MINORITY COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST LOCAL DISCRIMINATION: A STUDY OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, ILLINOIS

BY

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THESIS

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PREFACE

This is a study of the Champaign-Urbana (C-U) Negro community, where in the spring of 1961 a campaign was organized to force J. C. Penney to hire Negro sales personnel in the new store they were soon to open in Champaign, Illinois. This militant action surprised all those who were familiar with C-U's Negro ghetto.* For as long as they could remember, and this goes back many decades, no concerted demonstrative action against discrimination had ever emanated from this Negro community.

In 1938 when I entered the University of Illinois I became aware of and maintained some contact with the Negro community until 1941 when I left the campus. During those three years C-U was as Jim-Crow as any northern town could possibly be. None of the restaurants in town or on the campus served Negroes. The motion picture houses permitted Negroes to sit only in a certain section of the balcony.

Campus groups organized several "sit-in" demonstrations at various restaurants--Prehns, Steak and Shake, Day's and Handley's--in an attempt to force them to wait on Negroes; but not until the Illini Union Building was opened in 1941 with eating facilities, did some of the

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*The "ghetto" originally was a place in which Jews were compelled to live by custom and/or by law. In more recent times the usage of the word has been broadened in two ways: to include spatially segregated areas in which any minority group has been forced to reside by extralegal pressures and to include those spatially segregated areas in which minority groups voluntarily have resided to perpetuate their culture and in which they have felt more secure. Throughout this study ghetto is used to delineate the spatially segregated area within the C-U community in which Negroes are forced to reside (discussed in Chapter II).

proprietors of the local restaurants get "religion" and agree to serve Negroes together with their reduced number of patrons. My wife relates similar "sit-ins' during her stay on the campus from 1944-1946.

But while those activities were going on, they failed to attract very many Negro students and no Negro townspeople. The Negroes of C-U over the period from 1938-1946 and since went about their daily tasks seemingly without complaint in the traditional jobs allocated to them. All the antidiscrimination work in the C-U Negro community over the years was in the main organized and manned by enlightened white citizens.

During the past decades the local commercial and industrial establishments in C-U, to the best of anyone's knowledge, had not hired Negroes other than in the traditional domestic and menial job categories and many did not even do that. The University of Illinois had not yet formulated its "merit employment policy" and it too hired very few Negroes. The major trade unions in C-U, with the exception in recent years of three--the plasterers, the laborers and the government employees union--deliberately and successfully kept Negroes from becoming members of their organizations. All the jobs in C-U which pay a decent living wage were never available to Negroes. Yet with all this obvious and degrading exclusion from the most renumerative occupations in the job market, for as long as Negroes lived in C-U, no one among the dispossessed in the Negro ghetto stood up and shouted-- Protest!

Why, then, did this Negro community, which for all these years accepted their burden with little or no protest, explode in the spring of

1961? What were the processes that converted the almost institutionalized inaction to viable protest movement?

It was evident to even the most casual observer, in the spring of 1961, that since the end of World War II the activities of Negroes to gain fundamental rights had been considerably accelerated in many places throughout the country. The movements to end Jim Crow in public conveyances and facilities, the right to attend school without the onus of segregation and the determined effort to secure the right to vote--these are but a few of the more prominent examples of increased militant activities of Negroes in the South. In northern cities the Negro people had addressed themselves to the fight for jobs and upgrading, to secure the right to use public and private eating, recreational and housing facilities on an equal basis and without being molested. With a high degree of militancy and with the increasing dedication and know-how of their leaders, unified Negro communities have been successful in many of their antidiscrimination and antisegregation campaigns. But success in one campaign, in one community, neither automatically starts nor guarantees success in another city. True success in one endeavor considerably aids, in many telling ways, the encouragement and development of similar successful campaigns. However, it is equally true that many noble efforts die abortively and many citizens of Negro communities, like those in C-U, in full view of these demonstrative activities and successes, go about their staid and individual ways unaffected and seemingly accept their second class citizenship without overt protest. In order to have a

movement and for it to be successful the inhabitants of a community must reach out for and participate in it. But most important of all, as we hope to demonstrate, certain social forces and conditions must be present to initiate, gererate and aid a successful effort.

What were the social forces that meshed the individuated populace in collective action? Why not sooner, or why not later? What aroused its inhabitants, who heretofore accepted a subordinate position, to act? Obviously the tremendous social, economic and political developments that ushered in the twentieth century had affected the present inhabitants of C-U as it affected all Americans and changed them considerably. But social changes are unevenly distributed among communities and are unevenly internalized by its citizens. What were the social changes internalized by the present C-U Negro population that awakened this passive community to action? What are the characteristics of the present Negroes in C-U? How do they differ from their predecessors?

To get the answers to these many sociological questions, I went to the C-U Negro ghetto. There, through the use of both scheduled and non-directed interviews, 105 randomly selected Negroes, 17 Negro leaders and one white political leader were interviewed. It was from those three sources that the bulk of information about the C-U Negro community and its history was obtained. Unless otherwise indicated by footnotes it should be taken for granted that the information contained herein has been provided by the 105 respondents and the 18 community leaders. However, when it is pertinent to the discussion, reference will be made to the particular person who supplied the information.

All of those interviewed were extremely cooperative and helpful, particularly the four ministers I interviewed. Each one of them gave me a morning out of his busy schedule. One of them, Rev. Williams, was in the process of packing prior to moving to another city, but nevertheless patiently answered my questions for four hours. To these well-informed and dedicated ministers I am especially indebted for the insights they provided into the tremendous problems that they have addressed themselves to as leaders of their people.

To aid me in administering the schedule and as an incidental task to test the reliability of interviewing as a research technique, I secured the services of William Smith, a Negro Political Science major at the University of Illinois. William Smith's keen interest in the problems of the C-U Community in which he grew up and his devotion to the cause of Negro freedom made his contribution to this study invaluable.

At a later stage in the survey, George James, also a Negro Political Science major at the University of Illinois, contributed to what I have called "cross-interviewing"--the reinterviewing, with the same schedule, of some of the same respondents whom I, a white person, had already interviewed. This device was used to test the reliability of interviewing under conditions in which there were obviously confounding variables. Fortunately for me, George, who has a wealth of race relations experience, was my next door neighbor (in University student housing) so that we had the opportunity to discuss and rediscuss the salient features of Negro life in C-U and in the nation.

This study of the C-U Negro community was a revealing experience from which I learned a great deal. For this I am grateful to Dr. Robert W. Janes, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Illinois, who suggested that a study of the C-U Negro community would be a worth-while project. It was his view that there was a need for such a study which could be of some value to the C-U community. I hope that what is to follow will satisfy in a small way his expectations and be convincing evidence that his students do learn something in the garret classroom in which he teaches.

My wife, who walked the picket line at J. C. Penney and helped make history, did not bargain for the task I assigned to her of putting together my scribbled version of the sociological reasons for that historic picket line. The service she and those who manned the picket line rendered, particularly to the C-U community, was great, and the service she performed for me by making me work and rework the raw material was inestimable.

To my friends, Nadine Wallace and Herb Goodrich, both genuine fighters for the cause of human freedom, I wish to express my sincerest gratitude. I am deeply indebted to them for having given so generously of their time and interest and editorial skill toward the preparation of the final draft of this study.

Finally, the J. C. Penney campaign, although in itself of extreme importance to the C-U community and of tremendous impact on its Negro citizens, has been reported here not simply to describe

an event that in itself was highly dramatic. This campaign provided, fortunately for this study, an extremely convenient focal point around which to weave the intervening and interacting social forces. By spotlighting the story it has been possible to tie together the pieces which explain sociologically why, in the spring of 1961, the Negro citizens of this dormant ghetto began marching in front of the J. C. Penney department store behind their ministers, who were dressed in their church vestments.

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CHAPTER I

LOCAL PRECONDITIONS FOR NEGRO PROTEST MOVEMENT

In the latter months of 1960 it was announced that J. C. Penney would open a major department store in Champaign, Illinois. Work on the building soon began. Many people in the Champaign-Urbana (C-U) community eagerly awaited the opening of the store, not so much as prospective customers, but rather for the job opportunities it would provide. The country was going through one of its periodic recessions and although C-U was not hit too hard, there was never an over-abundance of job opportunities in the twin cities, so that any reduction of jobs was felt and any addition to the stockpile of jobs was always welcomed.

To the Negro community of C-U any addition to job opportunities was always a cause for increased expectation. In January of 1961 unemployment hit 7.8 per cent in Illinois but was more than twice as high for Negroes in the state. Nationally, _Time_ magazine of May 19, 1961, reported, "Negroes, although they are 10% of the U.S. labor force, account for about 20% of all unemployment and constituted 46% of the long-term unemployed in April (1960)."[1] Although there is no specific data available for C-U, the fact that the C-U Negro population "accounts for 80% or more of the relief cases,"[2] would indicate that what was true nationally was equally true locally. C-U did not offer many of its jobs to Negroes. Few of the industrial establishments and almost none of C-U's department stores hired Negroes in jobs other than the most menial. None

of the major department stores hired Negroes as sales personnel.

In the spring of 1959, Dr. Bernard Karsh and Kenneth Downey studied Merit Employment in Champaign for the Champaign Human Relations Commission. They sampled 75 private firms employing twenty persons or more and reporting a total of 6,988 employees among whom 545 were Negroes. Only two, or less than 1/2 of 1 percent of all sales workers reported in the survey (see Table I below) were Negroes. Their findings present a significant picture of the status of job opportunities for Negroes in C-U; they reported:

> Ninety-eight per cent of the Negroes in our sample are located in four occupational categories: skilled (6%), semi-skilled (21%), unskilled (39%), and service occupations (32%). Of these four occupational categories, seventy-one per cent of the Negro employees are located in unskilled and service occupations.
>
> In order to appraise the significance of these figures, we began by noting the proportion of Negroes in the total population of Champaign. In 1950 approximately eight per cent of the total population was Negro. This is almost identical with the proportion of Negroes found in employment covered by our survey. If we assume that the increase in the Negro population of Champaign since 1950 has been in the same proportion as the increase of the total population, and we have no evidence to indicate otherwise, equal employment of Negroes would be indicated if, in each occupational and skill category, Negroes were found in similar proportions to the total number of workers in such categories. Our survey indicates quite different proportions:
>
> (1) The proportion of Negroes in unskilled occupations is almost ten times as great as might be expected. For example, if jobs were equally distributed on the basis of population proportions, we should expect to find about twenty Negroes in the unskilled (laborer) category. Instead our sample revealed 216 or about ten times that expected number.

TABLE I [3]

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF NEGROES IN EACH OCCUPATION IN THE SAMPLE TO NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN EACH OCCUPATION IN CHAMPAIGN

(according to the 1950 United States Census of the Population, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Illinois (pp. 13-102), for the City of Champaign, Illinois.)

Major Occupation	Total Number of Employees (1950 Census)		Total Number of Negroes in Survey	
	Number	Per Cent*	Number	Per Cent**
Professional, Technical and Kindred	2,886	23.6%	0	0
Clerical and Kindred	2,386	19.4%	4	.73%
Sales Workers	1,259	10.3%	2	.37%
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred	1,616	13.2%	33	6.05%
Operatives and Kindred	1,467	12.0%	114	20.92%
Laborers, except Farm	590	4.8%	216	39.64%
Service Workers, except Private Household	2,030	16.6%	176	32.29%
	12,234***		545	

$$\text{* Calculation} = \frac{\text{Total Number of Employees in Each Occupation}}{\text{Total Number of Employees (12,234)}}$$

$$\text{** Calculation} = \frac{\text{Total Number of Negro Employees in this Occupation}}{\text{Total Number of Negro Employees (545)}}$$

***The total number employed in Champaign is listed in the Census as 14,399. The total listed above is only for the occupational categories which are relevant to the survey and excludes such occupations as: Private household workers; Farmers and farm managers; Farm wage workers and farm foremen; Farm laborers and unpaid family workers; Managers, officials and proprietors excluding farm.

(2) Using the same reasoning as above, we would expect to find about 50 Negroes occupying semi-skilled jobs (operatives). Instead we found about twice this number.

(3) Again using the same reasoning, we find about half as many Negroes in skilled occupations as we would have expected to find if they were distributed in the same proportions as is the total labor force.

As among the three skill level categories, therefore, there appears to be an inverse relation between skill and Negro representation. Taking into account other occupations as well, the survey indicates that as we go down the occupational ladder (from professional worker to laborer), that the proportion of Negroes tends to <u>increase</u> while the proportions in the total labor force tends to decrease.

If we analyze by the same method the sales and clerical jobs, our survey reveals the most extreme disproportions; 1/26 as many Negroes are employed in sales jobs as the over-all proportions would leave us to expect if jobs were equally distributed. Similarly, the same 1/26th disproportion appears in the ratio of Negroes to the total employed in clerical occupations.[4]

Additional information about employment of Negroes in C-U was obtained from 105 respondents, randomly selected from every tenth house in the C-U Negro community (the method of selection is discussed in Chapter II). Their answers to the schedule rounded out the picture of employment for Negroes in C-U. A synopsis of the findings appears in Table II.

Although the interview schedule was different from the Karsh-Downey study in that it included both the private and public sectors of employment and broke down the occupations differently, both surveys indicate the same general conclusions; "We found in detail what many in this community have suspected in general; namely, that Negroes tend to occupy

the lowest paying and least desirable jobs, that they have little or no access to jobs which are either more prestigeful or more economically secure."[5]

However, when we include the public employing agencies in the picture, significant differences are noted between Table II from this study and Table I of the Karsh-Downey study, which excluded the public sector of employment. Table I has zero per cent for the professional category as against 6 per cent in Table II. The logic of including the professional and nonprofessional civil service workers and their importance in this study will become more evident in the succeeding discussion.

It is also of some importance to note that Table II indicates, in contrast to Table I, a smaller number of C-U Negro citizens employed in the lowest categories and a higher number in the semi-skilled category. This is due in the main to the listing of construction laborers as semi-skilled rather than as laborers. The reason for my choice is the fact that construction labor pays $2.80 per hour plus 7 1/2¢ for insurance benefits in contrast to the prevailing rate for laborer in C-U of $1.00 to $1.50 per hour. The tremendous difference in pay makes construction labor, even though a highly seasonal occupation, the means for upward mobility and for more prestige than the traditional occupations available to Negroes.

Notice too must be taken in this study of the hiring policies of the single largest employer by far in the C-U area, the University of Illinois, which has in the past hired very few Negroes in other than the

TABLE II

RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES Column 28 - Question 22	Number	Per Cent
Menial (includes unspecified labor in factories and retail-wholesale establishments)	23	23
Semi-skilled (includes specified jobs such as cook, presser, construction laborer, crane operator, etc.)	26	26
Skilled (includes plasterer, tailor, etc.)	9	9
Clerical (includes non-civil-service office workers)	1	1
Professional (includes civil-service college trained employees-no one in the sample worked for private industry)	6	6
Non-professional civil-service (includes mail carrier, cook, heating engineer, clerk)	6	6
Domestic (includes those who work for private families as cooks and housecleaners)	10	10
Farm (self-explanatory)	0	0
Self-employed (includes those who employ others)	4	4
Housewife (includes those who said they did not work outside their homes)	10	10
Others and retired (includes retired over 65, sick and handicapped)	5	5
Total Who Responded	100	100%
No response	5	
Total Respondents	105	

most menial tasks. Although no penetrating study could be found on the employment practices of the University of Illinois, the fact that only one Negro is employed as a janitor, a relatively high-paid job for which seemingly large numbers of Negroes could possibly qualify, would seem to indicate that the employment practices followed generally in the community are likewise followed by the University. However, the City of Champaign Human Relations Commission had this to say:

> University Employment: The University of Illinois has a specific policy of merit employment. Several times during the early part of this year the Human Relations Commission had its attention called to cases in which there seemed some question about the effective implementation of the policy. The Commission thereupon made arrangements through the University Administration to set up a procedure for joint inquiry into specific instances brought to its attention. The Human Relations Commission will cooperate with designated University personnel to assist in a uniform application of its merit employment policy, and is receiving excellent help in this joint endeavor.[6]

It may very well be that those Negroes who apply for the better paying jobs at the University of Illinois are less qualified than their white competitors as determined by the civil service examinations and that the University nonacademic employment is "guiltless" and its merit employment policy "faultless." It would appear from an analysis of the 105 respondents interviewed (to be discussed in greater detail later) that the employment practices prevailing over the years, in both the public and private sectors of C-U, deterred trained Negroes with high aspirations from coming to this community, and caused many Negroes who were born or have lived in C-U since childhood to be dissatisfied with the job opportunities in C-U, and thus to seek their fortune elsewhere.

This built-in response to the lack of adequate job opportunities, which has also profoundly affected the white sections of the small urban communities throughout the country, leaves as candidates for jobs those with less training and those newly arrived from the South to whom the job offerings in C-U are a great improvement over share-cropping and the low paying jobs back home. The absence of Negroes in the better paying jobs at the University of Illinois may very well reflect this "natural" process of selection.

However, another "natural" phenomenon has had the reverse effect by bringing professionals and technicians to C-U and has altered the employment picture of Negroes who reside in C-U. Since the end of World War II but with concentrated effort during and since the Korean War, the armed services of our country brought an end to segregation in their establishments and sought with "deliberate speed" to integrate its personnel.[7] Chanute Field, fourteen miles from C-U became a part of this effort. As a result many Negroes have been sent to training school at this Air Force base and many Negro professional and nonprofessional civil service employees have been hired. For most of the Negroes employed at Chanute, the city of Rantoul, located beyond the gates of the base, does not provide adequate housing and recreational facilities. Many of them have made their home in C-U. Consequently the process has been the reverse of that set into motion by the lack of adequate job opportunities in C-U: the opportunities for Negroes at Chanute has brought to C-U professional and highly trained Negroes and with them

wives and children with greater job training and experience than those who were born here or came to C-U via other routes.

These new people naturally wanted new jobs not traditionally allocated to Negroes in C-U. Their determination to find non-menial jobs was one cause of the stirring in the Negro community after the announcement that J. C. Penney would soon open a major department store in C-U. It was rumored (possibly in error) that nationally J. C. Penney had a very liberal policy and hired Negroes in many job categories, although locally in a smaller store in adjacent Urbana, J. C. Penney did not hire Negroes. Nevertheless, the rumor heightened the expectations of those seeking sales jobs.

