A STUDY OF WHITE, MIDDLE-CLASS ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES

Compiled by

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American Friends Service Committee

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INTRODUCTION

The American Friends Service Committee held a six-week summer project in Portland on racism. Nine high school students and a married couple were the members of the project. The purpose of the project was for people to learn about racial tensions through discussions, interviews, community experience, and personal confrontations, and to explore non-violent ways to reduce racism and its expression in our society. In response to the findings and recommendations of the "Presidential Commission On Civil Disorders" (Kerner Report) and the Portland City Club's report, "Racial Justice in Portland", the thrust of the project was toward white neighborhoods. The development of the movement for human rights has reached a point where black leadership has made the request that white people work with other whites to combat racism. This was attempted through volunteer work in the low income area of Buckman, where the project members were housed, and through the circulation of a questionnaire on racial attitudes in the middle-class white neighborhood of Laurelhurst. The questionnaire was followed by discussion groups among the Laurelhurst participants and other interested inhabitants at which time plans for action for alleviating racial problems were suggested by the project.

Lengthly and intensive study and discussion went into the development of the questionnaire. Hugo Maynard, research psychologist at Portland State College, assisted in the development. The survey was first divided into five categories of investigation. They were employment, education, social contact, government, and sex, dating, and marriage. A total of 19 statements were written, each falling into one of the five categories. A scale of reaction from one to five was devised allowing the respondent to circle an opinion on the scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". A large space for comments followed each statement which allowed a participant's critique if he felt one necessary for justification of the scale response. To obtain the most honest replies possible, the questionnaire was completely confidential. "Confidential Information" was printed in bold type at the top of every questionnaire. Upon completion the respondent placed the questionnaire in an envelope and sealed it himself.

The questionnaire was first tested in Eastmoreland, a neighborhood similar to Laurelhurst in both wealth and layout. A method of approach was developed which all the students used in interviewing, hopefully designed to cause a minimum of friction. Afterwards, questions were revised and the questionnaire sent to the printers.

Once the questionnaire was finished and printed we were still left with the problem of obtaining an unbiased and accurate cross section of the racial attitudes of Laurelhurst. Houses were chosen from a random selection scale which produced approximately one house for every block of the census tract of Laurelhurst. To produce a representative sample the heads of households were asked to complete the questionnaire. If there were two heads of households, either husband or wife could respond. The bosic flaw in this "scientific method" was that the

Introduction, contd.

rate of refusals to acceptances was four to one. The reasons for refusals ranged from the appearance of the interviewers (people in Laurelhurst react unfavorably to "young people") to the excuse that the residents were busy. We received the impression, however, that the major reasons for refusals were the fear of being incriminated on the basis of their responses, or an indifference to the issue. The people who finally answered the questionnaire were "liberal enough" so that they themselves considered their views "socially acceptable". For instance, many found it necessary to justify their answer on the answer number scale with either written or verbal comments if the answer tended to be "slightly racist". The results were a liberal cross-section of the community, assuming that the people who refused to answer were more conservative than those who did.

SUMMARY OF SURVEY AREA

In response to the findings of the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders and the subsequent results of the Portland City Club Report, Problems of Racial Justice in Portland, which both directed the responsibility of racial disorder to white racism, Laurelhurst was selected for the survey area. The neighborhood characteristics indicate that it is predominantly a white, middle-class neighborhood.

The entire Laurelhurst neighborhood is contained within United States Census Tract #19, and the boundaries of this tract were used for the geographic definition of the survey area. The approximate borders are from north to south, the Banfield Freeway to S.E. Stark Street, and from east to west, S.E. 44th Street to S.E. 32nd Street.

The following description of the area is based upon the United States Census of Population and Housing, 1960:

The total population of the area is 6,212, and of that total, 6,187 are white. The Negro population amounts to only two persons (other races account for the remaining twenty-three persons.) The female population (21 years and older) is significantly greater than the comparative male population, with 2,143 women and 1,687 men. The median age for the male population is 35.7 years, and for the women is 39.1 years.

Laurelhurst residents are well educated. The median number of school years completed for persons over 25 is 12.6 years, with 40% having some college education.

The residents have a relatively high socio-economic position. The median family income (1960) is \$8,197; but the mode income, or that income range shared by the most number of people, is from \$10,000 to \$14,999. There is no measurable unemployment. Some 53% of the men employed are either professionals and technicians, or managers, officers, and proprietors of businesses.

The neighborhood is old and established with soundly built homes and considerable landscaping which has resulted in large trees and spacious lawns and gardens. Most of the dwelling units were built before 1939. The homes are of considerable value and size, the median number of rooms per unit is 6.6, and the mode is 8 or more rooms, with over 40% of the dwelling units having more than one bathroom. There are 1,959 living units, and 1,812 (93%) are single family units; 85% are owner occupied.

