consultants to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Their conclusion of the causes for the civil disorders of 1967 was based on the belief that continued exclusion of blacks from American economic and social life was the fundamental reason for the riots. "This exclusion is a result of arbitrary racial barriers rather than of lack of ability, motivation or aspiration on the part of Negroes, and it is most galling to young Negroes who perceived it as arbitrary and unjust" (34, p. 21).

The black protest movement of the 1960's has proven quite effective in bringing about major social gains for blacks. The field
of recreation has been affected as a result of urban violence and disorder, as new methods for assessing recreation need and demand (83, 123, 157) have been instituted in many communities across the country, and significant gains have been achieved in the employment of indigenous black youth for work in central city areas (16, 123, 174). Many of the programs in recent years have been established in the neighborhoods where people can effect the structure and conduct of leisure service offerings (44, 73, 94, 123, 133, 144, 174). Connery (41, p. 132) states: "The rise of protest tactics has made possible dramatic social action to deal with the problems of poverty and race that would not otherwise be on the agenda of public policy."

The Columbia University gymnasium dispute, which flared up in April, 1966, represented a significant change in the role of recreation professional personnel with regard to participation in civil rights protest activity. Since 1957 Columbia University had conducted an outdoor recreation program for ghetto children in Morningside Park, New York. The program was conducted under an agreement with the city Parks Department. Columbia University decided to construct a gymnasium in Morningside Park, with Columbia subletting to the city the lower portion of the building for community use. It is believed that a protest demonstration on April 24, 1966, in Morningside Park, organized by Thomas Hoving, then Parks Commissioner, was an important turning point. Hoving reportedly pledged to do all in his
power to prevent construction of the gymnasium. "Hoving is regarded as having helped to mobilize community opposition to the gym. . . . The gym became a convenient symbol for all the grievances of the thentto against the university" (41, p. 129).

This type of action initiated by Hoving demonstrated a change in the traditional approach undertaken by professional recreators, who largely have kept out of issues of racial and other social concerns not "directly" related to the development and implementation of recreation facilities and programs.

Urban riots have been particularly significant by increasing the sensitivity and awareness on the part of white American citizens of the day-to-day suffering and degradation exemplary of ghetto life in the lives of black people. The riots of the 1960's have pointed rather directly to the need for increased and improved recreation and leisure service delivery approaches in meeting the needs of urban black residents.

Historically, recreation has played an important role in the daily lives of oppressed black people, unable to participate freely in the economic, political, and social aspects of community life. From the beginning the recreation movement was reformist and socially purposeful. Its intent was to combat the social pathology of the slums. The earliest practitioners had a human welfare motivation in which the social ends of human development, curbing juvenile delinquency,
cultural enrichment, etc., were central (65,). In its earliest days, the recreation movement sought to locate playgrounds in underprivileged neighborhoods. Often, however, the concerns for black people were omitted and then later shunned because of legal imperatives restricting black participation in organized community recreation. The idea grew that any neighborhood deprived of recreation services was, in a sense, underprivileged. The "recreation for all" concept developed during the 1920's moved attention and concern away from the underprivileged and made community recreation primarily a white middle-class service function. In many cities as a result, residents of more affluent neighborhoods exercised power to articulate needs and influences in the direction and composition of recreation services.

The unequal distribution of recreation facilities and services has been documented since World War I through 1970. Public recreation service has followed most local discriminatory customs in the North and complied with restrictive codes and segregation laws in the South, leaving limited park and recreation facilities and leadership at the disposal of blacks.

The status of the provision of public recreation and leisure service for blacks has remained largely unchanged since the 1920's, despite significant social changes due to Supreme Court decisions, legislation and improved service concepts. Blacks are increasingly migrating to central city areas in metropolitan communities, as some
74 percent of all blacks lived in metropolitan areas in 1970, and some 57.8 percent of the black population compared with 27.5 percent of the white population were living in central cities (98, p. 40).

The inadequacies of municipal recreation in urban slum areas has been most severe in America, meaning black people have been deprived of proper leisure service and adequate opportunity for participation in recreation. The needs of blacks are acute, yet it has appeared that continued separation by blacks because of de facto residential segregation and the semi-autonomous status of the black power movement which gelled in 1966, may continue to deprive blacks of needed recreation services.

What makes this a problem even for separatists among black leaders is that ghetto life has almost always been synonymous with deprived life. Ghettos have poorer housing, poorer education, less employment, more crime, poorer health and recreational facilities, and poorer public services. Hough states that (74, p. 114): "Hence it is not the separation that makes the ghetto the contemporary caste device, but rather the oppressive conditions of ghetto life that create apathy, despair, and indifference among the Negro people who live there."

Yinger (180, p. 88-89) supports this view as strict segregation for an impoverished, frustrated, angry collectively perpetuated a poor subculture. Built on isolation and resentment, the subculture is
more likely to be only an attack on the established way of life, rather than a creative new one. As a result, theory and practice of egalitarian principles have continued to grow apart, and the chances of making egalitarianism operational for all Americans has become less likely with each passing year (59, p. 286-301).

Isolation by blacks from other members of the community becomes potentially dangerous because of the way it nourishes white racism at both the individual and institutional levels (134, p. 301). "Selective" separatism or pluralism, which has been advocated by some black leaders, appears to be more conducive to building interracial harmony and spirit. Strict separation of blacks in leisure service programs restricts the generalization effects of integrated situations and serves to harbor fears and prejudices, thereby negating the democratizing benefits of biracial recreation experiences.