There was still another reason that the opening of a new department store aroused more than passing interest in the Negro community. The Negro ministers of the all C-U Negro North End Ministers Association, which had been in existence for three years and which had been formed to unite the Negro ministers of the Negro community for common social, economic and political action, took special note of this potential opportunity for jobs. Although the North End Ministers Association did not take official notice of the opportunity for jobs for Negroes at the J. C. Penney store, all of its ministers, with one exception, responded to the original call by Rev. Graves, one of their number, to discuss doing something about getting jobs for Negroes at the new store. The ministers decided to urge their parishioners to apply for sales jobs at J. C. Penney and to report their experiences.

This self-involvment of the ministers in the employment problems of their parishioners is not an entirely new phenomenon in the Negro community, but the nature of their involvment was considerably different from what it had been in the past, nationally and locally. Nationally, since the end of slavery and up to the early thirties, the Negro minister had been the main spokesman for the Negro people. He represented the Negro people before the councils of the white economic and political community leaders; "the preacher stood as the acknowledged local leader of the Negroes."[8] He went to white political leaders to ask for aid for his parishioners in "trouble"; he served as the recognized spokesman to present the Negro community's grievances, needs and desires; he sought jobs for his "flock" from the white merchants and from the "rich white folks," and was called upon for job and character references. In many instances his stamp of approval as to the reliability, honesty and willingness of an applicant to work hard was sought and [was] a necessary condition for employment. "He was the typical accommodating Negro leader";[9] he lectured his people on how they should conduct themselves in a white man's world. He calmed their frustrations, their weariness from their back breaking toil and their suffering, that comes from too much work and very little pay, by directing their attention to the greater rewards awaiting them in Eternity if they comported themselves in the "ways" of God and shunned sin.

But with the many crises that ushered in the twentieth century and profoundly altered the life of the Negro in America, there was also a

considerable change in the role of the Negro minister. The Great Depression saw an upsurge in the development of the Negro protest movements, with the Negro minister (he too was unemployed) as part of the drive to alleviate the suffering of the Negro people, who had been the hardest hit of all Americans by the economic disaster. Specifically, the greatest change in the preacher's role came as a result of the great exodus from the South and the creation of the Negro ghettos in the North.[10] The needs of the rapidly growing industrial machine spurred on by the two world wars, the boll weevil which impoverished southern agriculture, the international reduction in the demand for U.S. cotton, mechanization of agriculture[11] and the reduced need for farm manpower,[12] all contributed to and stimulated the migration of the Negro from the Southern farm. At first the exodus was only to the North but later on the move was to the Southern urban centers as well. In the North where the Negroes were forced into ghettos, the powerful Negro political leader emerged and replaced the Negro minister as spokesman, intervener, and "job-getter" for his people. Often it was the same preacher sans religious vestments who became the political leader. Those that remained at the pulpit became closely allied with the political boss but very definitely second in influence in the community particularly with regard to finding employment opportunities for their constituents and helping them when they were in financial distress. In the South the Negro minister's influence also waned because his heavenly solution was being less readily accepted and because his parishioners now had an alternative to living in the depressed and degrading conditions

in the rural South. The glowing accounts in letters sent "home" by relatives telling of the good life up North and the open invitation to join them loosened the umbilical cord which tied the parishioner to his minister. But any minister remaining in the rural South continued in the role of spokesman, go-between and employment counsellor, although he was held in a somewhat less exalted position by his people. It must also be added that the more forward-looking minister packed his meagre belongings in his vestments and joined his flock up North.

In the smaller urban centers of the North like C-U, where the need for manpower for the industrial machine was not very great and where only the traditional non-farm menial jobs were available to Negroes, Negroes never came in large number; that is, they never came in large enough numbers to constitute an electorate great enough to influence considerably the outcome of elections and therefore to develop powerful political leaders. Furthermore, the small urban communities did not offer the economic opportunities to entice those interested in upward mobility and thus a sizeable middle class was absent. Those two factors left the Negro minister unchallenged and not much changed in the small urban communities and he continued to perform a role similar to that which he performed in the South. Also, the small urban community found the Negro minister and his church very much under the control of the white community. The Negro minister always had to consider the church mortgage held by the local bank in whatever he did. In the absence of a substantial Negro middle class he was faced with a congregation whose members were working at jobs that paid

wages on a bare subsistence level. The Negro minister could not provide for his own salary and maintain the church on the weekly collection; he needed financial assistance from the "benevolent" white leaders. His financial problem was not aided by the presence of an exceptionally large number of competing churches which resulted from a "scramble for leadership and control [which] led to schisms, withdrawals and reorganization."[13] In addition, particularly in the largest of the Negro churches, the Baptist, where ministers are elected to- and removed from- their posts by the congregation, the ministers had to be responsive to the will of their parishioners, who in turn were dependent on the white community for their livelihood. The Board of Deacons, especially those who escaped the distasteful, degrading and impoverished conditions of the South and who were now doing well by comparison, were not overly anxious to rock the boat and would not hesitate to throttle an overzealous minister. In the small Northern urban community, the Negro minister was far from free to pursue his own militant desires for freedom, if he was so inclined, and so he persisted (like his Southern counterpart) in serving as a buffer and a mediator between the Negro and white community long after the great exodus from the South. He neither made demands on the white community leaders nor encouraged his congregation to militancy.

However, the conditions which stimulated the exodus from the rural South set into motion a whole series of dynamic social, economic and political changes which altered the position of Negroes in America;

and new generations, more distantly removed in time and attitude from the South, brought to the small urban community, such as C-U, a new type of minister. The new minister was a product of the greater job opportunities in the industrial plants, the greater educational opportunities concomitant with the growing financial stability of his family, the opening of schools to Negroes, and the contact with the great protest movements that flavored the decade prior to World War II. Some of the new ministers lived in the South only a few years during their infancy before they were brought to the North by their parents.

Of particular significance in the education of Negro ministers is the fact that very few were able to attend school without working and without interruption. The overwhelming number of them, and this is true of all the Negro ministers of C-U, had to work and provide for families while they prepared for their calling. And where did they work? They worked in the industrial plants; few were able to break the color barrier in the trades.[14] In the mass production factories they came into contact with the new labor movement, the C.I.O., a new type of union organization in which the zeal and democratic ideals of its leaders, in the formative years of their work, inspired the industrial workers generally and particularly the Negro worker. The C.I.O.'s acceptance of unskilled workers and Negroes into democratic organizations gave Negroes their first opportunity for job security, for a voice in determining the conditions of their labor, and for being a part of the policy-making bodies of their organization.[15] Their union experience stimulated them to act

and taught them how to act against problems off the job as well as on it.

By the time the new Negro minister arrived in the small urban community the financial burden that plagued his predecessor was partially solved. Although he still had a difficult problem requiring a great deal of his attention, he could keep the church roof over his congregation's head and at the same time have enough for his salary. With greater job opportunities and a higher income, the congregation provided their minister with the means to solve the major financial problems without having to go begging "hat in hand" for financial assistance from the white community.[16]

The church's financial independence from the white community was demonstrated in C-U in the campaign to get sales jobs for Negroes at J. C. Penney. In order to further their work to secure more job opportunities for Negroes, the ministers proceeded to set up a permanent organization- The Champaign-Urbana Improvement Association. The proposed slate of officers and executive board members for the new organization included mainly the Negro ministers. Several of the lay people objected on the grounds that since the individual ministers are not permanent in the community, the continuity of the work of the organization would suffer and would be interrupted every time a minister left. The ministers countered that although they understood the objection and certainly had no desire to dominate the organization, they felt it was important for the strategy of the organization that they, whose income and position were entirely dependent on their devotion to the needs, aspirations and desires of their congregation, and who therefore could not be reached by pressure from the white community,

should take the lead. They argued that the Negro lay leaders of the movement, who in the main were professional and non-professional civil-service workers, were too vulnerable and that their jobs would be in jeopardy if they took a militant stand. The ministers were willing and indeed insisted, like their counterparts elsewhere,[17] that they be the ones to take the risks because they were the most insulated from attack from outside the community.

However, it must be made clear, in order to avoid the mistake of overstating the independence of the new Negro minister, that he is not entirely free to do as he wishes inside and outside his church. Although he is relatively free of the financial problems that plagued his predecessor and does not have to go "hat in hand" to the white community begging, he still has to satisfy a heterogenous group of church members, who have varying degrees of sensitivity to their race problems and varying degrees of commitments to their religious dogma. Many in his congregation believe firmly that the ultimate solution to all human problems comes only through prayer and divine intervention. Many do not look very favorably on their minister walking the streets wearing a sandwich sign. These members of the church expect the minister to devote his time to helping them work for their salvation and will not tolerate the extensive use of the pulpit and their services for what they consider extra-church activities.

Of the 105 respondents to the schedule used in this study, 78 per cent affirmed church membership. The respondents, in evaluating the various techniques for ending job discrimination responded to the statement,

"Praying to change men so that they may be moved to accept the Golden Rule is a ____method for getting companies to employ Negroes," as follows: 56 per cent rated it an excellent method, 19 per cent a good method, 11 per cent a partially good method, 11 per cent not good and 1 per cent harmful. These percentages would seem to indicate a high proportion of C-U's Negroes are still deeply committed to the instrumentality of religion and have not adopted the social gospel.

The Negro ministers of C-U expressed a willingness to take a lead in the C-U Improvement Association and demonstrated beyond any doubt, by their involvement in the J. C. Penney campaign, their devotion to the cause of race betterment. But they did not, according to the estimation of some of the lay leaders, devote very much time in their services to advancing the J. C. Penney campaign. Several of the lay leaders said that at most five to ten minutes during a Sunday service was all that was allotted to agitation for greater participation in the Penney campaign and that in most of the churches only the dutiful reading of campaign announcements was the extent of the churches' involvement.

There is no doubt that the Negro ministers of C-U are aware of the attitudes, sentiments and desires of their membership and find it necessary to temper their own personal desires for the sake of church unity and harmony. But the "new minister" can be distinguished from his predecessor in that he is devoting a great deal more of his own time to race problems and is attempting, although perhaps cautiously, to make a break with the traditional conception of his role as shepherd rather than leader of his flock.

What has been described above as the characteristics and experiences of the new Negro minister who replaced the accommodating preacher is an apt description of the four leading Negro ministers in C-U who were urging their congregations in the first months of 1961 to apply for sales jobs at the new J. C. Penney department store. All of them had left the South in their early years, all of them worked while they went to school, all of them worked in industrial plants and came into contact with the C.I.O., two of them were C.I.O. stewards, and all of them in one way or another participated in the protest movements that developed in the 1940's.

It was consistent with the C-U Negro ministers' training, experience and conception of their role in the community that when the first advertisements appeared on Sunday, March 12, and Monday, March 13, placed by the Illinois State Employment Service in both of the local newspapers, they heightened their activity in urging their parishioners to apply for the J. C. Penney sales jobs advertised.

Both the ministers and many others in the Negro community who were watching carefully the coming of J. C. Penney to C-U were particularly elated that the advertisements did not make experience a requirement. Obviously such a requirement would have eliminated almost everyone in the Negro community as a possible applicant and given a "good excuse" to J.C. Penney's management for not accepting Negro applicants. About ten two-by-four inch advertisements announced that the Illinois State Employment Service would accept applications for jobs at J. C. Penney; one of the ads read in part: "Penney's in downtown Champaign needs 150 first

quality salesladies, age 18-50, high school education required.[18] Nowhere in any of the ads were the words "experience necessary" printed in any form.

The Illinois State Employment Service processed all the applications and sent all the Negroes (18-20) who had the high school requirement for an interview with the manager, Mr. Myers, at J. C. Penney. Mr. Myers interviewed all applicants, both Negro and white, but as far as it was known to those interested, he did not hire any Negro sales clerks.

There was another group in C-U, the Council for Community Integration (C.C.I.) that was also vitally interested in determining the hiring policy of J. C. Penney. Ever since its formation in May of 1956, after a successful campaign in which 1500 people signed an open letter containing a simple statement of belief in merit employment and in non-discrimination,[19] C.C.I. had worked diligently and continuously with "its main objective the general improvement of the climate of opinion in the total community concerning the needs for and benefits of integration in all areas."[20] Membership in the C.C.I. was made up of white citizens connected with the academic community of the University of Illinois and lay and religious leaders in the Negro community. It was not a rank and file organization; it was a top level pressure group. Its efforts were directed mainly to the white community leaders, both political and economic, to use their good offices to end discriminatory practices. When it became known to the members of the Employment Committee that J. C. Penney was opening a new store, they prompted the action of the C-U Human Relations Commission in

intervening for a policy of nondiscrimination. In a letter to the Human Relations Commission the J.C. Penney management stated that "prior to the actual hiring of personnel," it had "given assurances that the chain's national policy of merit employment would be followed."[21] But when it appeared that no Negro sales personnel was being hired, the Employment Committee of C.C.I. sought to intervene and arranged to meet with the manager, Mr. Myers, on Thursday, March 23. Those of the C.C.I. who met with Mr. Myers were a white Labor and Industrial Relations professor at the University of Illinois, a white graduate student in mathmatics, and a Negro minister. To this committee Mr. Myers maintained that none of the eighteen-twenty Negroes referred to him by the Illinois State Employment Service were experienced.

The Negro minister who took part in the meeting with Mr. Myers reported the interview on March 31 at the Good Friday services, where according to custom the combined congregations of all Negro churches in C-U met for joint worship. Later he discovered that one of his parishioners who had been interviewed by Mr. Myers was able to produce an excellent letter of recommendation which she had shown to Mr. Myers, from a department store in Denver, Colorado, where she had worked for ten years as a saleslady, and had been at one point a manager of a department. This information, as it circulated throughout the community from every pulpit via the enraged members of the ministerial association and filtered into every tavern in the community, incensed the Negro population.

This Negro saleswoman was to become for C-U what Rosa Parks

was for the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott movement. Rosa Parks was "a charming person with a radiant personality, soft spoken and calm in all situations. Her character was impeccable and her dedication deep-rooted. All of these traits together made her one of the most respected people in the Negro community."[22] When on December 1, 1955, returning home from work, tired from long hours on her feet, she was ordered by the bus operator to give up her seat for a white person, and when she was arrested and fingerprinted for refusing to do so, it was more than the Montgomery Negro community could tolerate.[23] Reverend Martin Luther King writes:

> No one can understand the action of Mrs. Parks unless he realizes that eventually the cup of endurance runs over, and the human personality cries out, 'I can take it no longer.' Mrs. Parks' refusal to move back was her intrepid affirmation that she had enough. It was an individual expression of a timeless longing for human dignity and freedom. She was not 'planted' there (as it was charged) by the N.A.A.C.P., or any other organization; she was planted there by her personal sense of dignity and self-respect. She was anchored to that seat by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn. She was a victim of both the forces of history and the forces of destiny. She had been tracked down by the Zeitgeist- the spirit of the time.[24]

The turning down of the Negro saleswoman with ten years sales experience and excellent recommendations, when one-hundred and fifty sales jobs were being offered, caught the "spirit of the time" and ignited the fire that culminated in the picketing of the J.C. Penney Department Store. Equally insulting and which contributed to the indignation in the community was the fact that Penney's did hire a Negro woman as a stock

clerk who had many years of experience as a stenographer and gave their stenography job to a less qualified white person.

However, few people who had been in close contact with the C-U Negro community over the years, particularly those who had attempted in the past to stimulate and organize a protest movement, would have predicted that the people could become so aroused as to be willing to participate in what was to be a new and unique experience for the Negro community; i.e. the establishment of a picket line to demand that J. C. Penney give a few of the Negro citizens of C-U jobs as sales clerks. Never before in its history had so militant an action emanated from the Negro community; an action organized solely and participated in, almost exclusively, by Negroes. No action in the recent past would have suggested that so many of the forces in the community could be successfully united to take such a militant stand.

In the spring of 1961 an attempt had been made by the Christian Youth Council, an organization formed in the Salem Baptist Church under the guidance of Reverend Eugene Williams. The organization, made up of twelve to fifteen seniors and juniors of Champaign and Urbana High Schools, selected as its leaders Clarence Thomas, Bill Smith and others. Their objective was to try to improve the part-time job situation for high school youth for the summer, as well as to address themselves to the long-range problem of job opportunities when they graduated from high school. The organization arranged for a meeting with the manager of the W. T. Grant store in Champaign, but when their delegation showed up for the meeting it was directed to the assistant manager, who pleaded that in

the absence of the manager, out of town on vacation, he could not be of any help to them. The Saturday after the meeting members of the organization stood at the doors of W. T. Grant's and counted the number of Negroes that came out with packages as against the number of whites. In that way they were able to inform the assistant manager in the meeting the following Monday that 35 per cent of his customers were Negro and that they were contemplating a boycott unless Negroes were hired on the same basis as white people at Grant's. This time the assistant manager argued that the W. T. Grant store could not be alone in breaking C-U's traditional hiring policies.

As angry and as determined as they were, the members of the Christian Youth Council were unable to solidify enough sentiment and fervor among the youth and adults of their community to mount a boycott of W. T. Grant's. This same group also, at the suggestion of Clarence Thomas, who was later to be in the first contingent of "Freedom Riders" that invaded the bus terminal of Montgomery, Alabama, was contemplating picketing the yearly Labor Day parade in C-U, but was unable to get enough support for their effort. When Clarence Thomas, Bill Smith and the other youth leaders went to college in the fall, the organization folded for want of leadership[25] and of active and united support of both adults and youth in the Negro community.

Reverend Williams had also made an unsuccessful attempt in 1959 to bring together the community forces to fight against segregation and for better job opportunities. He noted that there were approximately thirty social and fraternal organizations in the Negro community each

pursuing its own narrow objectives. In an interview Reverend Williams characterized these organizations by saying, "They have no real purpose; they are paraders; they dress up as clowns. Reverend Williams attempted to bring these groups together into a community council for the purpose of having them address themselves jointly to the problems of the community, but was unsuccessful.

Some of the same ministers who were to lead the J. C. Penney campaign had organized a North End Ministerial Association in 1958. Although all the Negro ministers are members of the C-U Ministerial Alliance, with open membership for all ministers, Negro and white, some of the Negro ministers felt that in addition there was a need for their own association. In 1959 they chose as their first major project the election of Kenneth Stratton to the City Council. This sixth grade school teacher with a master's degree in education, who had been employed by the Champaign school system for nine years, lost by only sixteen votes, and the near success demonstrated to the ministerial association and to the population as a whole the possibilities that lay ahead in united community action. Between 1936 and this unsuccessful effort to elect a city councilman, the C-U Negro community had lain politically stagnant and relied in the main on the "favors" they were able to get through the few Negro politicians designated by the white leaders of the Republican Party in Champaign County. Those who needed relief, aid to dependent children, public housing, etc., were greatly aided by the designated Negro political leaders. However, the significant feature of this type of political spoils

system was the total absence of a formal or informal Negro political organization to whom the political leader was accountable and to whom the people could complain if they were not treated fairly. The Negro community political leaders had to do what was acceptable to their white political superiors; but they did not have to be responsive to any local community desire since there was no effective organizational means of applying pressure.