SCORING

On each questionnaire, the answer to each question was given a score between one and five, depending on the answer circled. The lowest score was considered "best" or least prejudiced. Each questionnaire was then given a total score by finding the sum of the individual scores. Then each total score was divided by the number of questions answered to obtain an equivalent score, which is hereafter referred to as the total score.

In addition to the total scores, each questionnaire was given five sub-group equivalent scores. The questions were divided into five categories: employment (questions 12, 15, 19); education (questions 1, 6, 14, 17); social contact (questions 3, 8, 11); government (questions 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10); sex, dating and marriage (questions 13, 16, 18). The sub-group scores were obtained in the same manner as the total scores.

MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS

Ninety-seven questionnaires were returned and their responses tabulated. Of those 97, four were considered invalid for any further statistical analysis because the respondents failed to answer at least one quarter of the questions.

Of the remaining 93 questionnaires there was a median score of 226 out of a possible range of 100 to 500 and an actual range of 126 to 363.

There were 21 questionnaires with a score of 199 or less; 63 with a score between 200 and 299; and 9 with a score of 300 or more.

Fifty-four of the respondents were women; 23 of the respondents were men. Sixteen people did not disclose their sex.

SURVEY RESULTS

1. Increased efforts should be made toward the integration of all public schools.

strongly agree	1	32 12	33.0% 12.4%
tend to agree	3 1	38 4	39.2% 4.1%
strongly disagree unanswered	5	7 4	7.2% 4.1%
Total		97	100.0%

2. In your opinion demands for Negro justice are

reasonable no opinion	1 2 3	57 19 12	58.7% 19.6% 12.4%
unreasonable unanswered	4 5	3 4 2	3.1% 4.1% 2.1%
Total		97	100.0%

3. How would you feel in the company of a Negro in public?

comfortable	1 2	66 17	68.0% 17.6%
somewhat uneasy	3	11	11.3%
very uncomfortable unanswered	5	1 2_	1.0%
Total		97	100%

4. Would you vote for a Negro for public office?

			
without misgivings	1	63	64.9%
	2	20	20.6%
with some misgivings	3	7	7.2%
	4	3	3.1%
never	5	2	2.1%
unanswered	-	2	2.1%
		07	100.0%
Total		91	100.0%

5. Order should be preserved even at the cost of foregoing Negro demands for justice.

strongly disagree	1	10 8	10.3% 8.2%
undecided	3 h	19 10	19.6%
strongly agree unanswered	5	47 3	48.5% 3.1%
Total		97	100.0%

6. Negro history and culture should be taught to all American school children.

always	1	60 18	61.9% 18.0%
in some cases	3	14	14.6%
	4	2	2.3%
never	5	0	0.0%
unanswered		3	3.2%
Total		97	100.0%

7. Tax money granted to Negro organizations should be controlled by Negroes in that organization.

strongly agree	1	16	16.4%
3 , 0	2	13	13.8%
tend to agree	3	49	50.4%
	4	9	9.8%
strongly disagree	5	7	7.1%
unanswered		3	3.1%
Total		97	100.0%

8. Would you join a club that restricted Negro membership?

never	1	35	36.1%
	2	9	9.3%
with hesitation	3	32	33.0%
	4	4	4.1%
without hesitation	5	13	12.4%
unanswered		4	4.1%
Total		97	100.0%

Survey results, continued

9. If Negroes voted together as a political bloc, your reaction could best be desvribed as:

strongly approve	1	9	9.3%
	2	5	5.2%
mildly approve	3	22	23.6%
	4	15	15.5%
strongly disapprove	5	35	35.1%
unanswered		11	11.3%
Total		97	100.0%

10. Riots in Negro Ghettoes should be controlled with increased police power.

strongly disagree	. 1	11	11.4%
undecided	3	20	20.6%
strongly agree	5	12 46 4	12.5% 47.4% 4.3%
Total		. 97	100.0%

11. Would you invite a Negro to your house?

without hesitation	1	73 15	75.3% 15.4%
with some reluctance	3	4	4.1%
	4	0	0.0%
never	5	2	2.1%
unanswered		3	3.1%
Total		97	100.0%

12. If you had a Negro for a co-worker, you would be

at ease	1	90 4	92.8% 4.1%
uneasy	3	2	2.1%
	4	0	0.0%
extremely distressed unanswered	5	1	1.0%.
Total		97 1	.00.0%

13. If your son or daughter were dating a Negro, your reaction would be

consent	1	11	11.3%
undecided	3	29	29.9%
	4	13	13.5%
forbid it	5	29	29.9%
unanswered		1	1.2%
Total		97	100.0%