According to Pettigrew (134, p. 295-334) racial isolation has two negative effects, both of which operate to make optimal interracial contact difficult to achieve and initially tense. First, isolation prevents each group from learning the beliefs and values they do not share. Consequently, blacks and whites that are separated come to view each other as very different; this belief, combined with racial considerations, causes each race to reject contact with the other. Second, isolation leads in time to the evolution of genuine differences
in beliefs and values, making interracial contact in the future even less likely.

Experiences of school children and youthful participants in recreation programs involved in separate arrangements for education and recreation may be more likely to reflect separatist behavior and attitudes as adults. Racial separatism, then, is a cumulative process. It feeds upon itself and leads its victims to prefer continued separation.

Racial separatism is a cumulative process. It feeds upon itself and leads its victims to prefer continued separation.

Racism is reflected not only in attitudes but, more importantly, in institutionalized arrangements that operate to restrict the choices open to blacks. According to Pettigrew (134, p. 315) isolation between two contiguous groups generally leads to:

1. the development of diverse values,
2. reduced intergroup communication,
3. uncorrected perceptual distortions of each other, and
4. the growth of vested interests within both groups for continued separation.

Race relations in the United States already suffer from each of these conditions; and the proposal by separatists for further separation even if a guilded ghetto were possible, can only exacerbate them. The "selective" separatism or pluralistic structuring of society advocated by some social scientists and black leaders refers to institutionalized biracial situations where there is cross-racial
friendship, racial interdependence, and a strong measure of personal and group autonomy. This form of racial arrangement seems to increase opportunity for beneficial cross-racial evaluation and increase mutual respect.
CHAPTER VII

THE FUTURE OF DOMINANT-SUBORDINATE RELATIONS
IN PUBLIC RECREATION AND LEISURE SERVICE

Introduction

There has been an increasing tendency on the part of the black community to reject and repudiate white America's values and goals. The Zangrando's have stated (182, p. 142): "Rejecting as insufficient the traditional appeals for equal justice in a white-dominated nation, contemporary black activists stress identity and black nationalism, in the service of black liberation." Many black militants believe that everything connected with American society has been meaningless to and destructive of black needs and interests.

A serious contradiction has existed between the official position of the United States with respect to equality and the actual behavior of most whites toward black people. White society has been put on the defensive by the black assault, particularly since 1966, which has been widespread and reflective of a growing number of the black population (144). It has rested on factors that white America cannot readily dismiss (182, p. 151):

1. pervasive evidence of white racist oppression;
2. the inappropriateness of white-stated values to the conditions of black people;
3. the dominant majority's lack of commitment to reform; and

4. the determination of black men and women to restructure their life styles to achieve a fresh sense of community, self-determination, and liberation.

A form of pluralism which emerged during the latter part of the 1960's represents a demand that blacks be allowed to organize around distinctly black interests, because black leaders believe that this is the only way in which the unique black political voice can be heard. They are convinced that some 22,000,000 black voices which exist throughout the various sectors of America and represented by the particular group organizations in society will mean very little, while a united black group voice could become a very potent factor in the formation of ruling coalitions (74, p. 119-120).

This form of pluralism is distinguished from the pluralism of the past (disguised as "separate but equal"), which was white enforced and utilized to exploit blacks under the pretext of a "separate but equal" formula. The concept of ethnic integration and assimilation which was acceptable to the black community for years has been replaced by a new form of pluralism -- cultural autonomy.

A crucial reason for the increased demand for cultural autonomy has been the failure of legal court decisions, which changed the legal status of segregation but not the prevailing views among the white populace, and growing racial solidarity, which lessened the emphasis
on integration. While a "cultural drift" has moved the nation toward more egalitarian values in the United States, the absolute improvement of the black man's status in American has not been greatly improved.

The Future Course of Race Relations

The direction of race relations in the future has no clear picture. The developments which arose in the 1960's were not entirely anticipated. While symptoms were present, most public officials were making apparent appropriate steps to ameliorate the deleterious conditions of slum life and important social legislation and court litigation opened the way to increased black opportunities in the social, political and economic structure of the country. However, there appear to be important indices of identifiable social change which effect the pattern of racial interaction in general, and relate to the provision of public recreation and leisure service for black people.

The future provision of recreation services in urban areas for black people appear to be dependent upon and directly affected by changes in the social structure and by altered life styles which reflect new roles and relationships between people. They include the following:

1. The urbanization and metropolitanization of black people in the six decades since 1910 resulting from technological, political, economic and social changes has brought black
people into contact and competition with white society. The population influx of semi-skilled and unskilled blacks to urban areas and a consequent decrease in available land for parks and recreation facilities has lessened recreational opportunities for the black population in the near future.

2. An increasing industrial trend to move from urban to suburban areas has meant less job opportunities for black people. This, coupled with the continuing migration of black people to the cities, has increased the urban unemployment rate.

3. The movement of middle and upper-income persons to the suburbs has influenced the development and placement of recreation facilities to be near urban fringes where the majority white population resides.

4. A diminishing urban tax base for local government income at a time of increased demand for improved health, education, welfare and recreation services, has created a compounded need for more service to be delivered to the central cities by public authorities.

5. Federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions have improved the social, economic, and political status of blacks by significantly undermining the legal structure of segregation and inequities of everyday life faced by blacks.

These conditions have influenced the increased concern by public recreation officials to locate needed facilities and services in central city areas and have led to participation by black residents in the planning and operating of health, education and welfare services and in the political life of the city. There has also been a corollary movement in this direction in community recreation service.

Poor black youth and adults suffer most from the fact that the great majority of existing recreation areas are located outside inner-cities, and are relatively inaccessible to them. In addition,
restrictive state and local policies, and expenditure patterns, are tending to preserve and prolong these inequities.