In the campaign shortly after World War II that resulted in the segregated public housing projects (C-U has two housing projects for white families and two smaller ones for Negro families), it was primarily outside forces that promoted the projects in C-U. The Champaign chapter of the League of Women Voters, who were unalterably opposed to segregated housing but who were nevertheless forced by the white political leaders to accept it if they wanted any public housing at all, provided most of the personnel for the campaign. (This was prior to the time when non-discrimination was expressly mandatory in Public Housing.) They were able to get the News Gazette (one of the two local daily newspapers) to run stories and publish pictures of the horrible conditions in the Negro ghetto. Based on these moving accounts of the subhuman housing conditions, public housing was brought to C-U. To be sure, some Negroes participated in the effort to improve the housing conditions via public housing, but mainly the protest came from outside the Negro community.

Since the depression years the community had had no political or protest organization through which to channel the mass sentiment of its people toward effective action. The only sizeable all-Negro protest movement took place concomitant with the economic crisis. In 1930 the first precinct(the present C-U Negro community which at that time was only slightly more than half Negro)was the largest precinct in the county and voted 95 per cent Republican. In recognition of that political fact one Negro had a job with the Street Cleaning Department of Champaign, four Negro men worked at the University and one other Negro had a state job as School Inspector. But this meager offering of jobs could hardly still the Negro community, which was feeling the full impact of the economic disaster. They organized themselves into the Douglass League as an instrument for political pressure and selected Richard Edwards as their first president. Their initial objective was to remove the first precinct Republican Committeeman, who was too wrapped up in Republican Party politics and philosophy and in the traditional accommodating role to be responsive to the needs of his people. In 1932 when the opportunity presented itself, the Douglass League ran Richard Edwards against Billy Williams, the regular party's Negro candidate, and much to the surprise of many a political observer, Richard Edwards was victorious.

In 1934 and 1936 the "regulars" of the Republican Party ran Negro opponents against Richard Edwards; both times Richard Edwards was victorious. One of his opponents, Al Rivers, was made a policeman as a consolation prize, a job he held until recently. The white machine

could not beat Richard Edwards, and so they were extremely delighted when in the fall of 1936 he accepted a post-office job, with Hatch Act impediments, for which he had officially qualified. That year Champaign County revised the precinct boundaries and cut the first precinct into three precincts. This was obviously an effort to break up the unity created by the Douglass League by setting up three separate "fiefs."

After Richard Edwards was conveniently where he would be able to do the least amount of independent work, Joe Somers was selected, as was explained by a white political leader in the Republican Party, "to do the dirty work for the Party in the Negro community."[26] Somers was elected committeeman for the new first precinct and was elected to the non-salaried post of Justice of the Peace.

However, in 1961 when an annual salary of $8,000 was provided for the Justice of the Peace, one of the white leaders of the Republican Party decided to oppose Joe Somers in the primary. Although some of the ministers and lay leaders in the community were not too happy with Joe Somers, they nevertheless were incensed to learn that when the office of Justice of the Peace was elevated to a paying job, some of the white political leaders wanted to "dump" Joe Somers, who had served them loyally for twenty years. Also, they were aware that Joe Somers was performing a vital service for the Negro community; it is to him the people turn when they become destitute and need relief or aid to dependent children. It was for these reasons that the ministers pitched in to assure the election of Joe Somers for Justice of the Peace and of course their own choice, Kenneth Stratton, for City Councilman.

It is important to note that the election campaign of 1961 came at the same time that the community leaders were preparing their campaign to get sales jobs at J. C. Penney and that the ministers and the lay leaders wanted to be absolutely certain that the J. C. Penney campaign in no way jeopardized the election of their candidates. They prepared in secret for the picketing of J. C. Penney and did not announce publicly their intention to picket until after Somers and Stratton had won. Prior to and during the week of the election (on Tuesday April 4) three training sessions were held to prepare the designated pickets for the beginning of picketing on Thursday, April 6.

Of course victory in the election campaign encouraged greater activity in the J. C. Penney campaign. The fact that Kenneth Stratton got a total of 3,275 votes of which only 858 came from the Negro community was a clear indication there was plenty of "good will" in the white community that could be utilized to aid the boycott of J. C. Penney. But by far the most significant accomplishment in both the election and the J. C. Penney campaign was that the ministers were able to unify the community in a common action and to provide an organizational structure, which was totally and deliberately absent in the political work of the Negro community. Not since the Douglass League had an effectively unified organization been brought together to channel the grievances of the community. The white leaders of the Republican Party recognized the potentialities of a unified Negro community in 1936 when they broke up the one precinct in the Negro community into three. The new Negro ministers who came to

preach and pray in C-U and who brought with them their experiences which taught them the need for united action, also recognized the value of an effective organizational structure and a unified leadership and proceeded to develop both.

In addressing themselves to the problem that presented itself when J. C. Penney refused to hire Negro sales clerks, the leading Negro ministers dipped into their work experience[27] and came up with the decision to picket J. C. Penney. However, the decision was made with a great deal of apprehension and considerable caution. Nothing like picketing a downtown store had ever been done by the Negro community and therefore no experience was available to predict how the community at large would respond to such a call. The ministers were neither certain that they would bring out enough willing people to sustain the picket line as long as necessary; nor that the people would sanction a picket line. If anything, the general apathy that had existed in the community over the years seemed to indicate that it was too much to expect sustained picketing. The ministers were therefore mindful that a failure in such a venture would have far-reaching repercussions and set the cause of desegregation in C-U back many years. It was with these uncertainties in mind that the ministers moved cautiously along their uncharted path and held two tense meetings with lay leaders before they decided to picket.

It was Wednesday, March 22, when Rev. Graves called together the ministers and a number of Negro lay people (a social worker, an instructor at Chanute Field, a newspaper man, one school teacher, a

dietician, and a college student who lived in the community) met to map out a plan of attack against J. C. Penney. They decided to call a mass meeting for Monday, March 27, and to recommend picketing the J. C. Penney store for one day. The proposal for a one day stand reflected the concern of some of the ministers and their uncertainty as to the kind of support they would receive. They argued that if they got a good turn-out and the people showed good spirit, they would then suggest a continuation of picketing but not anticipate the outcome. Finally a compromise was adopted. All agreed to picket on a day-to-day basis. In the meeting on March 27, the steering committee was empowered to decide each day whether picketing was to be continued. The mass meeting, publicized from all the pulpits on Palm Sunday, March 26, was poorly attended. However, those that did attend were the religious and lay leaders plus the applicants for sales jobs, with their relatives and friends; most of them eagerly volunteered for picket duty. In subsequent meetings which were well attended, the older Negro women and a few men and women from the white community joined the ranks of the volunteers.

Another problem faced by the leaders of the movement was communications; they wanted to reach as much of the community as possible on a day-to-day basis. They could not rely solely on announcements from the pulpits; that method was not always successful. At the first mass meeting a publicity committee was selected with a subcommittee to organize the distribution of the written material and announcements. The first mimeographed piece of material announcing a boycott of J. C. Penney

went out April 5 via the newly organized channels of communication-a system of six geographically located section captains, who were responsible to the chairman of the subcommittee on publicity, and who in turn had the material delivered on a house-to-house basis. Subsequent notices and a newsletter were distributed through the six section captains. This successful organization of an effective communication system was also new and different for the Negro community of C-U. In addition the ministers sought to utilize the two daily newspapers of C-U to disseminate information to both the Negro and white community. (The ministers were counting heavily on good will and support for the boycott from the academic community.) However, the daily newspapers, with the exception of a few lines in the Champaign-Urbana Courier's story on the opening of J. C. Penney, enforced a news blackout of the picketing. It was reported that Dick Icen of the News Gazette wrote a story about the first day of picketing, but it never appeared.[28] The ministers made a determined effort to get the news of the picketing printed but were unsuccessful. However, both local papers did print many letters to the editor about the picketing. The ministers wanted the publicity not only to alert the Negro and white communities but also to have a logical explanation for calling off the picketing if it was not highly successful. They wanted to be able to say that the major purpose of the picketing was to inform both the Negro and white communities of the undemocratic practices of J. C. Penney and then to let the public decide whether or not they wanted to buy at the new store.

The downtown merchants who had heard about the proposed picketing were willing to bet it would not materialize and that if it did it would last only a few days. A person interviewed for this study, who had been actively engaged in the campaign, reported that a merchant said, "Don't worry, they won't do that; we have good Niggers." The day before the picketing was to start Mr. Myers asked Rev. Williams, one of the leaders of the Negro community and a member of the Champaign Human Relations Commission, to use his influence to call off the beginning of the picketing for a few days. The Chamber of Commerce called Rev. Graves, another leader, and asked him to postpone it until after the ribbon cutting ceremony and then "you can picket all you want."[29] The Chamber of Commerce, which represents all the white business leaders of the community, were certain that the picketing would fizzle out. About 200 different people walked the line in front of J. C. Penney's department store. After weeks the number of volunteers continued to grow. A mass meeting was planned for Saturday, April 29, at the West Side Park for a mass demonstration and for picketing of all the downtown stores. The previous Tuesday, Kenneth Stratton, the newly elected City Councilman, was called by one of C-U's white business leaders to negotiate a settlement. Kenneth Stratton called the ministers for permission to act for them; they agreed. In the small hours of Wednesday, April the 26th, Rev. Graves, Rev. Williams and Rev. Curry read over the written proposal and tentatively agreed to the settlement. J. C. Penney would have a Negro sales clerk on the floor a week from that Saturday - May 6th.

The C.C.I. wrote in its Newsletter:

> Probably the most significant, and certainly the most successful, blow against discrimination in the recent history of Champaign came to a successful conclusion on Wednesday, April 26. That day saw the signing of a written agreement between the management of the new J. C. Penney store and the Negro community, represented by its ministers under the leadership of Rev. J. E. Graves, for the prompt employment of at least one Negro salesperson. Immediately thereafter pledges were made by responsible officers of all the other major Champaign department stores to employ Negroes in sales positions either by specified dates or as vacancies occur. Goldblatts' Country Fair store, on Saturday, April 29, had Negro sales clerks actually at work in their housewares gloves and "bargain" departments. It is hoped that by the time this NEWSLETTER is received other stores will also have Negro sales personnel on their payrolls.[30]

The details of the events leading up to the victory for the Negro community, although indeed very fascinating, are in themselves unimportant. The purpose they serve is to hammer home what in hindsight is obvious; that the Negro community over the years has qualitatively changed. Not only were there new Negro ministers in C-U, new people brought in via Chanute Field, and a new generation, but a new spirit - the Negro of C-U had a new conception of himself. In short there was a new Negro in Champaign-Urbana!

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

Before launching into an analysis of the population characteristics of the C-U Negro community at the time it exploded against the failure of J. C. Penney to hire Negro sales personnel, it is necessary to discuss in some detail the research methods used in this study.

Five sources for obtaining data were used. (1) 105 Negroes were interviewed from a randomly selected sample based on a schedule.[31] (2) The U. S. Census from 1910 through 1960 were utilized for demographic data. (3) Information from studies of C-U done in the past by students, professors and organizations were utilized. (4) Eleven non-focused interviews were obtained from some of the Negro leaders who received the largest number of responses to the question in the schedule which asked the respondent to name an outstanding leader in the community. One white community leader so named was also interviewed. (5) Six non-focused interviews were solicited from those leaders not named by the respondents but who are actively engaged in community work and who were recommended by those leaders named by the respondents. The five sources were interrelated to give meaning to the raw data and to obtain as accurate a picture as possible.

In order to obtain a random sample of the population of the Negro community, the boundary lines of the ghetto were ascertained by an on-the-spot survey of the areas involved and plotted on a map. At first

it was thought that the Negro ghetto was a contiguous area with a large number of families--twenty-seven--living outside its boundaries.[32] But upon a direct examination of the blocks in which the twenty-seven Negro families lived, it was found that most of these families inhabited small ghettoized pockets outside the central Negro district and that these areas did not differ substantially in character from the central Negro community. Others of those twenty-seven Negro families lived adjacent to the Negro community in extensions of the ghetto. The pattern in those blocks followed the typical ecological process in which the more prosperous white families, after many generations of occupancy, moved farther from the center of the city, leaving their worn-out buildings for Negroes to purchase or rent. Only four or five of the twenty-seven families represented a clear-cut break in the well entrenched system of excluding Negroes.

Several of the Negro leaders interviewed suggested that far from breaking the pattern of housing segregation in C-U, they are being pushed within well circumscribed boundaries. They noted that pockets outside the general area of the ghetto were areas in which Negroes originally settled when they came to C-U.

In a study of Negroes in C-U in 1934, Janet Andrews Cromwell presented maps showing the distribution of C-U's Negro population in 1878, 1904 and 1932.[33] According to her population distribution maps of 1878 there were many more Negroes living outside the present ghetto area than inside it; the same pattern of open occupancy is indicated on the 1904 population distribution map with an increase in the C-U Negro

population from 173 in 1870 to 876 in 1910. However, the distribution map of 1932 shows that by that time a well defined Negro residential area little different from the present circumscribed area, which extends a few blocks more at the southern boundary, had been established. The increase in the Negro population in the two decades from 1910 to 1930 was from 876 to 1,922, an increase from 4 per cent to 6 per cent of the total C-U population. But in 1932 Negroes still lived outside the present Negro area in greater numbers than in 1904 and in greater numbers than they presently live outside the ghetto and sub-ghettos, and were more widely dispersed throughout C-U. Two other characteristics of the residential pattern for Negroes in 1932 are important to note: "The percentage of Negro dwellings to total used dwellings was 48.6 per cent in this area"[34] (of high Negro concentration); and for a period during the early years of the great Depression there was a reversal in the movement of whites out of the circumscribed area--whites began to move back into the cheaper rental units.

It is evident from the above population data that the residential land use pattern recorded in most Northern cities as greater numbers of Negroes were attracted to them was likewise the pattern for C-U.[35] In the early decades after Reconstruction when Negroes were few in number in Northern cities, they were widely dispersed in the community and no definite Jim-Crow pattern developed. But as their numbers increased the "city fathers," particularly the real estate interests among them,

began to develop formal and informal devices to restrict Negroes to circumscribed areas. In C-U two methods were used to push the Negroes to the "north end of town": the denial of real estate mortgages to Negroes anywhere outside the prescribed boundary line, and the operation of the unwritten code of the local organization of the National Association of Real Estate Boards prohibiting the sale of property outside the ghetto to Negroes.

The purpose of this discussion of the residential pattern for Negroes in C-U is to demonstrate that the present Negro families (with the exception of four or five) who inhabit areas outside the main ghetto neither live in new areas opened to Negroes, nor represent, by their presence outside the main ghetto, a break with the traditional policy of exclusion; and that C-U Negroes have made no major effort to break the chains that bind them to the prescribed areas.

One of the areas I have designated as a subghetto was discussed by Miss Cromwell in her study. She writes:

> The map of distribution for 1932... shows an increase in the number of Negroes living in the northwest section of Champaign on Maple Street, between State and Lynn Streets. ...In this section, the same Negroes have owned their homes for years. Because the area in 1932 was predominately a white neighborhood, and the number of Negroes who were living there, in the minority, one might expect this to be an exclusive [prestigeful] Negro section in which the Negroes who lived there enjoyed a certain amount of social prestige. Among the Negro town people, this section was not considered to be of any higher social importance than any part of town in which the Negro groups reside.[36]

Since 1932 more Negroes have moved into that area and those "Negro town people" whom I interviewed in the spring of 1961 were of the same opinion about most of the Negro areas outside the main ghetto.

Therefore, in delineating the C-U Negro population all the households within the boundary lines, plus the homes of the twenty-seven families, were listed. This list was made up from the C-U city directory of 1960 by recording the addresses listed for each block within the circumscribed area. This process netted a total of 1229 dwelling units. A random number selected was five. Beginning with five, every tenth house on the list was made part of the sample. By this procedure 122 housing units were designated as part of the sample. One-hundred and ten people were interviewed of which eight were white; of the remaining twelve housing units, five occupants refused to be interviewed, four buildings were unoccupied, one potential respondent was in the hospital, and in two units the occupants were never at home.

At first there was some apprehension about the possibility of running into single dwelling units used as multi-dwelling units, but not listed as such in the C-U directory. However, it was found that there were very few such dwelling units in the sample. In most instances the houses were much too small for more than one family to occupy. Where there was more than one nuclear family, they lived as a single family unit with the grandmother or aunt as the head of the household. In a few cases where it was obvious that the house was used as a multi-dwelling unit, the person interviewed was the one who answered to the title "head of the household." It should also be pointed out in this connection that a number of former garages not listed as dwelling units in the city directory are being occupied as housing units, but this number was far too small to have

altered the sample in any significant way. Of those interviewed, 86 per cent lived in single dwelling units; of the 86 per cent, 7 per cent lived in single unit public housing; and the remaining 14 per cent lived in multi-dwelling units.

Eight of the housing units in the sample were inhabited by white families. All, with the exception of one family, lived at the fringes of the ghetto; the one exception was a long-time resident in the center of the community who had lived there thirty-two years. I interviewed six of the white people; two refused to be interviewed. The entire schedule was not administered to the white residents; all the attitude questions concerning methods of ending discrimination and segregation were omitted. Instead, the white respondents were asked, "How do you get along with your neighbors?" All of them gave as their answer excellent or very good; but it was apparent from what they said, that there was very little contact between them and their neighbors.

With so small a sample of white respondents, no definite pattern of characteristics was sought or could be ascertained. One white family was poverty stricken and lived in one of the most dilapidated houses in the community; another respondent was a domestic who did the ironing for her next door Negro neighbor. The white family that lived in the center of the community was originally a large family unit consisting of the head of the family-- a retired journeyman painter-- his wife and seven children, all now married and living elsewhere with the exception of one daughter and her two children, who still lived with her parents. All of

the children grew up in the Negro ghetto. No other items of interest or of any consequence were noted in this small sample of white residents.