14. If my children were assigned to a class with a Negro teacher, I would be

unconcerned	1	84	86.6%
	2	7	7.2%
concerned	3	4	4.1% 0.0%
very distressed	5	0	0.0%
unanswered		2	2,0%
Total		97	100.0%

15. Would you continue to patronize a business that employed Negroes?

continue	1	94	96.9%
	2	2	2.1%
reconsider	3	0	0.0%
	4	0	0.0%
discontinue	5	0	0.0%
unanswered		1	1.0%
Total		97	100.0%

16. You are at a party where Negroes and whites are dancing together. Your reaction could best be described as:

unconcerned	1	44 19	45.2% 19.3%
skeptical	3	22	23.3%
disgusted	4 5	6	5.1% 6.1%
unanswered Total		97	100.0%

Survey results, continued

17. It would be realistic for most Negroes to attend vocational rather than academic schools.

strongly disagree	1	57	58.3%
tend to agree	2 - 3	9 12	9.5% 12.4%
strongly agree	4 5	12	1.0% 12.5%
unanswered	,	6	6.3%
Total		97	100.0%

18. Do you personally find interracial marriages acceptable?

without question	1	14	14.4%
	2	13	13.4%
undecided	3	24	24.8%
	4	11	11.3%
never	5	32	33.0%
unanswered	_	3	3.1%
Total		97	100.0%

19. It is necessary to create jobs for Negroes to compensate for past injustice.

strongly agree	1	16	16.5%
tend to agree	2 3	4 29	4.1% 29.9%
strongly disagree	4 5	18 28	18.6% 28.8%
unanswered		2	2.1%
Total		~~~	100.0%

COMMENT ON SURVEY RESULTS

The relevance and validity of these particular questions are demonstrated by the range of responses. On only two questions did nearly all the respondents answer at the same point on the response scale. On Question 12, "If you had a Negro for a co-worker, you would be", 92.8% answered "at ease" (scale point 1). On Question 15, "Would you continue to patronize a business that employed Negroes?", 96.9% answered "continue" (scale point 1). Interestingly, these both are in the category of employment. A third question had a significantly heavy response at one point. That question was number 14, "If my children were assigned to a class with a Negro teacher, I would be". 86.6% answered "unconcerned" (scale point 1).

The number of times a particular question was unanswered was constant except in the case of three questions. Question 9, "If Negroes voted together as a political bloc, your reaction could best be described as", had the most refusals: eleven or 11.3%. Second to that was Question 13, "If your son or daughter were

Comment on Survey Results, contd.

dating a Negro, your reaction would be", had 7 refusals or 7.2%. From the report of the interviewers these two questions seemed to be among the most controversial and were the ones that most often received comment. They also were among the six questions that received the most conservative responses. Another question, number 17, "It would be realistic for most Negroes to attend vocational rather than academic schools", had 6 refusals, or 6.3%. This question was most frequently answered "strongly disagree". It was not reported as controversial, but many people felt unable to give a clear-cut response. Few questions, only six, have any point on the scale without a single response. Response patterns were interestingly varied.

It is interesting to examine the two groups of questions that had the most liberal and the most conservative response patterns. These were grouped by adding together the scores of those points on the scale of responses for each question that clearly by description and placement tended to be an answer that was identified with one of the extremes.

The most liberal responses occurred in the following questions (percentage response indicated). This excludes the two questions (12 and 15) that had nearly all responses at one point on the scale.

	Question	<u>Liberal</u> Percentage Response
# 2.	In your opinion demands for Negro justice are	78.3%
# 6.	Negro history and culture should be taught to all American school children	79.9%
# 7•	Tax money granted to Negro organizations should be controlled by Negroes in that organization	80.6%
# 1.	Increased efforts should be made toward the integration of all public schools	84.6%
# 4.	Would you vote for a Negro for public office	85.5%
#14.	If my child were assigned to a class with a Negro teacher I would be	93.8%

Comment On Survey Results, contd.

All of these questions deal with matters of public policy and touch upon issues widely debated. In general it would be safe to say they all have responses that could be clearly defined as "socially acceptable". They do not involve direct participation by the respondents, nor any disruption of the status quo. The liberal response does not require displacement of wealth or position. These responses do express a liberality toward issues that are still thought of as potentially controversial. There is also an indication that much more could be done with public policy than is presently the case.