Local leadership of recreation and leisure service appears to have been most successful where they have incorporated a comprehensive approach to providing needed services. This principle embraces the belief that leisure service is most meaningful when jobs, education, health and welfare, and recreational opportunities are embodied in a single effort to make leisure a positive and constructive reality. The concept is strengthened by de-centralizing the control and direction of recreation in the communities affected by the provision of public leisure service. It is essential that neighborhood youth and adults become involved in the planning, coordination and administration of the programs.

Examples of community self-help programs which have been successful and are representative of the pluralistic concept of leisure service delivery are as follows:

1. Los Angeles youth have participated in "Direction Sports" which combines education and competitive sports. The program operates out of inner-city neighborhoods several days a week and includes competition in arithmetic skills between two teams, with the winning team applying bonus points toward its score in the touch football game which follows exercises in educational games.
2. Seattle has initiated "Pitch-In" a special game program for poor youth. "Pitch-In" coordinates all youth activity programs including employment, education, and recreation activities throughout the city. Programs have included creative writing, a debate program, family films, a neighborhood teen newspaper, and a mobile library and bookstore. In addition, film making, street theater, and a downtown beautification project have been parts of the program.

3. The Encampment for Citizenship program, an educational project designed to provide leadership opportunities to young people from a variety of racial and economic backgrounds has been operating the past several years. The Encampment program emphasizes learning by participation. Campers are offered a mixture of lectures, films, discussions, "how-to" workshops, part-time service work, and recreation and cultural activities. Workshops held include study of black and Mexican-American heritage, Indian American culture, environment, civil rights, and educational reform.

4. The city of Reading, Pennsylvania, has had a "work-reaction" program, which combines employment and recreation. The project enables youth to work during the morning hours and take part in recreation activities during the afternoon. The lunch hour has involved a period for discussion of issues selected by youth.
5. The city of Louisville has developed a community and vocational program for central city youth. "Project WORC"—for work orientation, recreation and culture—the program is primarily aimed at improving the participants' "self-concept." Youth are paired with assistant principals and special teachers to supervise recreation and other activities for young people. They are also involved in recruiting and hiring youth for school programs.

These and other comprehensive recreation program efforts are designed to directly attack the recurring problems of youth. Self-help programs refer to the knowledge and skills needed by members of a community so that they may meet many of their own basic needs in terms of food, housing, clothing, education, and recreation. Self-help skills are particularly important in depressed urban areas, where a majority of blacks reside, as contrasted with advantaged communities where sufficient wealth exists to purchase desired services (123, p. 322).

The perpetuation of the previous patterns of relations in leisure service do not seem to fit with recent history. Black children born in the decades of 1950 and 1960 are relatively free from the principal social controls recognized by their parents and grandparents, from the restraints of an extended kinship system and the acceptance of the inevitability of white supremacy. There has been a dismantling of the
formal structure of white supremacy (134, p. 295-296). The black appeals and demands for liberation since 1966 have been for the total elimination of racial oppression and the eradication of the burden of racism that black Americans have borne individually and collectively since the first settlement in America.

Successful re-structuring of public leisure service programs aimed at paralleling the new thrust of black pride have been oriented to local community needs and have been organized and administered substantially by the neighborhood residents affected by service. The development of productive cultural enrichment and self-help programs oriented to indigenous neighborhood needs has contributed to the democratization of public recreation and enhanced the value of the programs.

Any prediction of the future would have to be cognizant of the preceding five conditions. The tenets of egalitarianism were largely developed by white people in a dominant position in society, and as conceived, do not appear to be tenable in a biracial society. At the same time, separatist demands by black militants, also seems to lack sufficient viability in a white-controlled society.

A pluralistic approach based on biracial considerations characterized by cross-racial acceptance, not only appears to be workable but also consistent with democratic principles of equal status and access to resources. Such a pluralistic diunital approach (which
embodies a black ethnic identity with an American national identity) brings about the mutual benefits of cultural diversity through geographic intermingling of blacks and whites and achieves mutual enrichment of cultural diversity through an inclusive separation of blacks and whites (48, p. 59). According to Pettigrew (134, p. xvii), racial integration should not be confused with mere desegregation or with assimilation into white-American standards.

It is contended by some social scientists that broad measures to "institutionalize" the total black experience would increase racial pride, a powerful motivating force. The entire program of projecting positive black models—businessmen, professional people and entertainers—would provide the foundation for unified political action to give the black community representatives who speak in its best interests (40, p. 27).

Comer states that the development of unique black potential would not be in conflict with egalitarian principles but in harmony with the total American culture (40, p. 27):

The idea of creating Negro enterprises and institutions is not intended as a rejection of genuinely concerned white people or as an indictment of all existing organizations. White people of good will with interest, skills and funds are needed and—contrary to the provocative assertions of a few Negroes—are still welcome in the Negro community. The kind of "black power" that is proposed would not promote riots; rather, by providing constructive channels for the energies released by the civil rights movement, it should diminish the violent outbursts directed against the symbols of white power and oppression: the police and the white merchants.
To call for Negro institutions, moreover, is not to argue for segregation or discrimination. . . . The aim is to make these cities places where people can live decently and reach their highest potential with or without integration.

The racial character of the nation's central cities and suburban population compositions, has resulted in concentrations of black and white groups. The emergent pluralistic approach, an interdependent structure, appears to offer the best opportunity of fulfilling egalitarian principles and is the most consistent with democratic ideals.