The second source of data was the U.S. Census from 1900 through 1960. Unfortunately for this study, what would have been a perfect source of demographic data, since the 1960 census was taken a few months before the Negro community erupted, was confounded by the inclusion of the atypical University of Illinois population. An attempt was made to secure the U. of I. population characteristics, specifically a breakdown of the number of Negro male and female students. However, it was learned that for many years the University has not made a separate enumeration of Negro students in its total population; in no way does the University record the racial origins of its student or staff population. In attempting to learn the breakdown of the number of Negro male and female students, I was switched from office to office in the University hierarchy and finally reached the President's office. The best that one of the President's assistants would volunteer, after explaining the University policy, was to give an approximation of the number of Negroes based on, as he said, "my own observations from looking around campus." He approximated that there are about 500 Negro students with a male to female ratio of about 60 per cent to 40 per cent, about 300 males to 200 females. This ratio is different from that of the white student population, which has a three to one male to female ratio. To further confound what would have been excellent population data for the purposes of this study, the major

characteristics of the population in the census are broken down into white and non-white. "The color group designated as 'non-white' consists of such races as Negro, Indian, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Asian, Indian and Malayan races."[37] What percentage of the non-whites other than Negroes are students and what percentage are permanent residents of C-U? This would be extremely difficult to determine. However, since the "Characteristics of Population" data does give the members of each category of non-white in the C-U population and since the non-white total, other than Negro, constitutes a very insignificant part of the total population and are mainly students, they have been subtracted from the total population together with all other students. Therefore, demographic data, wherever presented, unless otherwise specified, exclude in the manner described above the University of Illinois student population.

The third source of information about the C-U community is taken from previous studies. The information derived from these sources is footnoted to indicate the source and the information the study provided. Some of the census data were taken from these studies.

The fourth source of information about the population under study was twelve interviews with some of the community leaders named in response to question 41 in the schedule, "Whom do you consider the most important citizen in your community?" Of the 105 respondents to the schedule in which they were asked to name a first, second and third choice, thirty-one did not respond, thirty-nine named one choice, twenty named two, fourteen named three and two named four leaders.

A total of thirty-seven individuals, both Negro and white, were named; seven were white and thirty Negro. The fact that seven white people were named is of some interest since the interviewers asked the respondents preferably to name people from the Negro community and interpreted for each respondent the word "citizen" in the question to mean a political, social, religious or business leader in the Negro community. However, if the respondent wanted to name a white person, his choice was recorded. Virgil Burgess, an elected Justice of the Peace who has held a political office in the county since 1932, was the only white "leader" named who was interviewed. Of the thirty Negro leaders named, four were landlords, seven were political leaders, three were leaders in fraternal organizations, four were ministers (the four that led the J. C. Penney picketing), two were teachers, one was a business man, three were "race betterment" leaders and six were ordinary citizens who were well liked by their neighbors. From this group of thirty, five political leaders, four ministers, two "race betterment" leaders and one leader of a fraternal organization were interviewed.

The fifth source of information about the Negro community and its history came from six non-focused interviews of community and race betterment leaders who were recommended by those leaders named in the schedule as people well versed in the affairs of the community. One of those is a school teacher, one a dietician, one a social service worker, one a clerical employee, one a housewife and one a sophmore in Political Science at the University of Illinois. (This same political science student

was also employed in this study and administered the schedule to 33 of the 105 respondents.)

The non-focused interviews of those who were named as leaders by the respondents to the schedule, and those who were in turn named as knowledgeable leaders in the community, lasted between one and four hours. In all instances the interviewer was invited to the leader's home for a "half-hour" interview, but it invariably lasted much longer. The average length of each interview was two and one-half hours. Neither the one interviewed nor the interviewer seemed to mind spending additional time discussing the Penney campaign, the history and conditions of the community, and the people who inhabited the "north end of town."

These interviews put meat on the bones of the raw data derived from the other sources. Without exception, those interviewed were well versed in the problems of their community and intimately immersed in seeking solutions to them. They seemed to welcome the opportunity to discuss their community and its people so that they could focus on the problems; most of them appeared to be thinking aloud and searching for new answers to the problems as they spoke.

Much of the insight into the reasons that the C-U Negro community exploded in the spring of 1961 was derived by piecing together the story of the J. C. Penney campaign as told by these community leaders. Each one of them, with differences in personalities, differences in orientation and differences in background, told the story from his own vantage point.

They interpreted the events, their roles and the roles of others according to what they conceived to be the necessities for victory. The circumstances surrounding one particular detail in the campaign makes their differential treatment of events clear.

Three of the Negro ministers interviewed, without a doubt, played the most significant roles in the campaign. It is universally agreed that it was they who united the community for the common action. However, in interviewing each of the Negro leaders separately it was impressive to learn that each had a different conception of the role that the ministers played. One of the ministers accused another one of the leading ministers, not by name, of throttling the militancy of the community and of blocking action in the North End Ministerial Association to the point that it almost led to cancellation of the picketing and to disaster. One of the political leaders (whom I would describe as conservative), in describing his role in the campaign, related that he convinced this same minister (whom he in turn thought extremely conservative) to continue the picketing. But when I interviewed this "conservative minister" I found him to have had more actual experiences as a militant leader and to have participated in far more demonstrative actions than the other ministers combined and certainly more than the other lay leaders. What they may not have been aware of, perhaps because they did not have much experience in demonstrative actions, was that a leader cannot march miles in front of his army or march without knowing whether his army is behind him. This "conservative" minister related in the interview that when the question of picketing was

being debated, he wanted to be sure that he had an army and that the army would be marching behind him. He wanted to be certain that the picketing would be successful and not fizzle out before it was well under way. If picketing was to be undertaken he insisted on an avenue for an organized retreat. The minister who criticized him, and the political leader who "convinced him," misunderstood, in my opinion, what was essentially the conservative minister's well thought out militant plan of action.

However, in spite of the differences in the interpretation given by those interviewed to the events in the campaign, to the meaning of C-U historical events and to the behavior patterns of the Negro population, it did not appear that any of the facts were in dispute. All the information gathered in the interviews contained essentially the same factual data. Nowhere did the interviewer encounter outright contradictory statements. Because the facts were in essence the same, the differences in interpretation stood out more sharply and meaningfully.

The interviewing of the randomly selected sample of C-U's Negro citizens raised many interesting problems. It had to be assumed that the ferment that was present in the C-U Black Ghetto would influence the responses to the schedule by the respondents and affect the rapport between the white interviewer and the Negro interviewee. The interviewing in the survey was done in the spring of 1961 when the Southern "Sit-in" demonstrations were at their height, as the "Freedom Riders" began to invade the bus terminals of the Southern citadels. It was at the time when schools had been closed to keep a few Negro children from sitting

in the same classroom with white children and to defy the Supreme Court decision. It was just after the season when the opening of schools for a new term saw men and women run after, spit on, kick and curse Negro mothers leading their children to school. Negro youth, adhering to the philosophy of non-violence, were left bloodied by mobs of men. All these events, in all their gory details, were reported daily in the press and daily shown on television screens. We can assume, having seen a T.V. set in every home we entered that nearly every Negro person in the C-U ghetto could have been apprised of what was happening nationally via television. In addition the radio and "white" newspapers reported the incidents, and of course the Negro press and periodicals covered these events more thoroughly.

It is therefore to be expected that these recent events would condition the relationship between a white interviewer, no matter how skilled, and his Negro respondents. Under such circumstances the admonition in sociological literature that the interviewers must not influence the respondent's answers is hardly applicable. A man with a white face walking into a Negro's home, in the best of times, is bound to unfold before his respondent the whole history, both past and present, as the Negro knows it, of the relationship between whites and Negroes and creates in him a "set" which conditions his response to the questions.[38] This does not necessarily mean that the response will be violent or hostile. On the contrary it can very well be mild and condescending. One respondent, when asked how he would go about ending discrimination

and segregation replied, "I learned the right way a long time ago--just say, 'Yes sir, and Yes ma'am.'"[39] This extreme response was the only one of its kind elicited from the 105 respondents. But whatever the response, it is not independent of the respondent's conception of and attitude toward the relationship between whites and Negroes.

There is no doubt that even where there is cultural homogeneity, the response of any person is conditioned by the antecedents that molded his life and personality. But in situations that bring together Negro and white the intervening conditioning is of a different quality; there is usually so much emotional involvement heightening the fears, apprehensions and antagonisms that the respondent is "on guard." To be sure, one interviewer may, with the "wrong approach," intensify the intervening factors; whereas another, with the "correct approach," may mollify them. However, it must be recognized that even under the best of circumstances, considering the personality differences that exist between individuals, it is difficult to ascertain the "right approach" to get the "correct answers." If we add to personality differences the unknowable effect of one-hundred years of strained relations, to put it mildly, then we must assume a substantial effect on a Negro respondent when a strange white interviewer comes to the door.

In order to ascertain whether or not the circumstances surrounding Negro-white relations would strikingly affect the responses of the Negro respondent to a white interviewer, a hypothesis was put forward; namely, that the responses to the schedule that a Negro interviewer would get

from the population sample would be different from those obtained by a white interviewer.

To test this hypothesis a Negro, Mr. William Smith, was employed, as has been heretofore mentioned. Mr. Smith administered the schedule to thirty-three respondents and I to seventy-two.

But before comparing the responses the two interviewers got, it would be best to discuss another decision made early in the survey to test the same hypothesis; i.e., to select randomly from the sample twenty respondents to be cross-interviewed. The plan was to reinterview twenty respondents after the initial interviewing of the random sample was completed. This plan was carried out. But early in the interviewing, quite by accident, both interviewers administered the schedule to the same respondent one week apart. The result of this single cross interview produced such clear-cut results bearing on the hypothesis and, more important, on the technique of interviewing, that it is worth discussing in detail.

Question seven in the interviewing schedule simply asks: "Are you a church member?" If the respondent answers, "Yes," he is then asked to give the name of his church and his pastor. The question, on the surface, is not very profound or an emotionally toned one; nevertheless, the two interviewers got different responses. I was first to question the respondent. To me the respondent answered, "Yes," to the question on church membership and gave the name of the church and its pastor; to the Negro interviewer the response was negative. It so happened that

the Negro interviewer was a member of the same church that the respondent gave as his church to me.

This contradictory response raised several important questions. Who was given the "correct answer"? To answer that question we would first have to define what constitutes church membership. Did the respondent tell the Negro interviewer that he was not a member because he had failed to pay his yearly dues and did he tell me that he was a member because he was emotionally, if not financially, committed to the church? There are any number of unfathomable reasons that the respondent may have had, consciously or not, for answering the way he did. If the suggested explanation of being a church member in spirit without contributing to its coffers is the proper one, then both answers are correct. The key then is the respondent's interpretation of the meaning of the question. When I interviewed the respondent he did not feel it necessary to have fulfilled all the obligations of a church member in order to answer to the question in the affirmative; but to the Negro interviewer, whom he did not know personally but whom he had seen at church, the respondent thought it necessary to have fulfilled all the obligations of church membership before he could answer the question in the affirmative.

To most of the other questions asking for factual data, such as place of birth, father's and mother's birthplace, etc., and even questions about why he left his place of birth and came to C-U, the answers were identical for both of us. In four other answers to factual questions and in a whole series of attitude questions, one intelligent,

forty-five year old, self-employed respondent gave different answers to each interviewer. The answers were as follows:

Question	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
31. Do you intend to continue to live in C-U?	yes	doesn't know
32. Would you like to continue living in this house?	No, would like to build new house.	Yes, it is paid for.
36. Father's occupation	Chanute Field civil service custodial	Janitor
39. Were you overseas? (In the armed services)	Yes, 24 months in India	Yes, 35 months in India

The intentions of the respondent seem obvious in questions thirty-two and thirty-six; possibly he wanted to give me the impression that he was financially able to build a new house and was planning to do so in the near future, and that his father was not a "common" janitor but a civil service custodial employee. The motivation behind the different answers to questions thirty-one and thirty-nine is anyone's guess. It is conceivable that the respondent could have reversed the answers to those two questions to produce the same effect. Logical reasoning, based on a school of thought in psychology, could be provided to explain his choice of answer either way. Also, it must be definitely considered that the difference in answers given to the white and Negro interviewers may not be at all connected with the relationship between whites and Negroes, but indicate

a personality phenomenon. It must be conceded that personality differences do play a significant role in the interaction between respondent and interviewer. But no individual is culturally blank when he responds to questions placed to him by an interviewer; he reacts to the question and to the interviewer who places the question, both culturally and as a personality. However, when the questions are further along the continuum, on the emotionally charged side, personality differences are guided inexorably by the cultural context in which the respondent and interviewer find themselves.

Table III below is a comparison based on the same respondent's answers to the more emotionally charged attitude questions.

As a precautionary aid, the technique of typing questions on separate cards was used for certain questions. Questions 42 through 51, 60 and 61 were each typed on separate cards and given to the respondent as the interviewer read the question. When he answered one question he was then given the next card. This was done in order to maximize for the respondent his understanding of the question. It was also felt that this procedure would minimize the random selection of any answer by the respondent to get the interview over quickly and to avoid taking a "public" stand on a controversial issue. It was hoped that the card would give the respondent something to focus on and thereby involve him more in the questioning. There is no way of knowing whether either purpose was achieved by this method. It is obvious, however, for whatever reason, that the respondent took a different "public" stand with the two interviewers on these controversial issues (except in question 49). To questions 42, 43, 44 and 48

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TABLE III

A RESPONDENT'S ANSWERS IN A CROSS-INTERVIEW*

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
42. Picketing	harmful	excellent
43. Fair Employment Law	harmful	partially good
44. Boycott	harmful	good
45. Prayer	partially good	excellent
46. Education and training	good	excellent (most emphatic)
47. Setting a good example	partially good	good
48. Political action	not good	excellent
49. Moving to another city	good	good
50. "Sit-ins"	not good	partially good
51. "Freedom Riders"	partially good	not good

Questions 53 and 57 asked, in addition to a "yes" or "no" answer, the reasons for the choice.

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
53. Would you consider moving into a hostile community?	"No, wouldn't go where I wasn't wanted."	"Yes, I'd take the events as they came."
57. In your lifetime will you see the end of discrimination?	"Doubt it, but we will make improvements. Wise people of both races should get together and work things out intelligently. No need for fighting about it."	"No, damn right an eye-for-an-eye is the best method--not enough being used."

*To questions 42 to 51 the respondent was given the choice of excellent, good, partially good, not good and harmful to evaluate the methods suggested for ending discrimination. (See schedule in appendix for actual wording.)

the difference in answers is substantial; it could hardly be attributed to misunderstanding or the disinterested selection of any number. The answers to question 45, when compared with the respondent's answers to the question about church membership, provide an interesting exercise for those interested in analyzing the psychological motivation, but are not of course the purpose of this study.

Questions 53 and 57, although they asked for a "yes" or "no" answer, required the interviewer to probe for reasons. The reasons given in the answers to these questions leaves very little doubt as to the presence of intervening variables which conditioned the respondent's reply. To the white interviewer the respondent said he would not buy a house in a neighborhood where he "was not wanted"; to the Negro interviewer he expressed readiness to "take the events as they come" in defense of his right to live in the neighborhood of his choice. Again, talking to the white interviewer he was in favor of working "things out intelligently"; and to the Negro interviewer, for fighting physically. It is significant to note in this connection that of the 105 original interviewees five out of thirty-three espoused the "eye-for-an-eye" philosophy to the Negro interviewer, whereas only one out of seventy-two indicated to the white interviewer that fighting back physically is an expedient method for ending discrimination and segregation.

From this single cross- interview it would appear that the cultural context is exceedingly important to take into account in conducting surveys utilizing any of the interviewing techniques--structured, unstructured

or non-directed. In certain areas, particularly those dealing with emotionally charged attitudinal questions, the indications are that the interviewing techniques have considerable weaknesses. However, let us set aside judgment based on this single interview until the results of the twenty cross-interviews are presented. In the meantime let us return to the question of whether or not personality differences of the respondents and their reaction to differences in the interviewers' approaches could account for the specific differences in their replies. This time we can examine it from another perspective. Were the responses to the schedule that the two interviewers received from the sample of 105 Negro respondents similar <u>on the average</u>? In other words, did the effects of personality differences of the respondents even themselves out <u>on the average</u> in the 105 interviews?

Below are listed some of the most pertinent questions in the study, the answers and the percentages for each of the interviewers.[30]

TABLE IV

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO SELECTED QUESTIONS TO TWO INTERVIEWERS

	Responses to white interviewer	Responses to Negro interviewer
Negro respondents	69%	31%
Column 11 - Question 5		
Sex of respondent		
no response	4%	0
male	68%	36%
female	28%	64%

	Responses to white interviewer	Responses to Negro interviewer
Column 13 - Question 7		
Church membership		
no response	4%	0
yes	81%	73%
no	15%	27%
Column 16 - Question 9		
Where born		
no response	4%	0
near South	29%	21%
far South	40%	37%
North, below C-U	6%	15%
North, above C-U	8%	12%
West	0	0
in C-U	13%	15%
Column 18 - Question 10		
Education		
no response	4%	0
third grade or less	8%	6%
above third grade (grade school incomplete)	22%	21%
completed grade school	16%	15%
high school, incomplete	14%	24%
completed high school	27%	31%
college incomplete	3%	0
college degree (s)	6%	3%
Column 19 - Question 10a		
Special job training		
no response	4%	0
yes	28%	30%
no	68%	70%
Column 20 - Question 11		
Length of time respondent lived in C-U		
no response	4%	0
1 year or less	3%	6%
1-3 years	1%	0
3-5 years	3%	9%
5-10 years	14%	6%
10-20 years	29%	37%
20-40 years	28%	27%
40 or more years	18%	15%

	Responses to white interviewer	Responses to Negro interviewer
Column 24 - Question 13a - 20		
Major occupation before coming to C-U		
no response	4%	3%
menial labor	22%	18%
semi-skilled labor	15%	3%
skilled labor	4%	0
clerical	0	0
professional	1%	0
non-professional civil service	0	0
domestic	6%	9%
farming	14%	9%
self-employed	0	0
housewife	0	6%
other or student	34%	52%
Column 27 - Question 21		
What brought respondent to C-U (specific reason)		
no response	4%	6%
relatives lived here	53%	67%
Chanute Field (civilian employment)	4%	3%
Air Force inductee	8%	0
railroad	11%	0
job promised	4%	3%
born here	13%	15%
to go to U. of I.	3%	3%
other	0	3%
Column 28 - Question 22		
Present occupation of respondent		
no response	6%	3%
menial labor	18%	31%
semi-skilled labor	26%	21%
skilled labor	11%	3%
clerical	0	3%
professional	6%	6%
non-professional civil service	8%	0
domestic	10%	9%
farming	0	0
self-employed	3%	6%
housewife	8%	12%
other and retired	4%	6%