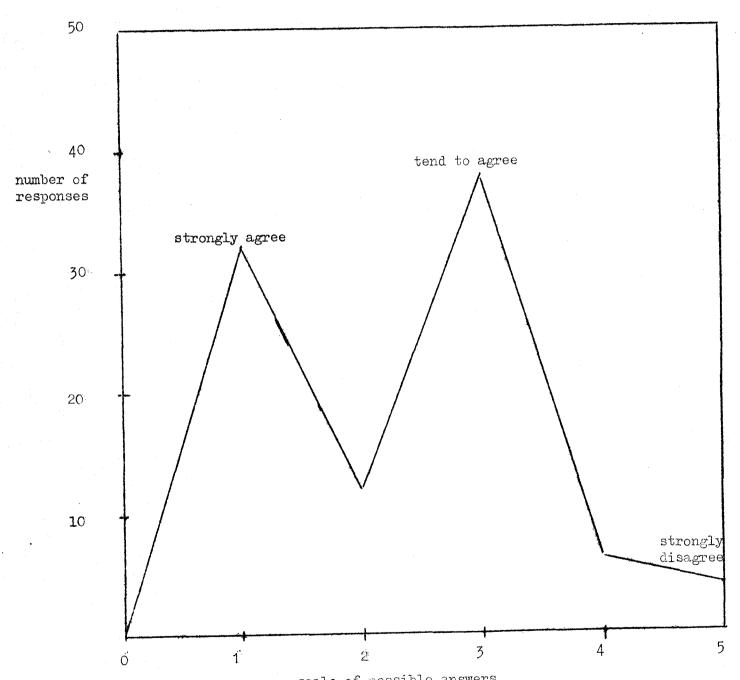
The most conservative responses occurred in the following questions (percentage response indicated).

	Question	Conservative Percentage Response
#13.	If your son or daughter were dating a Negro, your reaction would be	43.4%
#18.	Do you personally find inter- racial marriages acceptable	44.3%
#19,	It is necessary to create jobs for Negroes to compensate for past injustices	47.4%
# 9.	If Negroes voted together as a political bloc, your reaction could best be described as	50.6%
# 5.	Order should be preserved even at the cost of foregoing Negro demands for justice	58.8%
#10.	Riots in Negro ghettoes should be controlled with increased police pow	er 59.9%

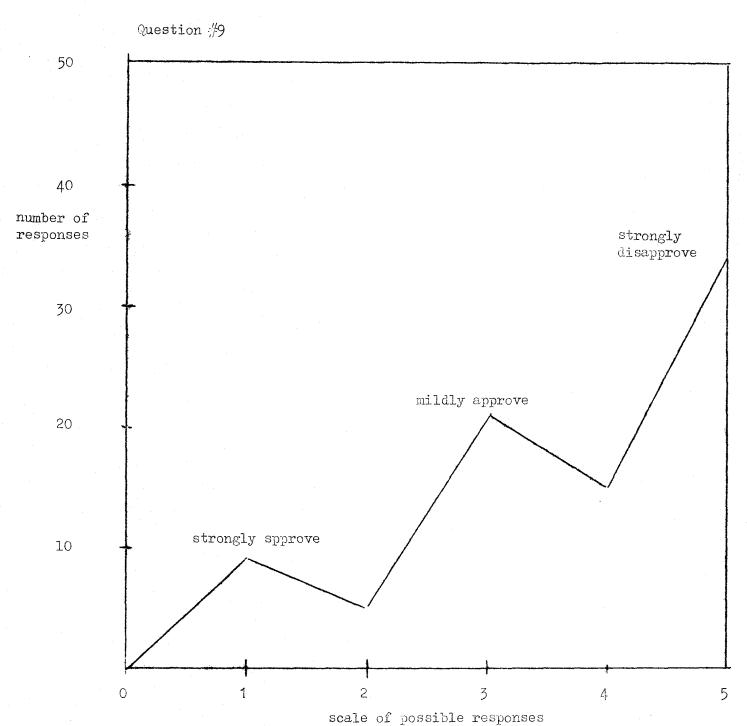
These questions were most controversial in terms of comments by respondents and discussions reported by interviewers. Most of this group of questions involves the respondent more personally than those questions in the liberal response group. They also involve issues that do not have clear-cut, socially accepted answers. The questions concerning dating and marriage have been long debated in our society, but never resolved. To the interviewers, the response in regard to dating and marriage were disturbing because the prejudical response seemed especially dehumanizing. It is revealing that many persons will have a liberal response in the category of social contact, but a conservative response in questions of sex, dating, and marriage. Among the questions that have conservative responses are

Comment on Survey Results, contd.