The inherent contradiction in the traditional democratizing philosophy, based on the dictates of white standards of conduct and premise for participation in the social life of society (more typical of homogeneous community structure of the 1920's and 1930's) disallows for the differentiation of sub-community programs and services. The present racial composition of segregated black and white neighborhoods requires separate structuring and delivery of public recreation and leisure service in order to meet the varied and unique needs of each community.

**Pluralistic or Singular Program Design**

There appear to be two reasonable alternatives to the contradictory situation confronting America with respect to race relations in light of the near revolutionary situation:

1. Change the social order to conform more closely to the
internalized ideal of the American Creed—assimilation—which has not worked practically.

2. Change the thrust of the socializing function of minority participation to conform to the actualities of achieving full citizenship in a pluralistic relationship.

The former alternative appears more difficult to achieve as it would demand radical and most probably violent change in the social order. It also appears that there is reason to doubt whether the present structure of American social order could change rapidly enough to meet the demands of subordinated blacks when it is highly dysfunctional with regard to their needs. The full integration of American blacks into the public sectors of our society on an equal basis has occurred largely through "forced" means. According to Marden and Meyer (114, p. 352) social equality will require a vast alteration of the attitudes of the American white people. Total assimilation would involve the disappearance of a separate black sub-community and group identity, ultimately leading to the absorption of black genetic strains into the white race. Such a proposal denies the progress blacks have achieved the past two decades and would not be realistic in light of black Africa's assendancy to power or of American black identification with black liberation developments.

The latter alternative of resocialization of the black American in terms of his group values and interests as they relate to the
actualities of American society would tend to ameliorate black frustration and alienation. Moreover, this resocialization would provide the black community with a legitimate group point of reference from which to pursue its interests. Recreation and leisure services, directed to the sub-community level, would seemingly be more reflective of black needs and interests and be more in line with present socio-political trends.

Recreation, along with education, are secondary diffusing agents and in many cases the only sources for assisting in the socializing of blacks. A pluralistic approach to service seems to be the most attainable method of satisfying the leisure needs and interests of the black community. When recreation service assumes the role of a catalytic agent, sub-community provisions appear to be more tenable and appropriate. Programs would recognize the black community needs, cultural values and be relevant to the functional requirements of black Americans.

If black Americans are to finally achieve a meaningful share of what American society has to offer than American society itself must evolve into a more just democracy. The black community must become unified and integrated to maximize the interests of the group.

The achievement of legitimacy for a total black point of reference is the necessary first step toward establishing mutually, viable black/white relations in the United States (97, p. 130).
It has taken both blacks and whites a long time to recognize that there can be no viable interracial relationship until black aspirations, interests, culture, etc., have been legitimized in American society and it must be black derived.

Black power thrusts of the late 1960's served to awaken black Americans in particular to this realization—that in an essentially competitive society, civil rights legislation, assimilationist-type integration, and black/white association were no substitute for black derived self-respect and capability (97, p. 130).

A pluralistic societal arrangement would seem to provide black people an opportunity to relate to whites from the security of a positive sense of self and in terms of their own interests, limited only by their capabilities in effecting a good relationship. They could relate to white people as equals and without fear of reprisal. By the same token, white Americans would relate to blacks as equals whose interests could not be disregarded without jeopardizing white interests. In the past integration has implied mere association on unacceptably unequal terms to black people.

Presently, the only legitimate point of reference in the United States is white—and that is the essence of racism as reported by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (146). It appears that only through establishing black and other minority groups as
other legitimate points of reference, subordinated people can attain first class citizenship.

In a pluralistic configuration, black people would become emancipated from various social, economic and political restrictions. Black leisure then becomes an important concern with which to deal. The black middle-class is five times as big as it was in 1940 (49). By-products of this affluency include added leisure opportunity. For the first hundred years out of enslavement, the black man's all-consuming interest was expressed primarily in terms of visceral needs—to provide food and shelter for the family and to keep out of the way of the "Man."

Now that these visceral needs are being more adequately provided, there has resulted an increase in time and a psychological readiness on the part of black people to engage in leisure activities and rid the barriers which perpetuate subordination in the area of community social participation. There are still several obstacles to overcome, including a large number of black people confined to inferior residential sections of central cities.

Segregation has produced and concentrated black ghettos in many of America's cities; and each of these ghettos has produced institutions and community life in many ways distinct from and independent of the wider dominant white community.

As Frazier (61, p. 291-301) has pointed out separate community
life causes many blacks to develop a vested interest in segregation.

These deep-rooted black communities present formidable barriers to an eventual integrated society, but racial integration which utilizes a pluralistic perspective allows a minority group to retain certain cultural institutions, values and beliefs. Integration according to Pettigrew includes the belief that:

... the democratic objective is not total racial integration and the elimination of black neighborhoods; the idea is simply to provide an honest choice between separatism and integration. Today, only separation is available; integration is closed to blacks who would choose it. The long term goal is not a complete obliteration of cultural pluralism, of distinctive Negro areas, but rather the transformation of these ghettos from racial prisons to ethnic areas freely chosen or not chosen (134, p. 323).

The demand on the part of black people for acceptance on their own terms (i.e., social and cultural pluralism), a result of the refusal of white Americans to consider the assimilation of blacks into American life, has had the effect of challenging the notion of Americanization. Black Americans are not demanding that cultural differences be changed. "Rather, the notion of the existence of a distinct black subculture is gaining recognition as a valid sociological process resulting from the meeting of individuals with different life experiences" (136, p. 158).