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
Column 33 - Question 28		
Does respondent own or rent house		
no response	4%	0
owns house	58%	52%
rents house	38%	48%
Column 39 - Question 31		
Does respondent intend to continue to live in C-U		
no response	4%	0
yes	68%	85%
no	8%	9%
other	20%	6%
Column 40 - Question 32		
Would respondent like to continue living in present house		
no response	4%	0
yes	60%	49%
no	28%	39%
other	8%	12%
Column 55 - Question 42		
Picketing		
no response	8%	6%
excellent	39%	43%
good	29%	30%
partially good	17%	15%
not good	6%	6%
harmful	1%	0
Column 56 - Question 43		
Fair Employment Law		
no response	6%	3%
excellent	40%	46%
good	29%	33%
partially good	13%	12%
not good	6%	6%
harmful	6%	0

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
Column 57 - Question 44		
Boycott		
no response	7%	9%
excellent	34%	24%
good	32%	34%
partially good	15%	9%
not good	11%	24%
harmful	1%	0
Column 58 - Question 45		
Prayer		
no response	6%	0
excellent	54%	52%
good	15%	27%
partially good	13%	9%
not good	11%	12%
harmful	1%	0
Column 59 - Question 46		
Education and training		
no response	6%	3%
excellent	73%	91%
good	17%	6%
partially good	3%	0
not good	1%	0
harmful	0	0
Column 60 - Question 47		
Setting a good example on the job		
no response	10%	0
excellent	38%	33%
good	34%	55%
partially good	10%	9%
not good	4%	3%
harmful	4%	0
Column 61 - Question 48		
Political action		
no response	6%	3%
excellent	43%	55%
good	31%	21%
partially good	13%	15%
not good	6%	6%
harmful	1%	0

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
Column 62 - Question 49		
Moving to another city for greater job opportunities		
no response	6%	0
excellent	13%	15%
good	15%	43%
partially good	17%	12%
not good	38%	24%
harmful	11%	6%
Column 63 - Question 50		
"Sit-ins"		
no response	11%	6%
excellent	30%	21%
good	20%	34%
partially good	18%	15%
not good	15%	12%
harmful	6%	12%
Column 64 - Question 51		
"Freedom Riders"		
no response	6%	3%
excellent	38%	24%
good	21%	40%
partially good	17%	18%
not good	14%	12%
harmful	4%	3%
Column 65 - Question 52		
If respondent had a choice, would he live in Negro or mixed community		
no response	4%	0
Negro	11%	24%
mixed	54%	67%
either	31%	9%
Column 66 - Question 53		
Would respondent consider moving into a hostile community		
no response	6%	0
yes	44%	36%
no	44%	55%
yes, but	6%	9%

	Response to white interviewer	Response to Negro interviewer
Column 70 - Question 57		
Does respondent expect to see end of discrimination in life-time		
no response	13%	0
yes	13%	24%
no	43%	58%
doubtful	31%	18%
Column 71 - Question 58		
Is progress being made toward integration?		
no response	14%	6%
yes	84%	91%
no	1%	0
doubtful	1%	3%
Column 72 - Question 59		
Amount of progress (toward integration)		
no response	15%	6%
great progress	40%	27%
some progress	32%	52%
very little progress	7%	12%
no progress	6%	0
other	0	3%

In examining the percentages of the answers to each question that each interviewer separately elicited from his respondents, it would be difficult to arrive at a clear-cut decision as to whether or not, on the average, the answers received were similar. One of the major obstacles is the relatively small size of the sample. Because of this it would hardly be justifiable to base a decision on a comparison between the responses gathered by two interviewers from a total of 105 cases out of a population of 5,273. With such a small sample, 72 cases for

one interviewer and 33 for the other, it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether or not the differences in the percentages are due to chance or to actual differences in the answers. However, even though a definitive decision is ruled out, an examination of the answers does shed some light on the interviewing problem when there are intervening cultural differences between interviewers and between interviewer and respondent. Also the degree to which different personalities react to different interviewers is indeterminable and therefore raises certain problems with regard to interviewing as a technique for "measuring" population characteristics.

Question 5 was included in the chart primarily to give the male and female composition of the sample. However, here is an example showing the difficulty of determining whether the reverse proportion in the male-female composition for each interviewer is a chance error, whether it is due to some incorrect procedure or perhaps to intervening cultural factors. (The greater influence and stability of the mother in the Negro family life may have influenced the Negro interviewer in his approach in seeking the head of the household and the opposite may have been true for the white interviewer.) The responses for both interviewers in questions 7, 9, 11, 13a, 21, 28, 31, 58 and 59 are close enough for any percentage differences to be attributed to chance. But the answers to questions 10, 22 and 32 cannot be easily attributed to chance error. Question 10, about which there was some doubt as to the authenticity of the answers, provides a considerable difference in the percentages of

respondents who attended high school. This difference is much more likely to be due to the respondent's reaction to some difference in the interviewers, but may not necessarily be connected with their racial origin. The difference in age and experience between the two interviewers could possibly account for many of the differences in the answers. This may have been the case in the question asking for the respondent's occupation (question 22); the interviewer who had greater experience with types of occupations was more able to probe for and categorize the work a respondent did.

Question 47 was deliberately selected because I felt that this question, which I have found from many years of experience usually evokes a hostile response among Negroes, would elicit a large negative response, at least for a white interviewer. But as it turned out the two interviewers got about the same answers.

The evaluation of "Sit-ins" and the "Freedom Riders" are both interestingly reversed in their excellent and good responses for the two interviewers. For whatever the reasoning behind the reverse proportions of the answers to these two questions, it could be conjectured that they show the emotional impact that "Sit-ins" and the "Freedom Riders" had on the sample interviewed in the spring of 1961.

Now let us get back to the single person cross-interviewed as reported on page 48, and compare his divergent evaluations of the methods to end discrimination in questions 42 through 51, 53 and 57 with the averages for the two interviewers for the same questions. The

evaluations of the methods suggested in questions 42, 43, 44, 45 and 48, to which the single respondent gave diametrically opposite answers to the two interviewers, were on the average remarkably similar for each interviewer. Question 57, which asks for a general appraisal of the methods to end discrimination and to which the answers given by the single cross-interviewee were different, were on the average for all the interviews also somewhat different. Questions 50 and 51 on "Sit-ins" and "Freedom Riders" previously discussed, which showed an interesting reverse order in the excellent and good responses for the two interviewers, were likewise answered differently by the single cross-interviewee. The answers on the average to question 53 (buying a house in a white neighborhood) were not similar and the answers on the single cross-interview were diametrically opposite for the two interviewers, but the reasoning behind the responses, it would appear from the balance of the percentages, must have been different on the average from the reasoning of the single respondent. Question 57, interestingly, on the average produced for each interviewer the same results as the answer each received from the single cross interview: the doubtful response that I elicited from the single interviewee was similar to the doubtfuls, particularly if the no responses are also added to the doubtful column I received from all the respondents. My assistant elicited a no from the single interviewee, and also had a preponderance of no's to question 57 from all his interviews. Finally, the percentages of the different evaluations of "Moving to another city" (question 49) show

that there is a tremendous difference between the answers received by both interviewers, whereas the single interviewee gave both interviewers the same answer.

After this comparison of the percentages of the answers the two interviewers received from their respective respondents and the results they elicited from the single cross-interviewee, it is obvious, from the evidence, that a case has not been made for the supposition that on the average the answers will be similar. Although in spots the answers were remarkably close in percentages for the two interviewers, there were also a great number of convincing dissimilarities. The hypothesis cannot stand that two interviewers from different cultural backgrounds, interviewing a population sample with a history that makes one of the interviewers a member of the out-group, will compile on the average similar answers. The reasoning behind the differences may be varied and highly conjectural, but the presence of intervening cultural factors that could account for the differences is unmistakable.

Now let us examine the results of the twenty proposed cross-interviews to see whether or not the divergent answers given to the two interviewers in the first cross-interview earlier in the study will be duplicated. Out of twenty addresses where I had interviewed respondents, two Negro interviewers returned fifteen completed schedules.

To obtain the cross-interviews, I hired, in addition to William Smith, George James. George James is a thirty-one year old Negro student at the University of Illinois, a junior in political science. In

this small number of interviews, there did not appear to be any apparent differences between the types of responses received by William Smith and George James; both got the same variety of answers which typified the entire study.

To secure a random sample to conduct the cross-interviewing, I placed slips of paper with the addresses of seventy-one Negro respondents that I had interviewed into a large jar. (I left out the address of the one respondent that William Smith and I had already cross-interviewed.) My two children, aged eight and five, were given the honor of picking twenty addresses out of the jar. Ten were given to George James and ten to William Smith. George James turned in eight completed interviews. At two of the addresses he was given, he was unable to interview the same respondent that I had interviewed. At one he could not locate the same person; at the other, although the respondent said he was previously interviewed, the factual data (place of birth, number of children, etc.) were so different that it could not possibly have been the same person. William Smith turned in seven acceptable interviews including the one already discussed; he did not complete the remaining four interviews because of unforseen personal circumstances.

The results of the cross-interviews are listed in Table V in code. Column one indicates the interviewer; I am number one (1), William Smith is two (2) and George James is six (6). In columns 55 through 64, dealing with methods for ending discrimination, one (1) is _excellent_, two (2) _good_, three (3) _partially good_, four (4) _not good_ and five (5) _harmful_. To uncode the rest of the answers see the complete code with questions and answers in Appendix B. A difference of one

TABLE V

CROSS-INTERVIEW REPLIES OF FIFTEEN RESPONDENTS IN CODE

(Each group of two lines is a respondent's answers; one line of answers for each interviewer)

interviewer	marital status	church membership	organizations	where born	education	how long in C-U	what brought to C-U	kind of work	where employed	how long (employed)	own house	intend to live in C-U	continue living in house	picketing	F. E. P. Law	public meetings	prayer	education and training	good example	voting	moving	"Sit-ins"	"Freedom Riders"	Negro or mixed neigh.	hostile neighborhood	age	end discrimination	amount progress	choice of methods
1	12	13	15	16	18	20	27	28	29	30	33	39	40	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	69	70	72	73
1	1	1	1	2	5	5	1	6	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	1
6	1	1	1	2	5	5	1	6	1	4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	2
1	1	1	6	2	2	5	1	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	0
6	1	1	1	2	2	5	1	6	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	4	4	2	1	2	5	1	3
1	1	1	4	2	4	5	1	1	2	5	4	1	2	2	5	3	1	3	1	1	5	0	1	1	0	2	2	1	0
2	1	1	1	2	4	5	1	7	5	4	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	3
1	3	1	3	2	2	5	1	7	5	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	2	4	2	1	0
2	3	1	3	2	2	5	1	7	5	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	1	0
1	1	2	5	2	2	5	1	2	6	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	0
2	1	2	X	2	2	5	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	4	2	1	4	1	2	2	2	4	2	1	2	2	2	3	6
1	1	1	X	2	2	5	1	2	6	1	4	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	4	4	3	2	2	1	1	0
6	1	1	X	2	2	4	5	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	2	2	2	2	3
1	6	2	X	3	5	6	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	4	2	3	3
6	4	2	X	3	3	7	1	1	5	4	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	4	2	1	3

TABLE V (Cont.)

1 interviewer	12 marital status	13 church membership	15 organizations	16 where born	18 education	20 how long in C-U	27 what brought to C-U	28 kind of work	29 where employed	30 how long (employed)	33 own house	39 intend to live in C-U	40 continue living in house	55 picketing	56 F.E.P. Law	57 public meetings	58 prayer	59 education and training	60 good example	61 voting	62 moving	63 "Sit-ins"	64 'Freedom Riders"	65 Negro or mixed neigh.	66 hostile neighborhood	69 age	70 end discrimination	72 amount progress	73 choice of methods
1	1	1	X	1	1	6	1	7	5	6	1	1	1	3	2	2	4	1	1	4	1	3	2	3	1	5	2	2	2
6	1	1	X	1	2	6	8	7	5	5	1	1	2	5	1	3	4	1	1	5	2	4	3	2	2	5	2	1	4
1	3	1	X	1	1	7	1	7	5	0	1	1	3	1	2	0	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	4	3	2	1
2	3	2	X	1	3	7	1	7	5	6	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	4	1	3	1
1	5	1	X	1	3	5	1	0	0	0	4	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	4	4	4	1	2	2	0	0	0
2	2	1	X	1	3	5	1	0	0	3	4	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	3
1	1	1	X	1	5	7	4	3	X	1	1	1	2	5	5	5	3	2	3	4	2	4	3	2	2	3	3	1	0
2	1	2	X	1	4	7	1	3	X	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	4	2	1	3	2	3	3
1	1	1	X	2	3	5	1	2	4	5	3	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	3	2	3	2	3	1	1	2
6	1	1	X	2	5	5	4	2	4	5	1	0	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	3	2	2	2
1	1	1	X	1	4	5	3	2	6	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	1	2	3	4	1
6	1	2	X	1	4	5	3	2	6	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	4
1	1	1	6	2	4	5	4	1	2	4	4	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	0
6	1	1	X	2	4	6	1	1	2	4	4	3	3	2	3	1	4	1	2	4	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1
1	5	2	X	2	2	4	7	1	3	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	4	1	0	0	0
6	1	2	X	2	2	4	8	X	0	0	4	1	1	4	4	4	2	1	3	3	3	1	4	1	2	1	5	2	3

between two code numbers must not be interpreted as in an integral scale; in a number of instances as in column thirteen (13), yes is one (1) and no is two (2).

Not all the answers in the cross-interview were listed in Table V above. A select number of "purely" factual answers are given where the pairs are identical (columns 16 and 69); most of the replies indicating status and roles are also given (columns 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 39 and 40); and all of the responses to the attitude questions are listed (columns 55 through 66, 70 and 73).

In columns 16 and 69, which give the place of birth and age of the respondent, the answers are identical. Replies to the question asking for marital status (column 12) showed three pairs with different responses; in one pair the answers married (1) and separated (5) appeared, in one divorced (6) and widower (4) and in one single (2) and separated (5). Two more sets of yes and no answers were added to the original cross-interview in response to the question about church membership (column 13). Column 15, which inquired about the organizations to which the respondent belonged, produced five pairs with different answers to the white and Negro interviewers. This discrepancy, however, may be related to the experience of the interviewer in probing for answers that the respondent might not have instantly connected with the question. For example, a higher percentage of respondents indicated to me than to either of my colleagues that they were members of trade unions. No doubt the fact that my trade-union experience was greater than that of either of the interviewers

would partially explain this occurence. The education of a respondent, which may be considered a status designation, received the most divergent treatment. This was not at all surprising, as has been already indicated, because while doing the seventy-two interviews I was of the opinion that the answers to the question on education did not represent the "whole truth." This is not to say that there were great exaggerations or that the responses all went in one direction. On the contrary, some may not have deviated more than one semester from the truth and some may have depreciated the length of their education to produce a different status effect, namely, to give the impression that they made great progress on their own without much formal education. But whatever the respondents' reasoning, in the fifteen cross-interviews the answers to the amount of education (column 18) revealed a difference in five out of the fifteen pairs.

Answers to the questions asking the length of residence in C-U (column 20) produced three pairs that were different, but not by too many years. Other answers to questions which can be connected with status and roles as reported in columns 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 39 and 40 had pairs which were different.

In the responses to the attitude questions (columns 55 through 66, 70 and 73) there are two types of differences observed; one is a difference in degree, the other is a difference in kind. In most instances there are shades of differences between (1) excellent and (2) good. But in a number of cases the difference is between (3) partially good and

(5) harmful or (1) excellent and (4) not good. The latter are substantial and serious differences which must be taken into account when conducting surveys, particularly in those areas dealing with attitudes regarding group conflict and bringing into play cultural differences between the respondent and interviewer. Differences in degree are not as serious and do not substantially affect the findings of a survey. However, both of these differences may well be hazards of the trade that the social scientists may never be able to correct completely.

Much more analyzing and interpreting could be done with the data from the cross-interviews, but since that is not the main focus of this study, suffice it to say that it indicates the great care that must be taken to avoid reporting as findings the reaction of the respondents to the interviewer rather than as the characteristics and attitudes of the interviewee. The first cross-interview reported earlier is no doubt an extreme case as are a few of the later cross-interviews. But the percentage with extremely divergent answers is far too great to go unrecognized. Although I (and I cautioned my colleagues to do the same) took the greatest precautions to minimize the influence of the intervening cultural variables, nevertheless it must be recognized and accepted that unavoidable errors are present in the findings. However, it is felt that none of the inevitable errors have altered the findings of this study to any extent.

CHAPTER III

CHANGING SOCIAL ROLES WHICH SUPPORT MINORITY COLLECTIVE ACTION: THE "NEW NEGRO"

The term "new Negro" has come into vogue recently to distinguish between the Negro who had to accept, even though reluctantly, his inferior status, and the Negro who is fighting for full equality and first class citizenship. In a recent television broadcast featuring four prominent Negroes, among whom was Dr. Kenneth Clark, Professor of Social Psychology at the City College of New York, the same term, "new Negro," was used to explain the upsurge of militant activities and to describe the Negro people who are participating in them throughout the country. A similar explanation was given to a question placed to one of the Negro ministers interviewed in this study. When he was asked, "How do you explain the successful fight of C-U's Negroes against J.C. Penney in light of their history of passivity?" his reply was, "There is a 'new Negro' in C-U." Others interviewed, particularly those who had attempted in the past to unify the community to protest against discrimination, in searching for reasons to explain the militant action of the community in 1961, also indicated that there is a new type of Negro in C-U.

The main purposes of the schedule administered to the 105 respondents were to determine the characteristics of the Negro presently residing in C-U and to ascertain as far as it was possible whether he is any different from the Negro who has resided in this small urban ghetto in the past. While the findings of this study are being reported, the history of Negroes in C-U will be traced to provide the backdrop for our discussion.

The C-U Negro ghetto is a small area approximately ten city blocks by twelve city blocks on the north side of the C-U community between the twin cities where the Illinois Central and the Wabash Railroads cross each other. In addition, as has been previously mentioned, there are about five other pockets of Negro inhabitants nearby or adjoining this general area and one area on the south side of Champaign adjacent to the I.C. Railroad, two by two city blocks in size, which for many decades has housed Negro families.