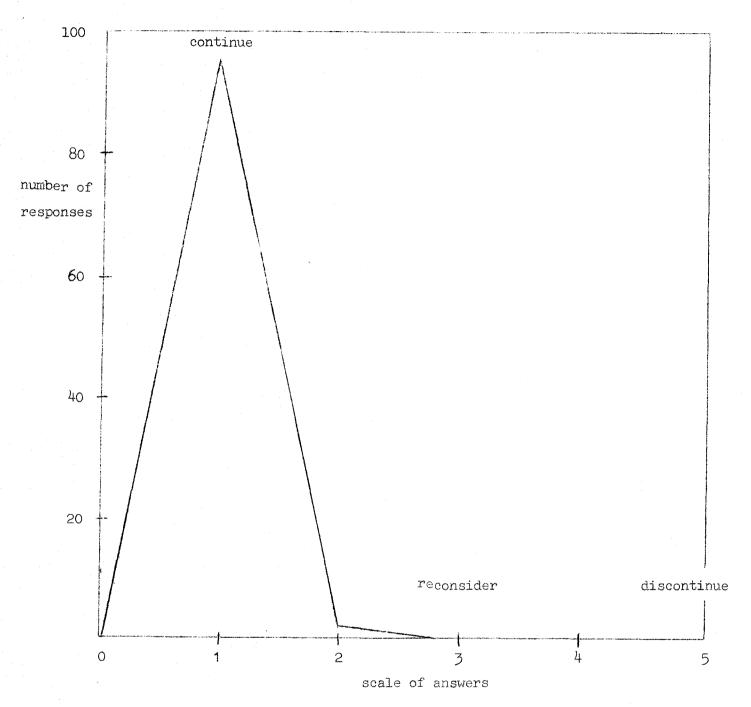
"Black Power" concepts of job creation and political organization. These both met with conservative responses, but interestingly this is in contradiction to the liberal response to the question concerning control of tax money by Negroes in Negro organizations (Question 7). Here again is the separatist direction, that is, approval of programs that take place apart from the respondents life and do not require direct involvement or displacement cost. By displacement cost we mean having to give up wealth or position in order to create change and improvement. Another contradiction is in responses to Question 5 and to Question 2. People thought that Negro demands were justified, but they thought order to be more important than the achievement of these justified demands. Increased police power was agreed upon, and this is consistent with the priority on order. These are difficult to resolve for one can surely want justice and at the same time abhor violence and disorder. Quite likely most people think that justice and other demands for human rights and privleges can not be met or maintained without order; so order is established as the first priority. This is dangerous when such priorities are inflexible. A rigidity seems to be evident. This can contribute to further racial separation, further disruption, further control, and dangerously less justice and equality.



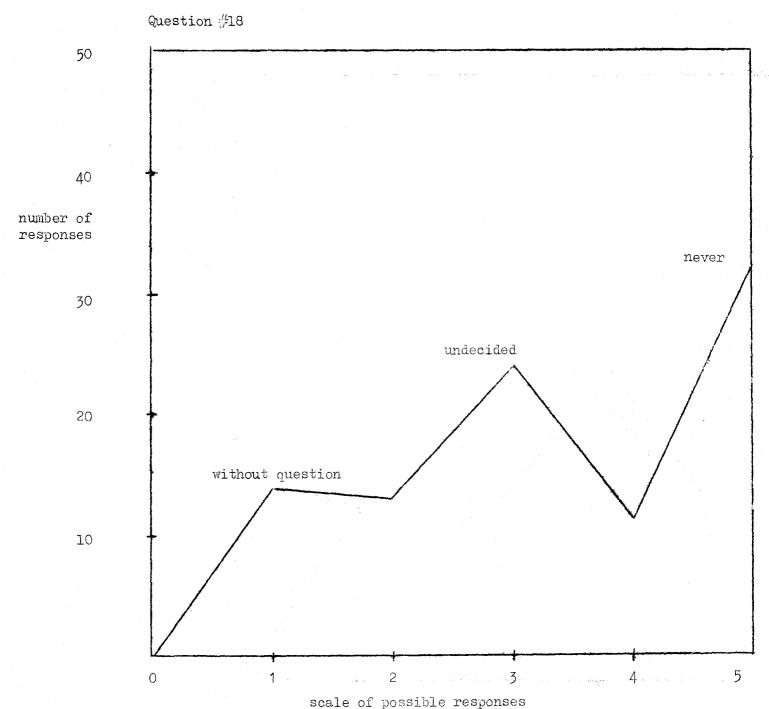
The question reads: "Increased efforts should be made towards the integration of all public schools." This graph suggests a fairly liberal response, since only 11% answered "strongly disagree" or (4), the "conservative" answers.



The question reads: "If Negroes voted together as a political bloc, your reaction could best be described as:" This response is an example of a relatively conservative response.



The question reads: "Would you continue to patronize a business that employed Negroes?" This question is unique because its response was practically unanimous. 96.9% of the respondents answered (1), or that they would continue to patronize a business that employed Negroes.