The traditional pattern of personal relations between black and white Americans which effects such activities as dancing, bathing, eating, and drinking together reported by Myrdal (120, p. 60) in 1944
has been slightly altered in recent years, but, in general, the pattern of almost total isolation of the black community exists (146). As black people continue to settle in the central cities of the largest urban centers, the isolation becomes more pronounced.

The standardization of a city-wide recreation program, based on modal community interests and needs, is irrelevant to the times (44, 73, 83, 94, 123, 133, 144, 157, 174) and to the demographic and ecological character of the nation's urban communities. Programs must be tailored to the particular needs of the various neighborhoods and districts, consistent with the findings of Jenkins (83) and Staley (157) in order to be adaptable to the particular specialized needs of citizens. Since residents of deprived urban neighborhoods are almost entirely dependent upon recreation facilities, leisure services are considered a high priority among the deprived, particularly, recreation can be provided in communities of greatest need.

A society aimed at achieving democratic, egalitarian objectives seemingly must develop means whereby subordinated people, who for years have occupied the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, have the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the abundance and richness of American society. In addition to providing leisure opportunities for black people, public recreation service must provide assistance in helping blacks achieve skills consistent with their sub-cultural values unimpeded by dominant values and beliefs.
The primary goal of America, as stated by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (144), must be a single society, in which every citizen will be free to live and work according to his capability and desires, not his color. While it still is a long step from the constitutional and legal enactment of civil rights to their implementation, the constitutional basis of these rights has been firmly established and has served as an important lever for exerting pressure for full inclusion of black people.

The demand by blacks is a demand not for the inclusion of blacks as such, but for the elimination of any category defined as inferior in itself. According to Parsons (130, p. 750): "The pluralistic solution, is neither one of separatism--with or without equality--nor of assimilation, but one of full participation combined with the preservation of identity." The provision of public recreation and leisure service in line with a pluralistic approach, would support the integration of racial groups without jeopardizing a loss of black identity and be compatible with helping to raise the previously inferior social status of blacks.

The recognition of a black sub-culture appears to be a positive and meaningful concept in race relations. The incorporation of a pluralistic approach, consistent with democratic egalitarian principles, but conceived biracially, appears to fit the most appropriate socio-political trends that have emerged during the last half-decade. Mackler and Giddings (101, p. 211) suggest that
... those persons whose behavior and beliefs do not conform to the dominant American culture patterns are by no means without a culture. ... So long as our perceptions of the country's race relations problem are stated in terms of the absence of culture rather than of the presence of a different subculture, we will continue to misinterpret our difficulties and their basic dimensions.

The public provision of recreation and leisure service which recognizes the determination and validity of the black subculture and incorporates a program consistent with the life style and self-determination of black people, appears to be the most relevant approach to assist in the elimination of racism and inappropriately designed recreation facilities and activities.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The recreation movement in America was stimulated by socially conscious people who were appalled at the overcrowded, high-crime, and impoverished sections of large urban northern cities. The early attention of organized recreation was devoted to the play needs of underprivileged youth. Gradually, as the movement matured and public assistance increased, the idea grew that any neighborhood which lacked public recreation service was, in a sense, underprivileged.

In many cities where residents of more affluent neighborhoods employed their power to articulate needs and influence political processes, recreation services gradually developed in the suburbs and on the fringes of urban communities. This left central city areas, heavily populated by migrant black and other subordinated groups, without quality recreation facilities and leadership.

It was the purpose of this study to identify the major factors and consequences of the philosophy, administration and implementation of public recreation and leisure service for blacks for the period 1906-1972. The study attempted to describe the interplay and connection between the black, subordinated community and the dominant white
public administered leisure service organizations and how this relationship has influenced the mode of delivery of public recreation for blacks.

The study was based on the assumption that retrieval of relevant historical data related to the provision of public recreation service for blacks and important stages in the development of the recreation movement in America will be of benefit to the recreation profession. The study attempted to identify the consequences of the democratizing effect of recreation and the apparent relationship of continuing public recreation deprivation for black people and urban unrest which does not fit a consistent pattern of democratic egalitarian principles.

The specific interest in providing recreation opportunities for blacks was a consequence of the first World War which resulted in great numbers of blacks migrating to the northern urban centers. For the first time blacks were brought into contact and competition with whites on a large scale, including areas involving employment, education, housing and recreation. The expanding concern of race relations necessitated a change in the provision of public recreation service, resulting in a specialized attempt to meet the leisure needs of black citizens.

Recreation opportunities for blacks, residing near northern and southern war camps, were given consideration for the first time with the impetus of the War Camp Community Service's Red Circle Clubs.
It was not until after the fall of 1917 that the need for recreation provision for black troops was encountered, since only then did black servicemen begin to arrive in any great number in the army camps. The War Camp Community Service established Club houses, dormitories, canteens, and community centers for blacks. The provision of recreation opportunities made available by the War Camp Community Service in various cities throughout America was the first organized effort by the recreation movement to meet the leisure needs of black people.

The War Camp Community Service programs were the first expression of the recreation movement to formally undertake a position as human service agency, advocating the development and promotion of leisure activities and facilities for the benefit of all the people—black and white Americans. The special recreation service for black communities provided by the W.C.C.S. later merged with the general field service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America following the war.

The prevailing "separate but equal" doctrine, an outgrowth of the Plessy v. Ferguson 1896 Supreme Court ruling, dictated the nature of social relations between blacks and whites. The recreation profession accepted this situation and sought to expand recreation facilities and programs for blacks—on a racially segregated basis. Recognizing the immense problem and the critically unmet needs of black
Americans, the Playground and Recreation Association of America employed Ernest T. Attwell, a black, to direct the Association's field service program concerned with expanding recreation opportunities for black people.