There are many theories as to the origin of the ghetto proper and its subghettos. One is that prior to the Civil War C-U was a station in the underground railroad. Numbers of Negroes, running away from slavery in search of freedom up North, found employment in Champaign and settled here. At first they were located near the railroad tracks, according to one leader I interviewed,[41] because of the large hotel which was part of the railroad station and which employed large numbers of Negroes, who lived in or near the premises and remained in the area after the hotel burned to the ground. Another theory[42] brings the Negro to C-U in successive stages. After the Civil War Negroes left the plantations in search of jobs and a better way of life. They traveled north by foot, their only means of transportation, found jobs in cities along the way and in successive stages and generations, they and their descendents arrived at and found employment in C-U. They took up residence near their place of employment but were offered housing only in the least desirable section of the city adjacent to the railroad tracks. Still another theory brings

Negroes to the community as railroad laborers. One of the respondents to the interview schedule, for example, was recruited about 1910 in the South to work on the Illinois Central Railroad, which was out on strike. He was brought up to C-U by boxcar with a large number of other Negroes and housed in the railroad yard, unaware that a strike was in progress. From that time until 1928 large numbers of Negroes were employed preparing trains for runs to New Orleans. The type of locomotives in use by the I.C. at that time made it necessary for the train to stop twice on its way to New Orleans in order to "knock" the fires in the locomotives and to remove the "clinkers." Champaign was one of the stops. At C-U the locomotive was taken to the roundhouse, where it was prepared to pull the train on its return trip to Chicago; another locomotive already prepared was hitched to the train to continue its trip south. In 1928 a larger locomotive was used and a new way was found to remove the "clinkers"; as a result more than half the Negroes employed by the I.C. were laid off.

Subsequently, further rationalization of railroading and modern industrial developments continued to reduce the numbers of Negroes in C-U employed as railroad laborers. When the depression hit this community it brought many more white people in competition for jobs traditionally held in C-U by Negroes.[43] Prior to the depression, red-caps were exclusively Negroes; during and for many years after the early 1930's these jobs remained in the hands of white workers.[44] Today very few of C-U's Negroes are employed as railroad workers. None of the respondents to the schedule in this study gave the railroad as their place of employment; a few of the older respondents gave railroad labor as their former occupation. But a large number of respondents (no specific tabulation was made)

had fathers who worked as railroad laborers or came to C-U to stay with relatives who were working for the railroad.

Probably there is some validity to each of the theories advanced. There are probably many other reasons that Negroes came to C-U in the early years of the formation of the Negro ghetto. Still the strongest evidence seems to indicate that the primary reasons for the presence of Negroes in C-U was the availability of jobs for Negroes as domestics and hotel workers, and as railroad laborers. However, since the end of railroad labor jobs for Negroes, the attraction to C-U has not been very great for Negroes. Large numbers no doubt came through C-U,[45] but in the absence of a sizeable labor market for Negroes as revealed in the Karsh-downey study, not too many stayed. Although C-U's Negro population went from 3,651 in 1950 to 5,273 in 1960,[46] an increase of 44 per cent as compared with an increase of 24.5 per cent for the total population of C-U, the percentage of Negroes in C-U's total population went from 8 per cent in 1950 to 9 per cent in 1960. This Negro population still does not represent a very substantial segment of C-U's total population, but is growing in importance.

In their response to the question, "What brought you to C-U?" (question 21), 57 per cent of the sample from the present Negro population gave as their specific attraction to C-U the fact that they had relatives here. The breakdown of their responses is as follows:

TABLE VI

WHAT BROUGHT RESPONDENT TO C-U

	Total responses	Percent-ages
no response	5	5%
relatives lived here	60	57%
Air Force inductee	6	6%
Chanute Field (civilian employment)	4	4%
railroad	8	7%
job promised	4	4%
born here	14	13%
to go to U. of I	3	3%
other	1	1
	105	100%

In the absence of well publicized and actual lucrative job opportunities in C-U the above table presents data which explain what brought the present inhabitants here. However, the increase in the Negro population and the reason that those who came to join relatives stayed can perhaps best be explained by the several changes in the last decade in job opportunities available to C-U Negroes: the opening up of some clerical job opportunities, the breaking of Jim-Crow practices (to some extent) in several unions, the ending of discrimination in the hiring policy of Chanute Field and the "merit employment" policy of the University of Illinois. These opportunities for employment are not in themselves startling, nor do they represent a total break with past practices. But there is a gradual softening of the hardened attitudes toward employing Negroes in many places of employment in and around C-U. The more lenient employment policies contribute greatly to this community's power to hold its Negro citizens.

Another factor which may have some bearing on the size of Negro population growth in C-U is the general economic condition that has prevailed throughout the United States in the last half of the decade. Although the general economic conditions have been good in spite of several severe "recessions," there has not been the great demand for industrial workers that provided the avenue for upward mobility for large numbers of Negroes between 1941 and 1950.[47] With the leveling off of the war-created inflationary spiral and the beginnings of the industrial and commercial emphasis on greater automation, the critical shortage of labor has eased considerably. As a result Negroes again have been facing the same reversals that they faced after World War I[48] and the depression; they have been losing to competing white workers the jobs they had won during periods of critical shortage. So the last half of the 1950's have not offered to Negroes anywhere ready-made opportunities for jobs and a better way of life. With the absence of a great pull to waiting jobs elsewhere, Negroes no doubt have stayed in C-U to take advantage of the somewhat improved job opportunities here.

This absence of the easy answer of going where jobs are plentiful suggests why the C-U Negro community may have found the necessary soldiers to march in the picket line for jobs at J. C. Penney. The 105 respondents to the schedule were asked to rate, "...moving to a city where there are greater job opportunities" as a method for getting better jobs for Negroes; 44 per cent rated it <u>not good</u> or <u>harmful</u>, 15 per cent <u>partially good</u>, 24 per cent <u>good</u> and 13 per cent <u>excellent.</u> But even those

who rated it good or excellent often qualified their answer by indicating that in the absence of job opportunities they were left with no other choice but to leave. Clearly 44 per cent indicated that going elsewhere is not the solution to their job problem and many of them expressed the feeling that job discrimination is no less elsewhere. In other words what the C-U Negro population may have been thinking in the early months of 1961 in view of the "downturn in the business cycle" (discussed in Chapter I) was that there was no alternative but to stay and fight.

However, this recognition of his tremendous plight would not distinguish the present C-U Negro from Negroes who have inhabited the ghetto over the many decades. The lack of adequate job opportunities has been with them for a century. They have always been the last hired and the first laid-off and have performed the most menial tasks, jobs left for them in the absence of any white competitors. Even under the best of conditions, in periods of tremendous labor demand, neither C-U nor the nation as a whole has offered its better jobs to Negroes; they have always been on the bottom rung of the occupational ladder. Yet in previous years C-U Negroes went to their assigned jobs without much protest. On the other hand, some of those who were not hopelessly trapped in the quagmire of perpetual poverty and who had higher aspirations protested with their feet--they left for more promising communities.

In attempting to find a neat cause-effect relationship in any social phenomenon, it is necessary to keep two things in mind: one, that the social process is continuous and change takes place over a period of

time; and, two, that the whole gamut of life's processes continually intervenes in each social act making it extremely difficult to isolate the most crucial elements. The causes that led to the dramatic demonstrative picketing in C-U in 1961 resulted from an accumulation of gradual and sudden social changes over a period of time. There is not one cause but a multiplicity of causes, some major and some minor, which intervened to change the social milieu and the individuals within it. The Negro, as the product of changed and changing social conditions over decades, is nationally demonstrating his unwillingness to live with Jim-Crow and in C-U is demanding his rightful share of job opportunities.[49] In this respect he is distinguishable from the Negroes who occupied the ghettos, in both the North and the South, in previous generations. The explosions which have taken place in a score of places throughout the country have been long in coming. They represent the culmination of the dramatic and the less dramatic incipient and incessant social changes and the uneven cultural development of individual Negroes which have accompanied the major social, economic and political development of our American society since the Civil War.

In spite of the Jim Crow laws passed after Reconstruction, individual Negroes followed along the general path taken by our culture toward social, economic and intellectual betterment. To be sure, Jim Crow placed insuperable obstacles in their path; many lagged behind and some fell from the white God's grace in their attempt. But although the schools were inferior, the right to vote denied, the wages and job opportunities meager, and the social treatment at times inhuman, Negroes made

continual progress. Thus in 1961, looking at the C-U ghetto, we find its inhabitants with many attributes different from those of the last generations inhabitants who were in turn, at a different stage of development from their predecessors.

However, it must be recorded that the change in population characteristics has not been so dramatic and drastic as to make the entire C-U Negro population undistinguishable from their forerunners. The process of social change is slow and is unevenly internalized. A good example may be seen in the changes in family living. Whatever the historical background for the cultural pattern of family life in the Negro community, it is well known that the mother is more the center of the family life than is the case in white American families. Of the 105 respondents to the schedule in this study 91 per cent answered to the designation as head of the household. The sex ratio of the respondents was 58 per cent male and 39 per cent female. This ratio is far different from what one would expect to find in a similar study of a white community and also different from what a similar study of this Negro community would have uncovered in prior decades. In previous decades there no doubt would have been far fewer males answering as "head of the household."

The family stability of Negroes was discussed in the interviews with the leaders of the Negro community. One leader, a young civil service secretarial employee at the University of Illinois and a leading church woman, said that the incidence of fatherless families has greatly diminished in recent years but there are as yet far too many Negro

families in C-U without a father as family head. It was her view that the assumption of family responsibility and obligations by fathers improved when fathers were in a financial and social position to feed, clothe and defend their families.[50] As long as fathers were compelled, mainly in the South, to stand by and powerlessly watch their wives and children abused--as long as they did not have sufficient earning power to provide adequately for their family without the whole family's having to work, many turned from their shame and frustration by escaping from all familial responsibility. This well-informed woman also expressed herself on sex morality as it related to the family. It was her observation that the high incidence of bastardy in the Negro community has had its history in the precarious conditions of a slave's life in the South, and this history has been perpetuated by the absence of sanctions in the form of shame and dishonor in the Negro community attached to having children out of wedlock. To be sure, she continued, with more and more Negroes possessed of an improved status in life approximating middle class existence, more Negroes have also adopted white middle class morality: they expect their daughters to remain chaste and they educate their sons to be "men of the world" with other men's daughters.

There are other characteristics of the C-U Negro population which indicate the gradual and slow process of cultural change and assimilation and which are not completely different from what they were in the past. The tabulation of the answers to some of the questions in the schedule will help to demonstrate this point.

TABLE VII

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS LIVED IN C-U

	Total responses	Percentages
no response	3	3%
1 year or less	4	4%
1-3 years	1	1%
3-5 years	5	5%
5-10 years	12	11%
10-20 years	33	31%
20-40 years	29	28%
40 years or more	18	17%
	105	100%

The preceding table indicates a far greater population stability than one would expect on the basis of what the white political leader I interviewed said about the influx of Negroes to C-U. He told of Negroes pouring daily into C-U from the train coming from New Orleans. But our sample does not show a high percentage of transients: 76 per cent of the sample lived in C-U ten years or more; 88 per cent five years or more. It may well be that a large number of Negroes come in daily to visit relatives but in the absence of accessible job opportunities move on to other cities.

If we compare our findings with those in the study done by Janet Cromwell in 1934 of 100 C-U Negroes "chosen largely at random so far as place of abode was concerned,"[51] we conclude that, in aggregate, the present Negroes have lived in C-U a much longer time than those in her study. She tabulated from her schedule the following statistics.[52]

Length of residence in years	Number of respondents
0-4	21
5-9	10
10-14	16
15-19	25
20-24	11
25-29	5
30-34	4
35-39	1
40-44	3
45 and over	4

The comparison of the two tables, obtained from samples separated by twenty-six years, would seem to confirm greater stability for the present C-U population. Another statistic garnered from this present study, as indicated in Table VIII below, that a large percentage, 62 per cent, were either born in C-U or came to C-U directly from their place of birth, would likewise suggest stability.

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF MOVES BEFORE COMING TO C-U

Number of moves	Responses	Percentages
no response	3	3%
0	15	14%
1	44	42%
2	24	23%
3	15	14%
4	4	4%
	105	100%

The length of employment with one company, although frequently hardly a choice of employees, particularly Negro employees, provides another good barometer of the stability of the populace.

TABLE IX

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT WITH PRESENT EMPLOYER

Length of time	Responses	Percentages
no response, housewife or unemployed	31	30%
1 year or less	11	10%
1-3 years	4	4%
3-5 years	11	10%
5-10 years	20	19%
10-20 years	21	20%
20-40 years	6	6%
40 years or more	1	1%

The large percentage of no response (30 per cent) and 1 year or less (10 per cent) reflect a number of problems in connection with employment: the problem of unemployment; the lack of substantial jobs, particularly for Negro men; the high rate of turn-over on the seasonal jobs for women in the egg plant; domestics who go from job to job; and the matter of drifters and those who gave up the struggle. It would be incorrect to say that a similar study in previous decades would have turned up a greater number of 1 year or less and no response answers; the opposite may even have been true. But if we compare the wider range of job categories in which the C-U Negro citizen is now employed with his job potential in the past, then it would most certainly be found that there are people with seniority in those jobs which were not traditionally given to Negroes. This fact adds up to greater stability.

A good barometer of vested interest in the community is home ownership and is reported in the table below.

TABLE X

HOME OWNERSHIP

	Responses	Percentages
No response	3	3%
yes	59	56%
renting	43	41%
	105	100%

The high percentage of home ownership among the respondents (56 per cent), on the basis of either outright ownership, mortgages or contract, is definitely much greater than their antecedents were able to afford. Interestingly, the 1934 study shows almost the inverse proportion of home ownership among the 100 respondents; 58 per cent were renters and 42 per cent owned their own homes.[53]

The responses to question 31, "Do you intend to continue to live in C-U?" contribute much insight into the population's attitudes and feelings toward the community. The high percentage of yes answers conveys the message that 77 per cent of C-U's Negro population had made the decision to make this their permanent home.

Another distinguishing population characteristic between the C-U Negro inhabitant and his precursors, one which reflects the social process of change between generations, was discussed by the minister who spoke of the "new Negro" in C-U in his interview. He said that a large percentage of the Negroes who now inhabit C-U are a generation or more removed from the South. This was supported by the answers in the schedule; many of the Negro respondents have never lived in the South

or had come North at an early age before they had interiorized the "ways of the South" or experienced its whip lash. Of the 102 in the study who responded to the question, "Where were you born?" 33 were born in the North, 28 in the near South (border states) and 41 in the far South. Of those not born in the North, 12 came North before they were 14 years old and 25 came between the ages of 15 and 20. A decade ago a similar study of Negroes would no doubt have shown that many fewer were born in the North and many more had come North after the age of 20. The further back in time that one would go, the more he would find Negroes in C-U who were born in the South and came North after the age of twenty.

The minister was correct; a good percentage of the C-U Negro population, as indicated by the random sample, did not come North as their predecessors had, to escape the difficult conditions of the South and to find C-U a haven by comparison. A large number of C-U Negro inhabitants know of conditions in the South only second-hand. They cannot compare C-U with the South; they have lived all their adult lives north of the Mason-Dixon line. The difficulties they encounter by way of discrimination and segregation are C-U experiences. If they are suffering under the yoke of second-class citizenship in C-U, then there is "no place more terrible than this" and the situation needs to be corrected or else they must do as their forebears did, leave the place of their oppression for one with more promise. But as we have already seen, the economic fact of the latter part of the past decade (the diminishing presence of an easily accessible job market) intervened and may have compelled the

aspiring youth and young adults with a great distaste for C-U to remain here and seek a direct solution to their problems.

The population data from the U.S. Census ordinarily would be of great help in determining whether or not the Negro youth of C-U packed their bags and left. But as has already been indicated, listed in the census are non-C-U Negro students at the University of Illinois in the same age group as those who would be expected to leave in the absence of satisfying opportunities. The additional fact that the University of Illinois does not keep specific population data by racial origin makes it difficult to separate from the census tract those Negro youth who are leaving to better themselves and those who come here temporarily to go the University of Illinois. From the U.S. Census the following percentages are derived for C-U Negro youth 15-24 years of age (which includes the University of Illinois Negro students):

TABLE XI

PERCENTAGES OF 15-24 YEAR OLD NEGROES IN C-U POPULATION

1930	1940	1950	1960
16%	16%	23%	21%

It is generally known that with the end of World War II and up until 1950 the University of Illinois Negro student population sharply increased and that during the following decade there has been an additional and a greater increase in the number of Negro students at the University. Now if we take into account the decrease in the C-U Negro population for the age

group fifteen through twenty-four as shown in the 1960 census, then we must agree that there has been a greater decrease than 2 per cent in the fifteen to twenty-four age group for C-U non-student Negro population. It must therefore be assumed that there was a substantial decrease in C-U's native Negro youth population much greater than the 2 per cent would indicate. This is significant and would seem to support one of the hypotheses of this study, namely, that the Negro youth leave C-U to improve their conditions of life. However, it must be kept in mind that this type of solution, leaving, has been resorted to less in recent years, as has been mentioned, because of the constriction of the job market nationally. More of the native C-U Negro youth have remained. William Smith, my assistant in this study and a native of C-U, affirms this fact by noting that more than half of the Negro students of his Champaign High School graduation class of 1959 are still in Champaign, with a high percentage of those who remained married and raising families. However, the answers to questions 29 and 30 in the schedule indicate that more than 50 per cent in the critical age group between 17 and 24 leave C-U. Table XII gives the statistics by families of those who during their stay in C-U had at some time children between the ages of 17 and 24.

Fifty-four per cent of the respondents had never had children between the ages of 17 and 24. If we compute the percentages of only those heads of the family who at some period in their life cycle had children in the 17 to 24 age bracket, we find that there is a total of 48; 48 per cent of them had children who stayed and 52 per cent had children who left C-U between the ages of 17 and 24.

TABLE XII

DISPERSION OF NEGRO CHILDREN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 17 and 24 AT THE TIME THEY WERE IN THIS (17-24) AGE BRACKET

	Responses	Percentages
No response or did not have children in the age bracket	57	54%
None left C-U	23	22%
One child left	11	10%
Two children left	9	9%
Three children left	3	3%
Four children left	2	2%

It therefore follows from the previous discussion that many of those who were born in or who had come to the small Northern urban community at an early age solved their dissatisfaction with their way of life in a similar manner to the way their predecessors solved their problems in relation to the South; they left in large numbers. However, the important difference is that those of the present generation, born and raised in the Northern small urban center are leaving unsatisfactory conditions which their forebears found to be acceptable and a great improvement over their former station in life. The solution of those who grew up in the C-U's of America and never knew the "driver's lash" is, so to speak, on a higher level, indicating higher aspirations than those of the adults who left their homes in the middle of the night to find solace as domestics and dishwashers in the North.

One of the characteristics then of the present C-U Negro population is that there is a much higher proportion of those who were born and/or reached adulthood in the North without any prior firsthand experience

with southern peonage. Few of C-U's Negroes today came to C-U in search of freedom and many fewer found in C-U the better way of life. These facts are significant, for a smaller portion of the C-U Negro population finds the sojourn here "satisfying" by comparison with their miserable existence in the South and there are fewer here who would be inclined to inform their community leaders not to rock the boat and to "remember what it was like where we came from."