The question reads: "Do you personally find interracial marriages acceptable." Although the pattern of responses is similar to the scale of question 9, the question itself is a controversial issue. It is fairly representative of the kind of response to the questions in the subcatagory of sex, dating, and marriage which tended to contain the most conservative responses.

QUARTILE ANALYSIS

The questionnaires were divided into approximate quarters, as follows:

- I. Scores from 126 through 195, 21 questionnaires
- II. Scores from 200 through 226, 25 questionnaires
- III. Scores from 231 through 253, 24 questionnaires
 - IV. Scores from 257 through 363, 24 questionnaires.

The quartiles are not exactly even because of clumping of scores.

The scores in Quartile I represent those people considered least prejudiced; the scores in Quartile IV represent those people considered most prejudiced. In order to discover what factors lead to a "more prejudiced" score, Quartiles I and IV were compared on the basis of their sub-group scores.

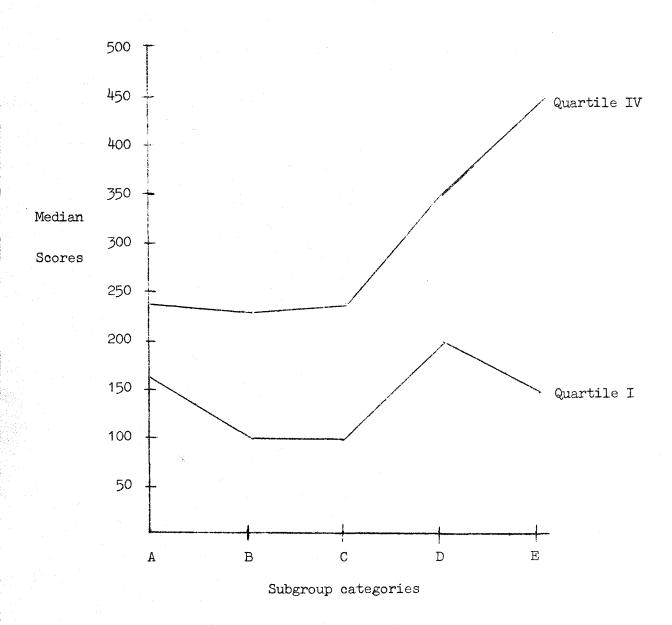
Quartile I - Total score median 163

Quartile IV - Total score median 289

Sub-group Category	Quartile I median score	Quartile IV median score	Difference
A. Employment	167	233	66
B. Education	100	225	125
C. Social contact	100	233	133
D. Government	200	350	150
E. Sex, dating, marriage	167	433	266

Quartile analysis, continued

A graphic representation of the scores follows:



Quartile Analysis, cont.

From the graph it is clear that the most significant difference between the two quartiles is their attitudes on sex, dating and marriage. The difference between the two quartiles in the area of social contact is not as great. Further, in Quartile I, the difference in scores between category C and category E is relatively small—a matter of 67 points. But in Quartile IV there is a difference of 133 points between the two categories! The conclusion would seem to be that the more prejudiced people draw a definite line at being involved with Negroes on a personal or intimate basis; whereas the least prejudiced people are more willing to accept intermarriage as well as casual contact.

In two categories, education and social contact, Quartile I scored the lowest possible median; the highest score for Quartile I was in the area of government, whereas the highest score for Quartile IV was for sex, dating and marriage: the relative values for members of each quartile are significantly different.

Footnote: It should perhaps be noted that one question was more frequently unanswered than any other: question number 9 (Negroes voting together as a political bloc). In Quartile I, two people did not answer question 9; in Quartile IV, three people did not answer question 9.

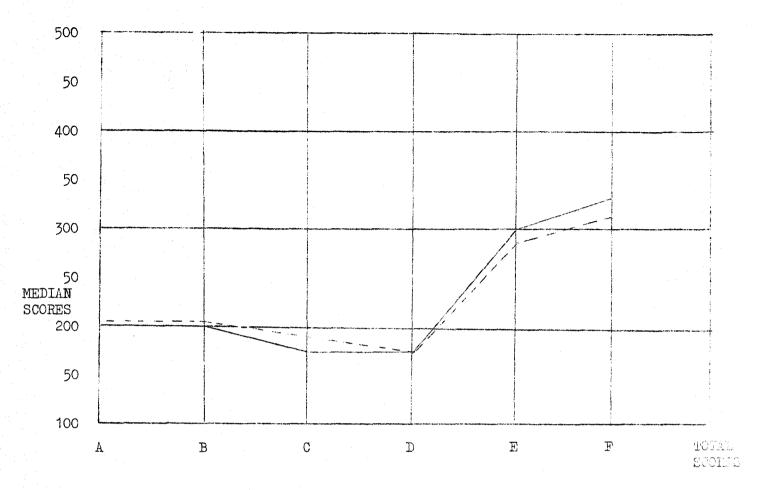
Sub-Group Analysis

We decided to compare the difference in opinion between two age groups. We originally thought that there should be a measurable margin of difference. The results of that analysis follow.