The establishment of the Bureau of Colored Work was an important step in the development of recreation opportunities for black people in America. The Bureau's service, which began in 1920 and existed until 1942, was one of the first attempts made by a national organization to include blacks in the overall consideration of community life. The establishment of the Bureau was stimulated by increased pressures from black leaders to provide equal services for black people. The source of stimulation came partly from the success of the Red Circle Clubs that functioned during World War I and the broadened philosophy of community recreation to make available leisure opportunities to all citizens.

While this service was dictated by the enforcement of separate park and recreation facilities in much of the South, it did more to expand recreation opportunities for black people than any other organized program oriented to meeting the leisure needs of black Americans. The Bureau of Colored Work was one of the few early efforts undertaken by a national agency to help ameliorate the deficient leisure opportunities for a subordinate group. It was the major organization which undertook the training of black recreation leaders.
for service in cities that requested such services as many of the recreation training schools and colleges denied blacks an opportunity to participate in their courses.

The problem of securing adequate cooperation of black and white citizens in providing for the recreational needs of blacks became less an area of concern through the diligent efforts of Attwell and his staff. Whenever possible, the Bureau attempted to have black and white community leaders act jointly in promoting recreational facilities and opportunities. The unified efforts of the dominant white and subordinate black communities helped to insure a place for specialized efforts in meeting the recreation needs of black citizens. It was the Bureau's philosophy that where possible, attempts should be made to include blacks in the general offerings of the public recreation program. However, the more numerous and "successful" programs were stimulated for the exclusive participation of black citizens.

Despite the inequities that existed in public recreation service and the marked pattern of racial segregation which existed in much of the South, it was felt by many in the recreation profession that recreation, ideally with its spirit of togetherness, tended to promote socialization, which serves to transmit culture to individuals and contribute to their personal development. Unfortunately, public recreation did not incorporate or implement ameliorative leisure
service programs on a large enough scale to affect the meaningful inclusion of blacks.

The inadequate provision of recreation service and facilities was a pervasive northern pattern as well as southern tradition. Parks, playgrounds, playfields, pools, and beaches in many of the northern communities prior to 1954 were tacitly closed to blacks through the resistance of white residents who were supported by police and recreation officials. The inequities and inadequacies of recreation facilities and leadership was noted by several social scientists and national commissions which researched major racial disturbances and riots.

By 1950, the provision of public recreation opportunities for blacks had increased substantially since 1920 but there were still several factors which handicapped black participation in community recreation programs. These included: 1) few blacks trained in recreation and directing community recreation programs, 2) few colleges offered a curriculum with a degree in recreation; there were no predominantly black schools which had a major curriculum for preparing recreation workers, 2) the attitude of the public in general was that blacks did still not have bona fide leisure time, outside of that which should be spent in the church, 4) many gymnasiums were deliberately left out of schools constructed for blacks because gyms were associated with play and recreation, 5) blacks, for the most
part, lived in either rural areas or congested, run-down sections of cities, where few playgrounds and community centers were generally accepted and provided by public funds, and 6) many of the few recreation facilities serving blacks exclusively reported to the National Recreation Association did not meet minimum standards.

The Supreme Court ruling of 1954, Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, relative to the desegregation of schools, created problems for public recreation in the South. There was a tendency for cities to go out of the recreation business, stop further development of recreation facilities, convert public facilities into private clubs, and slow down service. The sharp awareness of the integration problem during the years immediately following the Brown determination resulted in little actual combination of public services in the South for blacks and whites.

Private suits in many cases were responsible for the opening of public and private recreation facilities. Following the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, there were many court cases in various states, involving the free use and enjoyment of public recreation and park facilities by blacks as they became more and more opposed to the inadequacy of the existing facilities which were available to them. Just as segregation in public schools had been ruled unlawful by the Supreme Court, the appellate and the circuit courts also tended to rule segregation in the use of public recreation and park facilities unlawful.
It required later Supreme Court rulings to provide the full meaning of the *Brown* decision that all state-imposed racial discrimination was unconstitutional *per se*.

Ultimately, the Supreme Court in three 1963 decisions reaffirmed that no municipality owned and operated facilities could be segregated and that no unreasonable delay would be allowed in effectuating their desegregation.

Reports reaching the National Recreation Association reflected a pervasive national pattern during the years immediately following the *Brown* Supreme Court ruling. Some advances as well as losses served to reflect adverse reactions by municipal authorities to the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. The unavailability of needed public services increased the tension and friction between subordinated blacks and white people. This tension was considered to be a definite factor in determining the recreation activities for the various age, sex and racial identity of the participants.

In the late 1950's and the early 1960's southern and border cities responded to desegregation pressures in a variety of ways. The reaction tended to follow the pattern characteristic of other public agencies, as park and recreation facilities were opened in the main as a direct result of some form of protest initiated by blacks. In some cases, all park and recreation facilities were thrown open for use by blacks, except for those locations that involved the most
serious racial taboos of the white southerner, such as swimming
together or close social contact.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, blacks were
guaranteed their civil liberties in areas of education, housing, voting,
public facilities, employment and public accommodations. Title III-
Public Facilities section of the Act forbade racial discrimination in
publicly owned and operated facilities such as parks, libraries, swim-
ming pools, golf courses, and stadia.

It was not until the decade of the 1960's that the recreation
profession began to give increased special attention to the leisure
needs of the poor--especially non-white poor--in urban slums. The
Federal government antipoverty program which provided funding to
disadvantaged groups gained impetus following a wave of urban rioting
which erupted throughout the nation in 1964 and 1965. It was only after
these "civil disturbances" that the needs of inner-city residents were
brought forcefully to the attention of the public.