Closely related to where Negroes were born and where they spent their early years--factors that provide another distinguishing feature between the "new Negro" and his predecessor--are education and educational opportunites. Succeeding generations of Negroes in the North[54] as well as those in the South were provided with greater opportunities for education. The educational opportunities in the South were far inferior to those in the North, but both the exodus of Negroes from the South and the Southerners' attempt to demonstrate to the courts that "separate" was "equal" made the Southern bourbons economically and politically compelled[55] to make some kind of an attempt at providing progressively better educational facilities for Negroes.[56]

Our sample of C-U reflects the utilization by Negroes of the greater educational opportunities made available to them over the years. The statistics are:

TABLE XIII

NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY C-U NEGRO ADULTS

	Responses	Percentages
No response	3	3%
3'rd grade or less	8	7%
above 3'rd grade (grade school incomplete)	23	22%
completed grade school	17	16%
high school, incomplete	18	17%
completed high school	29	28%
college, incomplete	2	2%
college degree(s)	5	5%
	105	100%

The median number of years of schooling completed by the sample was 10 years. This was better than the median reported for the State of Illinois, including both Negro and white, in the U.S. Census for 1940 (8.5 years) and 1950 (9.4 years)--see table below. The ten year median for the state's urban population in 1950 (9.9) was less than the median for C-U Negroes as indicated by the sample in 1961. Whatever the specific figures for 1960, which are not as yet available, it can be expected that the median amount of education received by C-U Negroes has risen above what it has been in previous decades and that the gap now between the length of education of Negroes and that of the white C-U population has been considerably narrowed. However, for the purposes of this study the significant fact is that C-U Negroes have taken advantage of the educational opportunities available to them and have over the years considerably increased, on the average, the years of schooling they have individually received.

TABLE XIV

TOTAL EDUCATION OF THOSE OVER 25 YEARS OF AGE IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

	State 1940	Urban 1940	State 1950	Urban 1950
Total	8.5	8.6	9.4	9.9
Native white	8.8	9.2	not listed	not listed
Negroes	7.7	7.7	8.5 (listed as non-white)	not listed

The greater economic security that resulted from the manpower needs of the two world wars and the industrial development that ensued likewise made it possible for Negroes to send their children to school and for young adults to work their way through higher education. Equally important is the informal education secured by Negroes in the industrial plants where they came into contact with new skills and new vistas previously not within the realm of their experience.[57] The military services during World War II, which did not exactly distinguish themselves by their democratic practices, provided formal and informal education which broadened the horizons and aspirations of Negroes.[58]

However, just as outstanding and stemming from the greater educational and economic opportunities is a whole series of developments: the rise of a Negro bourgeoisie, a professional class, a more educated and independent minister, schooled trade union members, a small number of labor leaders[59] and a larger educated rank and file. In short there

has been developing at an accelerated pace over many years, by virtue of education and economic opportunities, a competent vocal leadership with a substantial following. Although the C-U Negro community does not have all the categories of leaders mentioned above, it does have a growing number of professionals, a more educated and independent minister schooled in the militant trade unions, and a larger educated rank and file.

Another important and distinguishing feature of Negro life in the North is attributable to the need for manpower that opened up economic opportunities for Negroes, to the greater educational opportunities it afforded and to the unintended consequence of spatial segregation; that feature is the rise of Negro "political bosses" in the great metropolitan centers.[60] For whatever their original intention, which I do not intend to probe, the presence of large numbers of Negroes squeezed together in segregated areas gave these competent political leaders the opportunity to weld together the populace into highly developed and unified political organizations. The fact that in each election these leaders are able to deliver four- and five-to-one majorities for the Democratic party's candidates and that in the last election they were the balance of power in the five most populous states with the largest electoral votes gives the Negro people a lever which has not yet been fully utilized. Even though the C-U Negro community has yet to make direct use of this national and statewide reservoir of power, that power has trickled down to affect the C-U community in at least one substantial way.

Since 1948[61] Chanute Field has instituted a policy of nondiscrimination which is for the most part a byproduct of the growing political strength of Negroes. True, to be accepted such a statement needs substantiation beyond the scope of this thesis. However, if the statement that the ending of discrimination and segregation at Chanute Field as a result of the political influence of Negroes cannot be accepted at face value, then the meticulous care with which the command at the Air Force Base administers the nondiscriminatory policy must be attributed to the watchful eye of the Negro (political) leadership. This meticulous enforcement of nondiscrimination was testified to by a number of respondents to the schedule who are employed at Chanute Field and by a few of the Negro leaders interviewed. That enforcement brought to C-U a large number of professionals, trained technicians and civil service employees together with their families--families in which the wives and children also possess higher occupational skills and experience in these skills. Seven per cent of the respondents to the schedule were employed at Chanute Field. There is every reason to believe that the 7 per cent reflect accurately the population composition of Chanute Field employees residing in C-U. A good number of these Air Force employees are importees from the larger northern industrial centers. It is interesting to note for this study that the woman with the ten years sales experience who was not hired by J. C. Penney--it was this that sparked the indignation of the C-U community--is the wife of an Air Force employee transferred from Denver, Colorado. Likewise it is important to note that the most outstanding, energetic and vocal

lay leader in the antidiscrimination and antisegregation movement in C-U -- is an instructor at Chanute Field. He, however, is a native of C-U who would probably have left this community if not for the fact that Chanute Field offered the opportunity for him to pursue his profession.

Those who came to C-U by way of Chanute Field and those who are native to C-U but work at Chanute Field look upon their employment at the Air Force Base as a career. Because of that, they expect to make C-U their permanent residence, satisfactory in all respects. Needless to say, this highly trained, well educated group with high aspirations has augmented the forces in the C-U Negro community working toward race betterment. Their wives and children, who came with them with work experience in the more highly skilled occupations, are not likely to accept the traditional jobs offered to C-U Negroes. The presence of these people was of tremendous importance to the C-U Negro population in 1961 and their presence is one of the most important features that distinguishes C-U from what it was in previous decades.

What is true for Chanute Field is also somewhat true for the various employing agencies at the University of Illinois, other than the physical plant and food services. Although none of the leaders interviewed, nor the respondents to the schedule, felt compelled to eulogize the University for its exemplary policy of nondiscrimination, nevertheless -- the university has attracted and provides opportunities for Negroes with a greater amount of education and skills. It has employed a number of civil service clerical and post office employees, together with a few

technicians. Of course, there is a growing number of Negro students at the University of Illinois who are research and teaching assistants. Even though there is very little mingling or contact between the Negro students and Negro town people, their presence here has helped to sharpen the discussion of Negro rights in the academic community and increased the "good will" which was also an important fact in the Penney campaign.

However, there is a characteristic of the C-U Negro population which is somewhat indistinguishable from what it must have been decades ago; i.e., there is an apparent occupational gap between the highly trained professionals and civil service workers and the unskilled worker. There do not seem to be very many semi-skilled, clerical, sales and other similar types of workers among C-U's Negro population. This, of course, is demonstrated in the Karsh and Downey study and is not at all surprising. The only school in C-U that trains young people for a clerical career did not admit Negroes until last year. The C-U department stores followed a policy of hiring white high school graduates and by stages developed their own sales personnel. Most of the industrial and commercial enterprises in and around Champaign-Urbana also hired white high school graduates as their potential junior executives. The Distributive Education Program of the C-U school systems, in the past, could not find employers to whom they could farm out their junior and senior students of Negro origin for a half-day on-the-job training. All this makes it understandable why there is this absence of Negro workers in the middle range categories.

This fact becomes significant for our study in many ways. The protest movement, which began around the J. C. Penney Department Store and is branching out in other directions, is focusing its attention on the middle range jobs. Invariably, the employers who are approached to end their discriminatory policy and hire Negroes respond casually, "We would be only too happy to hire trained and competent Negroes." Those who have tried by verbal persuasion to convince employers to hire Negroes become so "brainwashed" by this seeming sincerity of the usual employer response, that the first point in a campaign strategy to win jobs for Negroes is to search for "trained and competent Negroes." During the J. C. Penney campaign the ministers searched for "trained and competent" sales personnel. They reasoned that if they could come up with a number of "trained and competent" Negro sales people, they would have the necessary talking point for employers and in addition a better basis for public propaganda. But much to their surprise they found very few Negroes who had any training or experience as sales people. They really were not aware of the extent to which the C-U employment policies had kept their people from receiving any worthwhile job training. The woman with ten years' sales experience was discovered on the first day of the new experience--picketing. Knowing that so well qualified a Negro had not been hired incensed Negroes in C-U and helped give them the determination to continue the picketing until their demands were satisfied. And why is this significant? To repeat: the woman with the ten years' sales experience was the wife of an Air Force employee who was transferred to Chanute Field. Many of

those who became sales clerks after the department stores surrendered and who had had previous sales experience were importees to C-U via Chanute Field and northern industrial centers (the wife of one of the ministers with labor union experience was hired as a sales clerk). Very few were native to C-U or were directly from the South.

In the survey several questions were directed toward ascertaining whether C-U Negro citizens had occupational skills which were not being utilized. Question 10 on education probes for "special training (any kind)"; Question 27, "Can you do any other type of work beside those already mentioned?" and question 40 inquires about armed service training by asking, "What was your job in the service?" To "special training," 72 answered "No" and 30 answered "Yes." But most of those who answered "Yes" had taken correspondence courses, mostly as hobbies; others had better jobs than those they could receive with their special training. To question 27, 81 per cent answered "No"; most of those who answered "Yes" gave occupations only slightly better than the one they were pursuing. In answer to question 40 very few indicated that they had received occupational training that could be of use in civilian life. Nowhere was there any evidence that there existed in C-U the smallest reservoir of untapped skills. But nevertheless the present population has an aggregate of skills which no doubt is far greater than could have been assembled here a decade ago.

The survey also found the Negro community to be very conscious of their lack of training. Most of the respondents felt that progress was

being made toward integration (90 out of 93) and that what they needed most in the more promising period ahead was education and training. In categorizing the methods for ending job discrimination in questions 42 through 49 the respondents invariably selected "education and training" as their most potent weapon. Seventy-nine per cent selected excellent to fill in the blank to complete the statement, "Giving better education and training to young Negroes so that they would be able to do more jobs is a (an)______ method for getting companies to employ Negroes." Most of the respondents not only selected excellent as their choice but also answered this question the most rapidly and the most emphatically of all the attitude questions. We interpreted the manner in which they answered this question as indicating that to them education and training was the best method for ending job discrimination.

This great emphasis on the need for education and training as a weapon to combat discrimination appears to be concomitant with the growing aspirations of the Negroes who inhabit the ghettos in C-U and elsewhere.[62] Whether or not this emphasis on the need for education and training is a population characteristic which sets apart the present population from populations of other decades is difficult to say; there is no way of ascertaining this. But what is evident in the attitudes of the present C-U Negro population on the subject of methods of ending discrimination and segregation is their awareness that in order to close the gap between their present existence and a less encumbered life there is a need for education and training. Many of the leaders who were interviewed, as

well as the respondents to the schedule, felt that many jobs, particularly at the University of Illinois and other State and Federal agencies, are going by the board in the absence of qualified takers. In general C-U Negroes feel that progress is being made. Eighty-six per cent of the schedule respondents answered "Yes" to the question "Do you think that progress is being made toward integration?" and 74 per cent, evaluating the extent of progress in question 59, answered that there is "great" or "some progress." What remains to be done amidst the crumbling walls of separation which are falling under the weight of Negro pressure is to come forward with the training to take the jobs made available to them.

However, aside from the respondents' high percentage of response to education and training as the best method for ending job discrimination, there was very little unanimity as to the best activity through which to achieve their goal. In order to ascertain the orientation of the respondents as to activities to bring an end to discrimination and segregation, I designed questions 41 through 53 and 57. Question 41 was an attempt to determine the respondent's approach to the problem through his selection of a leader. The supposition was, for example, that if the respondent selected a political leader, this would be one indication that he sought a political solution to the problem; similar suppositions were connected with the choice of religious, social or business leaders. Questions 42 through 51, through the structured format, sought to clarify the respondent's choice of leader by offering him the opportunity to evaluate ten different methods of attacking the problem. Again it was felt that if he selected a political

leader in answer to question 41, he would give question 48 on voting and 43, on a Fair Employment Law, high ratings as methods for ending discrimination and segregation. Questions 52 and 53 were designed to determine the aggressiveness of the respondent. Question 57 was an open-ended question to give the respondent an opportunity to speak his mind on how to end discrimination. To facilitate the respondent's answer to question 57 and to stimulate discussion, questions 58, 59 and 60 were added. One other question was also added in the middle of the survey to find out from what source the respondent was informed "about what Negroes are doing all over the country."

Generally, the results of this study revealed that, save for the great emphasis on education and training, the choice of the respondents as to methods or activities to achieve a better way of life, did not follow any definite pattern. There was no well defined majority approach in C-U to the problems of Negroes. Many of the respondents to the schedule when interviewed indicated that only through prayer and divine intervention could the wrongs inflicted by men be righted; any other activity to end their oppression was little more than useless. Fifty-four percent designated prayer as an excellent method of ending job discrimination, 19 per cent as good, 11 per cent as partially good, 11 per cent as not good, 1 per cent as harmful and 4 per cent did not respond. Of course, not all of the 54 per cent were committed to prayer to the exclusion of other means, but many of the respondents indicated that prayer was an essential element among many types of activities designed to end discrimination.

Picketing, which was a brand new experience for the community, although universally accepted after the campaign, did not receive from the respondents to the schedule an overwhelming number of excellent responses; 40 per cent rated picketing as an excellent method for ending job discrimination, 29 per cent as a good method, 16 per cent as partially good, 6 per cent as not good, 1 per cent as harmful, and there was no response from 8 per cent of the respondents. Several of the leaders interviewed said that the picketing of J. C. Penney was considered an excellent form of protest by most Negro citizens as long as those citizens were not called upon to do the picketing.

The function of a Fair Employment Practice law, under discussion at the time of the survey in the state legislature and subsequently passed, was the most confusing to the respondents of all the methods presented for their appraisal. Even though the preponderance of respondents rated it on the positive side, it was considered (but with little enthusiasm) by 43 per cent as excellent, 30 per cent as good 12 per cent as partially good, 6 per cent as not good, 4 per cent as harmful, and there was no response from 5 per cent. The evaluation of voting as a technique for ending job discrimination was likewise treated with mixed feelings; 47 per cent gave voting an excellent rating, 28 per cent good, 13 per cent partially good, 6 per cent not good, 1 per cent harmful, and 5 per cent offered no response. The suggestion in question 49 of moving to another city as a method of ending job discrimination received the most widely scattered responses: 13 per cent rated it as an excellent method, 24 per cent as

good, 15 per cent as partially good, 34 per cent as not good, 10 per cent as harmful and there was no response from 4 per cent.

When we turn to the questions dealing with housing segregation we again find the population divided as to methods of approach. In question 52, which asked the respondent to state in which community he would prefer to live, all Negro or mixed, 58 per cent preferred the mixed community, 24 per cent either and 15 per cent selected an all Negro community. If we combine the 58 per cent who preferred a mixed community with the 24 per cent who did not have any particular preference, we would have a preponderance of the sample indicating some preference for living in a mixed community. However, when the same people were asked in the next question, "If you had your choice, would you consider moving into a community that was hostile to Negroes . . . ?" it appeared that many had changed their mind when confronted with what must be accepted as reality when Negroes begin "mixing" a community, i.e., hostility. Forty-two per cent answered yes (they would want a mixed community even if they met with hostility), 47 per cent said no, and 7 per cent said yes, but. Those who preferred in the previous question a mixed community invariably explained their rejection, of a hostile but mixed community, by saying that they would not want to subject their families to hostility.[63]

Another barometer of the absence of a strong "collective consciousness" was, as has already been noted, and which is true elsewhere,[64] the wide variety of choices in question 41, which asked the respondents to name whom they considered the most important citizen in their

community. The first choice of each respondent when the leaders named were categorized by their field of activity, produced the following results:

TABLE XV

FIRST CHOICE OF LEADER (BY FIELD OF ACTIVITY)

	Total respondents	Number of diff. leaders named	Percentage of total	Total responses	Percentage responses
no response	30		28%		
white political	8	5	7%	8	11%
Negro political	32	4	35%	32	43%
Negro landlords and businessmen	4	4	3%	4	5%
Leaders in education	6	2	5%	6	8%
Leaders in fraternal orgs.	4	2	3%	4	5%
Ministers	18	4	17%	18	24%
Neighbors	3	3	2%	3	4%
	105	24	100%	75	100%

The fact that 28 per cent did not respond was not due to a lack of cooperation by the interviewee. On the contrary very good rapport was invariably established by the time question 41 was asked. Usually the respondent thought hard but could not think of any particular person he particularly cared to name. This large failure to respond, plus the 24 different names in 75 responses, was an indication of the absence of a universally accepted leadership. Even among the ministers and the political leaders, who together compiled 50 per cent of the popularity vote, there were eight people who were given the honor by 38 people. Interesting enough, although not at all surprising, was the selection

of the ministers and the political leaders of the cities by different income groups. The "better-off" in terms of housing, education and jobs selected the ministers; the poverty stricken, the uneducated and those doing menial work in the main selected the political leaders. The ministers would have received many more votes, as many of the respondents and the leaders themselves explained, if they were more permanent in the community--ministers rarely stay in the community for any length of time. One of the four ministers named has already left since this study began. He was in C-U for four years. Another, also four years in C-U has said he has been asked by his bishop to take another assignment. The other two have pastored in C-U for three years at the time of the survey. The political leaders, on the other hand, all have lived the major portion of their lives in C-U. They are the ones to whom the indigent look for assistance in times of distress.

Another important feature of the orientation of C-U Negroes is that they are not "joiners" (members of organizations). Save for the large number who specified church membership in the seven large and five smaller churches, 58 per cent of the population belong to no organization ✓ other than the church and the remainder are scattered among fraternal (8 per cent), social (10 per cent), and race betterment organizations (4 per cent)--even though there is no race betterment membership organization in existence in the community at the time of this the survey--unions (4 per cent), a combination of organizations (8 per cent) and veterans organization (4 per cent). The 1934 survey, previously

referred to, shows 57 per cent of the respondents as not being members of any organization and 43 per cent belonging to one or more organization.[65] This decrease of 1 per cent over three decades can hardly be of any real significance. However, what is of great significance is the absence in 1960 in C-U of a race betterment organization and of a Negro political organization, in view of the tremendous agitation nationally since the Korean War. In the 1934 survey no race-betterment organization was reported but 6 per cent of the respondents indicated membership in two political organizations (Douglass League and the Republican Club). The failure of the present C-U Negro citizens to organize race-betterment and political organizations prior to the Spring of 1961 is convincing evidence that the Negro community has lacked a unified, integrated orientation and movement.