Domparison by Age

Sub	-group category	Median Score 30 and under (21 questionnaires)	Median Score 31 and over (55 questionnaires)	Difference
Α.	Employment	200	200	0
В.	Education	167	178	11
Ĉ.	Social Contact	167	167	0
D.	Government	300	283	17
E.	Sex, Dating, Marriage	333	300	33
	Total Score	232	232	0

Seventeen questionnaires had no age recorded.



SUB-GROUP CATEGORIES

Key: ----31 and over
30 and under

The Total Score medians were identical in these two groups. Two out of the five sub-groups were identical (Employment, Social Contact), and the sub-groups of Education, Government, and Sex, Dating and Marriage varied only by about 20 points out of a possibility of 400. The conclusion is obvious: The opinions of heads of households in Laurelhurst do not vary because of age. In a time when the generation gap is being stressed, it would seem that the people of this community have the problem conquered.

This certainly dispels the frequently held idea that the problems of today will be solved by the next generation. Everyone has heard that when "this" generation matures things will be different. However, in Laurelhurst those 30 and younger hold attitudes similar to those of 31 and older. It suggests that the residents of Laurelhurst are influenced by factors other than age.

RACIAL ATTITUDES IN LAURELHURST

All of the specific facts and data occumulated have best been interpreted in discussions and individual essays describing general opinions of project members. The following are opinions of the survey on racial attitudes based on these two resources.

At least three-fourths of the residents asked to take the questionnaire refused. Many of the actual participants were reluctant to take time for the questioning and required a great deal of persuasion. Reluctance to be questioned seemed to stem from either ignorance of the racial crisis or ignorance of the individual citizen's role in solving the crisis.

The double standards of some people proved them to be very hypocritical. One commented that "everyone should be accepted on his or her individual credits." However, that same person disapproved of interracial marriage.

The one Negro girl in the project commented: "One of the most interesting people I met was one woman who talked about how much she loved 'colored' people." The girl was offended by the term 'colored' which has connotations of condescension for many Negroes.

One boy was met with hostility. His partner described the incident.
"The people whose house we were visiting immediately started to question him about his long hair. They kept saying that long hair was dirty and that he was dirty because he had long hair. We told them that he was clean. He took baths. Then, they accused us of being 'hippies' and of being involved in the Laird Park incident. We stressed the point that the survey was on racial attitudes only."

The next day the Negro girl returned to this house. She was warmly greeted and invited into the house where she was offered coffee. The people told her that "a horrible boy with long hair" had been there the day before. They explained that they "certainly wouldn't answer anything for him." This incident was revealing in itself, but also fit into a general pattern of majority acceptance of the Negro girl that the white interviewers did not encounter.

One girl described a typical interview. "We knocked at the door and a tiny panel slid back revealing a nose. 'What do you want?' the nose accused. After a respectable amount of questioning, skepticism, and hesitation, the slot was slammed shut and the door jerked open revealing a middle-aged lady.

"After making a cake and cleaning up her kitchen, she finally joined us, but she was not yet ready to see the questionnaire. First she wanted identification, which we provided. Half-way soothed, she accepted the four-page questionnaire.

"In talking with her we learned that her daughter was brilliant in school and that her son was even smarter, having been valedictorian of his class. Somehow, those points were necessary to our understanding of her feeling about the racial problem. As I recall, the point was that she and her family were obviously intelligent and highly educated, which should eliminate in our minds any doubt that they had anything but the right attitude towards Negroes.

"She believed that Negroes were inferior in a mental sense. She quoted Albert Schweitzer, who we 'might have heard of', as saying that Negroes were nice but incapable of taking the responsibility to carry through on any job. She said if she lived in the ghetto too she'd 'just run down to the store and buy some pretty wallpaper and pretty the place up.' She could not be persuaded that the possibility of not getting any decent job, or any job at all, left one with little enthusiasm and less money for comething such as home decorating.

"Besides, many Negroes are extremely rich." Since she was a registered nurse, there was no explaining to her about starving people in the ghettos. She did concede that some were 'a little hungry,' but not starving. She didn't get angry with us for refuting her 'facts' because in ten years she knew that we would see it her way. When we asked her if she'd like to be in a follow-up discussion group, she said, 'I don't need to discuss it. I've made up my mind.'"