Public recreation came to be considered as an important social
mechanism for black people in providing them an opportunity to better
cope with their lives and provide some relief from the depressing
conditions of slum life. The civil upheaval of the 1960's, beginning
with the sit-in demonstrations, was a harsh reminder that court
decisions and civil rights laws were not enough. The special govern-
ment summer crash programs and seasonal "cooling off" cultural,
employment, education, health and recreation programs were instituted to improve the conditions in the slums and provide ghetto residents with "something to do" during the time of year when most of them had a lot of time on their hands. Throughout America, with the help of private enterprise and the federal government, attempts were made to supplement municipal and voluntary youth agency efforts to reach out to the various economically and culturally deprived groups in slums.

The major initial weakness of these programs was that they were often only designed for the summer needs of black slum residents. Because so many of them ended so abruptly as soon as the "peak" danger period was passed, they failed to visualize the more permanent need of leisure service opportunity as a year-round concern in the ghetto as elsewhere, and as more than a last-minute enrichment program.

The viability of the federally sponsored recreation programs conducted through the auspices of municipal operations was not so much that they provided socially desirable and approved community leisure activities. Leisure service came to be viewed as a "threshold" activity which drew participants to other forms of involvement for the purposes of improving community life and organizing neighborhoods for socially constructive activity.

The inability through the years of the recreation movement to
be as cognizant as the early pioneers in the field were in making available healthful and socially motivated leisure opportunities for white immigrants in overcrowded, blighted, crime-centered slum areas appears to have contributed to urban rioting and unrest by blacks. These inequities have arisen partially as a result of urban growth patterns, in which the practice for several decades has been to build parks and other recreation facilities around the periphery of the city, where the majority of affluent whites reside. Since blacks have been deprived of normal access to recreation facilities, this has further deprived them of the day-to-day social and psychological satisfactions of everyday life, compelling blacks to seek satisfactions through other means.

The oppressive atmosphere of slum living combined with neglect and deprivation characteristic of ghetto life in America led to rioting and general overt expressions of dissatisfaction by blacks with urban life. The amount of neglect and deprivation of ghetto life in America finally resulted in some of the most violent and bloody racial disorders during the summer months of 1967 and 1968. According to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the presidential commission appointed by Lyndon Johnson in 1968, revealed that inadequate recreation facilities and leadership was the fifth most important cause of the riots.

Most of the participants of the inner-city disorders have been
adolescents and young adults—the age groups that require more recreation services than any other. The antisocial activities of many of these young people have often been extensions of the only organized leisure activities they know—vandalism, gang fights and crime.

The whole question of delivery of public recreation and leisure service was scrutinized as a result of surveys and investigations of impoverished conditions in central cities growing out of civil unrest during the 1960's. It has been determined that a lack of specialized approaches to recreation and leisure service for blacks has deprived them of the opportunity to participate on a voluntary, willful basis.

The initiation of an urban affairs program in 1968 by the National Recreation and Park Association, under the guidance of Ira J. Hutchison, Jr., and later a full-fledged department under the direction of Clarence Pendleton, Jr., in 1970, brought the national recreation movement back to issues of social concern related to the needs of black people. The department is designed to give increased attention to the special needs of economically and culturally deprived groups, with particular attention being devoted to black needs and problems.

The black protest movement of the 1960's proved quite effective in bringing about major social gains for blacks. The field of recreation has been affected as a result of urban violence and disorder, as new methods for assessing recreation needs and demand and approaches to leisure service delivery have been implemented.
Many of the programs in recent years have been established in the neighborhoods where people can effect the structure and conduct of leisure service offerings. These new approaches have resulted in public recreation officials locating needed facilities and services in central city areas. The pluralistic approach to public recreation and leisure service appears to be workable and also consistent with democratic principles. Such a pluralistic approach appears to bring about the mutual benefits of cultural diversity through geographical intermingling of blacks and whites and achieves mutual enrichment of cultural diversity through an inclusive separation of blacks and whites. It has been determined by various studies that leisure service programs must be tailored to the particular needs of the particular neighborhoods and districts, consistent with these findings, in order to make recreational opportunities adaptable to the specialized needs of citizens--black and white.

The provision of public recreation and leisure service for black people covering the 66 year period, 1906-1972, is summarized in Figure 1. The eclectic model, "Democratization of Public Recreation and Leisure Service," serves as a device for interpreting the pattern of egalitarian recreation opportunities for black Americans.

The model represents a historical synthesis of the democratization of public recreation and leisure service for blacks. It synthesizes and combines the major societal patterns of dominant-subordinate
Major societal patterns of dominant-subordinate relations

Phase I
Accommodation and stabilization of dominance (1906-1919)

Phase II
Reconciliation and association (1920-1954)

Phase III
Integration (1955-1965)

Phase IV
Attempts at separatism--isolationism (1966-present)

Phase IV
Pluralism--Interdependence or Separatism--Isolation (possible future patterns)

Patterns of provision of public recreation and leisure service

Figure 1. The democratization of public recreation and leisure service: a model of dominant-subordinate relations.

(+) The centralized provision of leisure facilitated partial conformity to egalitarian tenets.

(-) A lack of adequate leisure service provision--democratization not fulfilled.

(+-) The provision of leisure service but inadequately and separately. An illusion of equality of "recreation for all."

(++) Conformity to egalitarian tenets. The decentralization of leisure service with respect to particular group cultural needs and interests.
relations as they pertain to blacks and whites, and the primary method of providing public recreational opportunities during this period.

The findings indicate that public recreation and leisure service has not been fully democratized as it relates to black people. The provision of public service and the inferior social status of black people nationally has had similar effects when applied to municipal recreation:

1. the black community has been and is today largely isolated from the mainstream interests of American society. The relationship between the two communities, black and white, has not been one of interdependence but one of a dominant majority, dependent minority relationship.

2. the socializing function of recreation in both black and white communities has been largely to establish the legitimacy of the values, ideals and interests of the dominant majority.

3. because the black minority has been thwarted in the pursuit of those values, ideals and interests, it was socialized to accept and did accept the socializing function of recreation in the black community has been dysfunctional with regard to the real needs and interests of the black minority.

The convergence of the latter two perspectives has resulted in an incomplete democratization process through public recreation and
leisure service. The black citizen has been circumscribed by a society that has permitted him only limited outlets and opportunities for leisure expression. The present condition of the black community appears to be a repudiation of the normative theory of liberal democracy which posits that minority rights are to be guaranteed by the self-restraint exercised by a rational majority concerned with a national interest.

In light of these circumstances it appears that the recreation movement must change the thrust of the traditional socializing philosophy of minority leisure participation to conform to the actualities of achieving full citizenship in a pluralistic relationship. The inherent contradiction in the traditional philosophy disallows for the differentiation of sub-community programs, more typical in heterogeneous community settings. The present racial composition of segregated black and white neighborhoods seemingly requires separate structuring and style of leisure service delivery within a shared economic and political system, in order to meet the varied and unique needs of each community.

Conclusions

From the findings of this study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. While the recreation movement was initially oriented to
meeting the play needs of underprivileged urban youth, the recreation needs of black youth were basically ignored during the first phase of black/white relations in public recreation beginning in 1906 (refer to Figure 1).

2. Blacks largely accepted the rationalization for existing pattern of recreation and leisure service during the first phase. Blacks were left to provide for themselves through their own social agencies—church, fraternal orders, etc.

3. The traditional egalitarian public recreation service principle of "recreation for all" was geared primarily to the needs and interests of the dominant white population.

4. The philosophical approach of the recreation movement incorporated the traditional assimilation concept of inter-group relations by supporting local, regional and national dictates in areas of social relations.

5. During the second phase of black/white relations in public recreation service, special attempts were made to expand recreation facilities and programs for blacks, although primarily on a segregated basis.

6. The leaders of the recreation movement accepted the segregation of blacks as a fact of social relations and attempted to meet their leisure needs through the Bureau of Colored Work and special "colored" divisions of municipal
recreation service from 1920 to 1954.

7. Black people have been systematically excluded from participation in most community sponsored recreation programs because: a) the all-inclusive philosophy of municipal recreation initiated just after World War I moved the focus of leisure service away from delivery to underprivileged youth, and b) the various legal and extra-legal discriminatory sanctions in the area of social relations have served to restrict black participation.

8. During the second phase two mutually exclusive paths of segregated organized recreation service existed. It was during this stage a re-definition of democratic recreation service was employed in the movement and not seen in conflict by its leaders with the "recreation for all" concept of service.

9. The leaders sought to include blacks in the general offerings of the public recreation program, but did not see the separatist paths of public recreation as not conforming to the tenets of egalitarian service principles. Democratic recreation service delivery was adjusted to fit local and regional customs and legal requirements.

10. In actual operation, public recreation and leisure service has reflected the larger pervasive societal patterns of
11. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, precipitated the desegregation of public recreation facilities, and eventually led to the improvement of recreational opportunities for black people during the third phase.

12. Attempts to facilitate more equal and inclusive treatment for blacks, particularly since 1954, have been incorporated by most leisure service agencies.

13. Attempts at separate organization, administration and delivery of public recreation during the fourth phase of black/white relations in public recreation emerged around 1966. These efforts have been consistent with "black power" views for semi-autonomous control over matters of cultural and educational concern.

14. The fourth phase of relations has been characterized by attempts at shared black/white participation in administration decisions within the total municipal recreation program and community life.

15. Blacks have been almost entirely dependent upon public recreation offerings and leisure service. Recreation is considered a high priority need among the urban poor.

16. The irony of the "recreation for all" approach of public
recreation, which has not worked in practice for subordinated blacks, has been the failure of this method to advocate and recognize the particular cultural and social needs and interests of black people. Rioting has resulted from a lack of sensitive dominant white response to the social needs of black ghetto residents and the frustration of black cultural interests.

Recommendations

On the basis of the findings and conclusions drawn in this study it is recommended that:

1. Similar historical studies of other subordinated groups, such as Chicanos, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, etc., should be undertaken to determine the extent of provision of recreation service and identify potential gaps and needs that are evident.

2. Public recreation and leisure service be re-structured according to pluralistic, democratic principles. This would allow for the tailoring of recreation programs and services to the cultural needs of black neighborhoods, while providing equal recreation opportunity for all citizens.

3. Leisure service personnel should recognize that the
provision of public recreation should be identified as a municipal necessity and as a basic human need. Recreation needs to be viewed as more than an amenity of life. As a human service component, it receives less than sub-categorical concern. Consequently, critical numbers of black central city youth and adults are deprived of adequate recreational opportunities.

4. Additional historical studies of other aspects of organized recreation, such as private, commercial and voluntary youth serving agency service, should be undertaken to determine their influence and impact on black people. Additional findings accrued from areas of organized recreation other than public service provisions, would serve to provide a comprehensive devise for interpreting and understanding the leisure needs of black people.

5. Attempts be made to empirically test the projected phase(s) illustrated in the model of dominant-subordinate relations.
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