A girl interviewer drew this conclusion. "I don't think it's possible to change these people. It's going to take years. People were offended by the questions, by the topic, and by our nerve to ask them to take time. One woman said, 'Why don't you just go away? I'm sure there will be lots of others who will fill it out.' Why should there be if she wouldn't? To me, that was the worst remark."

Each interviewer found a few inhabitants who were genuinely concerned with the racial problem and were interested in forming discussion groups. Many people who were only vaguely interested in the questionaire and its results were, nevertheless, hospitable. The opinions stated are largely pessimistic because the large majority of respondents were skeptical and/or disinterested.

It is important to remember that the most prejudiced person interviewed was far from the most prejudiced person in Laurelhurst. The interviewers estimated four refusals to every acceptance. Among the refusals were those who didn't want to think about or in any way commit themselves to any opinion on racial problems. These people, many living in the largest, wealthiest homes, were likely the most prejudiced.

The results are not encouraging. One girl summed up her feelings. "It is in the middle class and the upper-middle class people of areas like Laurelhurst, the areas where the majority of Americans live, that the apathetic and reactionary voices are. They either won't be bothered by social problems or they won't be bothered beyond saying. 'Let it be.' The problems must take care of themselves. In American demoncracy the philosophy is that the majority must rule. There is little hope of change unless it comes from the American minorities who are outside the establishment. There is little hope for American existence without change."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

We would like to suggest five plans of action for alleviating racial problems for the Laurelhurst area. We are making these recommendations to the Laurelhurst neighborhood because it is people with wealth and influence in our society who have the power to correct the conditions of poverty and racial separation.

- (1) We feel that there is a real need for a community organization in Laurelhurst. We have discovered that there is no means for residents to meet together to talk, to study, nor to take collective action on social issues. We are living in the Buckman neighborhood (white, low-income) and have seen good evidence of benefits there can be from community organization. The Buckman Community Action Committee is largely responsible for a youth center, a dental clinic, several education programs, and a continuous involvement of citizens in community action. The problems of the two neighborhoods are significantly different but the processes and results of community organization apply to both neighborhoods. That condition leads to the following recommendation: The citizens of Laurelhurst should form an active community organization. We would recommend that the first programs for such an organization would be to take action to alleviate the evidence of white racism and to do this through personal contact and discussion. This could be accomplished by an educational program that studied two areas: Negro History and Culture, and The Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders; the program could utilize the method of small group discussions. A second action should be for the creation of a Laurelhurst Youth Center. activity of the center should be a dialogue between youth and adults about the responsibilities of being socially and economically privileged in our society. Recreation and community action should be complementary activities of the new center.
- (2) We think that a Laurelhurst neighborhood organization should make a large scale attempt at integration. This can be accomplished through housing procedures: Residents should locate low-rent housing and publicize it in Negro areas. Some real estate sale should be frozen, allowing Negroes first choice on the property. As reinforcement to the freeze on real estate, a program of financing loans should be developed.
- (3) We think that it would be possible for an organization to be formed to find business leaders and personnel men willing to pledge jobs to Negroes. A quota should be set and filled by a certain date. This recommendation is based on the result of two questions in the study.

 - 2) Q Would you continue to patronize a business that employed A 97% "continue" Negroes?

The survey goes on to prove that many Laurelhurst inhabitants are in the position to hire. The residents have a relatively high socio-economic position. The median family income (1960) is \$8,197; but the mode income, or that income range shared by the most number of people, is from \$10,000 to \$14,999. There is no measurable unemployment. Some 53% of the men employed are either professionals and technicians, or managers, officers, and proprietors of business.

(4) We strongly advise that all Laurelhurst schools incorporate a study of Negro history and culture with curriculum. The study showed that 80% of the questionnaire participants felt that "Negro history and culture should be taught to all American School children."

A sensible and acceptable policy would be to hire more Negro teachers for this and other studies. Given the statement, "If my children were assigned to a class with a Negro teacher, I would be _____," 94% answered "unconcerned."

(5) Social clubs that restrict Negro membership have been cited as examples of institutionalized racism. An organization that maintains a "white only" system of membership, even though it might be without the intent of systemized segregation, functions as a symbol of racism. Interestingly, the respondents of the study indicated that most of them would be hesitant about joining such a club, and a significant number (36%) said they would never join a racially restricted club. This leads us to the following recommendation: Many residents of Laurelhurst, by participating as members of social, fraternal, and athletic clubs that are "white" institutions, are supporting institutionalized racism. We strongly suggest that a study be made by the residents of all the clubs and that direct attempts be made to eliminate racially exclusive clubs, and to encourage the integration of all clubs.

We make these suggestions as middle-class Americans. We feel strongly that it is up to people like ourselves to act now.

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