One of the reasons for this lack of organizational consciousness became partially evident in an interview with one of the political leaders who was recently elected to office (the one who negotiated the final J. C. Penney settlement). I asked him the question, "Why is there no Negro political organization in C-U in view of the tremendous advantages that have accrued elsewhere and could be obtained here through politics on an individual as well as a group basis?" His answer was indeed revealing. He was not for a Negro political organization because an organization would mean that he would have to report and be responsible to the membership, and with an organization there is always the possibility of an opposition and a competitor; he wanted to be responsible to no one but to be free to do what he felt was best for the community. Needless to say, that

this type of approach does not cement community cohesiveness and build mass organizations. On the other hand, other leaders who were interviewed, although desirous of building a united community effort reported that they were unsuccessful in their attempts in the past.

The second elected Negro political leader, whom I interviewed in the presence of his white counterpart and confidant, also did not indicate that he was for leading a mass movement. He conducts his political office in an abandoned school house in the Negro ghetto at his own expense, while the county government provides space for him in downtown Champaign. It is through him that the Negro people come when they need a "political favor" to aid them in a crisis and he administers these favors on an individual basis.

But in spite of the personal and individual approaches of its political leaders and the absence of a race betterment organization and universally accepted methods of attacking race problems, when the spark was administered in the spring of 1961 there existed in the C-U Negro community the ingredients for a successful campaign.

It must be reemphasized, however, that not everyone was ready to do battle against the enemy in C-U. Far from it! Many in the community still gave the appearance of satisfaction with their lot by their inaction; many objected to the "way they were going about it"; many were still counting heavily on prayer for a better life; and many just didn't care or were not sufficiently aroused to participate. But there were enough Negroes in C-U differing markedly from their predecessors and ready to

act, and it was they who put together a movement that was successful.

In addition to the broad social changes, which made their mark on the "new Negro" inhabitants of C-U and specifically altered C-U's Negro population's characteristics, and which explain to a great extent the successful organization of the protest movement, the impact of what Negroes were doing nationally also served to stimulate the dormant C-U population into action.

It was amazing to learn from the outset of this study that the C-U Negroes were conversant with the protest movements within and outside the community. I had expected to run into a great communication barrier in administering the schedule, particularly with those questions dealing with methods of ending discrimination, the "Sit-ins" and the "Freedom Riders," since I anticipated a lack of information about what was going on locally and nationally. My expectation was based on my experiences from 1946 to the Korean War, when I worked with large numbers of Negroes in the trade union movement and in Chicago's ghettos. During those years in my work I found that the majority of Negroes with whom I came into contact were uninformed about what was happening to Negroes and what Negroes were doing generally throughout the U.S. But this was not my experience in this study of C-U. The respondents were well informed about the local picketing, the "Sit-ins," the "Freedom Riders" and Rev. King in particular. In the main when I came to question 42 (picketing) the character of the interview changed. Many of the respondents came alive, dropping some of the reservations and fears as to what this white

interviewer was up to. Almost to a respondent they knew about the picketing and had some opinion which they in most instances communicated to me. Locally this awareness could be attributed to the impact that this new experience--picketing, and the victory that followed--had upon the community. But what was the explanation of their acquaintance with what was going on nationally? The answer stood right in front of me in every living room I entered, television. It was at that point that I added question 61 which asked, "From what source do you get the most news about what Negroes are doing all over the country? (Number in order of importance.)" Most respondents made a first and second choice. The results are as follows:

TABLE XVI

SOURCE OF NEWS ABOUT ACTIVITIES OF NEGROES

	First Choice		Second Choice	
	Total responses	Percentage of total	Total responses	Percentage of total
Local newspapers	5	10%	10	21%
Negro "	0	0	0	0
T.V.	34	63%	14	26%
Radio	1	1%	7	13%
Magazines	0	0	0	0
Negro magazines	14	26%	10	21%
Church sermons	0	0	3	2%
Others	0	0	1	0
No response	0	0	9	17%
	54	100%	54	100%

It is obvious from the above that the greater coverage of national Negro news by T.V., which is not easily censored by local stations, has brought into C-U's Negro homes since the Korean War the historical events that have affected Negroes-events highlighted by Rev. King and the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. Also, the development during these years, of a substantial Negro press, together with the increase of literacy previously noted, explains the unexpected awareness of C-U Negroes of national happenings affecting them.

Keeping in mind these new avenues of communications, can we picture what an impact these television scenes and pictures in Ebony have had on those who had left the terror of the South or who had only heard the harrowing tales of man's inhumanity to man there; on those who see their Negro brothers looking "the man" in the eye seemingly unafraid? Or can we conceive what it means to Negro adults to see their young people march willingly past howling mobs into Southern eating places which they in their youth never dreamed of trespassing? A man or a woman would have to be made of iron or be so numbed by incessant abuse not to react. Then they see their leader, Rev. King, emerging from jail calling on his people not to stop walking, sitting, riding and picketing but to keep on protesting until complete victory is won. News of these and other events as heroic and as emotionally charged, coming as it does via television, radio, Negro newspapers and magazines into the homes of C-U Negroes, indeed must have played an important role in stimulating to action the "new Negro" in C-U whose characteristics we have described.

In a good number of the C-U Negro homes that my colleagues and I visited in our interviewing we sensed the pride and good feeling that comes with even a modicum of success. In answer to question 57, "Do you think that in your lifetime you will see the end of discrimination?" a great deal of optimism was expressed. Although 47 per cent of the respondents answered no to the question, many of them felt that discrimination was on its way out but would take a little longer than the time they had left on earth. Some answered no because of modesty; but hopefully they expected to be around when most of their nightmare had vanished.

The new ministers who led the J. C. Penney campaign, although they are great believers in prayer and one of them even expressed the conviction that God intervened directly to aid them, nevertheless before the ink was dry on the agreements with J. C. Penney, they had visited Sunbeam Bread, Humko, Coca Cola and other companies asking that they too join in opening job opportunities previously denied to Negroes in C-U. This too is a result of the impact of and the accelerated pace of the national Negro protest movement on the "new Negro" and his new ministers in Champaign-Urbana.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study the question has been raised as to why members of the C-U Negro community embarked on organized protest in the spring of 1961 when for many decades its citizens went about their daily tasks which were allocated to them, seemingly satisfied and with few vocal complaints about their community life. If they spoke at all about discrimination and their unequal status in the community, they spoke softly; only the few with ears attuned to the symbolic language of their subculture could detect their laments and their desire to be equal. But never in all the decades of Negro residence in C-U did they, as they did in front of J. C. Penney, demonstratively express their dissatisfaction with their status. Rev. Williams, one of the C-U Negro ministers to whom I put the question, "Why was it different in the spring of 1961?" gave his answer in two words; i.e., a "new Negro."

What has been suggested, in slightly greater length throughout this discussion, as the main reason for the change in behavior of the present C-U Negro, is that he differs substantially from his predecessors; or to describe it as those I interviewed did, "There is a 'new Negro' in C-U."

It is perhaps best to point out before summarizing the characteristics of this "new Negro" who inhabits C-U that, although he is considerably different from those who preceded him in C-U, he is not so different as to be indistinguishable from them. This study did not show

that all C-U Negro citizens, or a majority of them, have all the attributes of the "new Negro," but rather that many more than in past decades, and in increasing numbers, can be decisively differentiated from their precursors. Also, as in all social change, there has been an uneven development and internalization of the characteristics which were revealed by this study to distinguish the old from the new Negro citizen of C-U.

There are two types of findings that this study suggests in answer to the central question. One is the general change in population characteristics that has taken place in Negro communities throughout the country, a change also found in the C-U Negro population. The other embraces changes in population characteristics which are unique to C-U.

In general, and in broad terms, the social, economic and political changes brought about in the process of the industrialization of America since the Civil War profoundly affected the Negro citizen released from slavery, and indeed all Americans. The specific causes of these societal changes were discussed in Chapter I--i.e., the needs of the rapidly growing industrial machine spurred on by two World Wars, the boll weevil which impoverished southern agriculture, the international reduction in the demand for U. S. cotton and the mechanization of agriculture with its resultant reduced need for farm manpower. All these events contributed to and stimulated a new way of life and new opportunities which were made increasingly available to Negroes in succeeding generations. The "new Negro" is the culmination of the dramatic and the less dramatic incipient and incessant social changes that have been fostered by the

major social, economic and political development of our American society.

What specifically are the general characteristics of the "new Negro" nationally and in C-U?

This study has shown the following:

I. THAT GREATER SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY CHARACTERIZES THE "NEW NEGRO" AND THAT THIS CHARACTERISTIC IS PRESENT TO A GREATER EXTENT THAN BEFORE IN C-U'S NEGRO POPULATION.

A. Far more Negroes in C-U today have chosen C-U, their present home, as their permanent residence in which to pursue "life, liberty and...happiness." The days of going from place to place in search of a better life are coming to an end and Negroes are planting their roots in the soil of the cities in which they reside. This characteristic, which must be true for Negroes in other urban areas throughout the country, was indicated in many ways by comparison with the Negroes who inhabited C-U in previous decades:

1. the growing size of the Negro population of C-U,

2. the greater percentage of Negro youth born here who are remaining to build their life in C-U,

3. the greater number of years in residence in C-U of its present Negro inhabitants,

4. the high incidence of families who came to C-U in one move from their place of birth and remained,

5. the increased length of Negro employment in one company,

6. the greater number of C-U Negro citizens who own their homes,

7. the high percentage of those who intend to continue to live in C-U.

B. In my interviews with leaders of the community it was learned that although there is still a high incidence of bastardy and absentee fathers, nevertheless the present Negro population of C-U has moved closer to familial behavior characteristic of white middle-class family mores. This too suggests an increase in stability from what family living was among Negroes in previous generations.

C. Of course, the fact that many Negroes of C-U chose to walk the picket line, a difficult choice, instead of surrendering by walking to a "better place," is also evidence of greater population stability. It may be of some interest to note as a comparison that in labor-management relations one of the biggest fears of the employer during a strike is that his least attached employee--the one to whom he recently gave $5,000 worth of training--will walk into his competitor's plant instead of walking on the picket line. The same is true for a citizen: i.e., he shows greater stability and attachment for a city when he is willing to fight against what he feels is wrong rather than escape without a fight to surroundings much more to his liking. Negro citizens of C-U are here to stay and they walked the picket line to make C-U conform more to their desires.

II. THAT THE "NEW NEGRO" IS AT LEAST A GENERATION REMOVED FROM THE RURAL SOUTH.

He either came North before adulthood or was born in the North. His southern counterpart has also since left the rural areas for the industrialized urban areas of the South and is fighting on that front for a better life. The C-U Negro ministers who were discussed at length are of this mold and so are larger numbers of lay people than heretofore. To the "new Negro" the South, with its humiliation and suffering, is only a bad dream; he never had any real contact with it in his adult life. Nor is the North to him the land of "milk and honey" as it was to his antecedents. It is here, in the North, that he is humiliated and

frustrated. Although there are "better places" than C-U in the North, those wells of ready-made opportunities are fast drying up. It has become increasingly clear to many Negroes, as was indicated by those in the sample, that moving to another city is not a solution to their problem. A better life must be found here in C-U and the "new Negro" has accepted the challenge.

III. THAT THE "NEW NEGRO" IS THE PRODUCT OF THE GREATER OPPORTUNITIES THAT HAVE BEEN OPENED TO HIM BY THE ECONOMIC NECESSITIES AND POLITICAL EXPEDIENCIES THAT HAVE ACCOMPANIED THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AMERICA.[66]

A. Economic necessity, save for the early years of C-U when the need for cheap railroad labor in C-U made employment available for Negroes, has not been a direct operating factor in C-U, but the laws and organizational policies which resulted from political expediency, have. The nondiscriminatory policy at Chanute Field and the merit employment policy at the University of Illinois can be attributed to the changes in statutory provisions, governmental policies and administrative procedures. These policies are due in part to political expediency, in part (and in this case operating in the absence of economic necessity) to the moral and ethical influences stemming from the affect that dedicated partisans of human freedom had upon the more educated persons found in and brought to the C-U "academic community." These facts have been of considerable importance to the C-U Negro community. The nondiscriminatory policies at Chanute Field, at the University of Illinois and in other governmental agencies have brought to C-U professionals, civil service workers and other highly trained Negroes with families whose members also have training in the higher occupational categories. These individuals are of the new mold, and will not willingly accept the traditional jobs, nor the cast-off clothes nor second-class citizenship. The "new Negro" came to C-U to stay and to pursue a career and wants to make of C-U a place where he can enjoy a middle-class

way of life. He is hostile to and tries to escape internment in the teeming ghetto.

It is significant to note that those Negroes who come to Chanute Field for employment, to the University of Illinois or to work in C-U as professionals, invariably first get in touch with the leading "sympathetic" organization in town for aid in finding housing. At first they specifically exclude housing in the Negro ghetto as being unacceptable. The co-chairmen of the Housing Committee of the C.C.I. (Council on Community Integration) have informed me that no less than eight such Negro families and individuals have come to them for aid in obtaining housing outside the Negro ghetto in the past two months; in three cases success was achieved. In one case, an Army Captain who had come to the University as a graduate student had looked in vain for rental housing adequate for his family, and was finally offered staff housing by the University. Another case was of a Negro school teacher employed by the Special Education Department of the Champaign School System who refused to accept the job until she was assured of adequate housing. An apartment was finally found for her near the campus of the University. A young woman, a civil service employee at the University, pounded the pavement for several weeks until she too found an apartment "near campus."

The moral and ethical influences which have shaped those members of the university community who come from America's "melting pot" have provided C-U with a substantial number of "men of good will" to whom the Negro community could rely on for support. The aid and assistance rendered by these enlightened people in the "academic community" can be easily adduced from the facts of the election of Kenneth Stratton to the City Council, and of the victory in the J. C. Penney campaign.

B. The social security and welfare programs that grew out of the great Depression and New Deal legislation have provided greater economic security and political status for the Negro.

1. There is unemployment insurance to tide him over between jobs.

2. There are federal social security and old age assistance provisions and state and local welfare programs for which Negroes are eligible. Prior to the depression of the 1930's, welfare programs were mainly the work

of private organizations and for the most part Negroes were not included. Even after federal and local New Deal type of legislation was passed, Negroes were systematically denied equal access to its benefits. But with the growth and extension of social agencies and under the sponsorship of social workers, welfare programs were made more accessible to Negroes. In addition, with the increased political power of the Negro in the North, politicians, with an eye to the vote, have seen to it that these welfare programs are administered more fairly. In the South, under the somewhat watchful eye of the federal government, at least the federal benefits are parceled out in accordance with law.

3. By virtue of these legislative programs Negroes have gained status as citizens in that they are given greater protection in their right to receive the benefits and guardianship of their government.

C. In turn, the greater economic opportunities made available to Negroes, which have opened up to them avenues for formal and informal education, have spawned the "new Negro."

1. Negroes have been able to take advantage of the the removal of barriers in universities, in public, private, trade and secretarial schools, even in spite of Jim-Crow education. They have been enabled to pursue the arts, sciences, professions and technical skills and have gotten the education that their "friends" are so desirous for them to get. This accounts for the increase in the number of Negroes who by virtue of their training have been able to utilize the opportunities for jobs made available by the changes in policy at Chanute Field, the University of Illinois and other public agencies.

2. The education that comes from military service, has increased the contacts and experiences of Negroes and has, in spite of the discriminatory policies that have existed, enriched their lives and aspirations.

3. For the greater mass of the Negro people the industrial plants introduced them to skills, techniques and enlightening experiences previously closed to them. Although C-U has never had much in the way of industry, the general benefits that the industrial

plants have afforded to Negroes nationally have trickled down to influence C-U's Negro citizens.

4. Negroes' contact with the C.I.O. industrial unions have given them an education not fully understood in academic circles. Of course, it is not the type of education that one would be inclined to credit with being the underlying cause of their success; but it is the type of education that one unconsciously reaches for in times of crisis. The new Negro ministers of C-U, in their experience in the industrial plants and with the unions, no doubt had felt the transformation in workers, from fear to courage, in the presence of their union. When these ministers were faced with the crisis caused by the failure of J. C. Penney to hire a Negro sales clerk, they reached into their experience and came up with a solution with which they were familiar, picketing.

5. With greater economic security, Negro parents have been able to send their children to school and keep them there. The increase in the number of years that C-U Negroes have attended school is its confirmation.

6. No longer plagued with having to work from sun-up to sun-down, many Negroes have been able to go to school while gainfully employed, as did the four C-U Negro ministers I interviewed.

IV. THAT THE "NEW NEGRO" VOTES.

Nationally this is of great consequence, as has been indicated, but locally, the size of the Negro population is not sufficient to affect substantially the course of local political events. On the other hand, the size of the Negro vote in C-U is often, in the primaries for example, sufficient to balance two contending forces within a party. In the future, however, Negro political influence may be more pronounced since there are presently small rumblings in the Negro community for

political organization to increase their electoral strength and to take advantage of the many opportunities for Negroes that are opening up in the state and national political administrations.

V. THAT THE "NEW NEGRO" IS AN ORGANIZATION MAN.

He is not an organization man in William H. Whyte's sense of conforming to the set pattern of bureaucratic organizations, but rather in the sense of building new organizations--race betterment organizations--to unite the Negro people in common effort to achieve their ends. In C-U they are building the C-U Improvement Association, modeled after, in name and purpose, the Montgomery Improvement Association led by Rev. Martin Luther King, which has counterparts in hundreds of C-U's throughout the country.

VI. THAT THE "NEW NEGRO" IS A "RACE" MAN, READY AND WILLING TO SUBMERGE HIS OWN IMMEDIATE COMFORTS AND PEACE FOR THE GOOD OF THE WHOLE "RACE."

This would explain the activities and sacrifices of many prominent Negroes nationally in all areas of political and cultural activity, particularly cultural, Negroes whose income and social prestige could achieve for them as individuals all that anyone could ever attain in American middle-class society if they were only prepared to "keep their place." But today, few of them are willing, for example, to appear before segregated audiences or apologize for their less-cultured brothers. Actors and actresses, for their part, are less ready today to

play the stereotyped Rastus and Mammy roles assigned to them in the past. In C-U the same phenomenon has been present; the Chanute Field professionals, the college graduates, the social workers, the college students, the civil service workers, the plasterers and of course the ministers did the yeoman's work in the Penney campaign. Few of those who actively participated in the Penney campaign wanted sales jobs; they were there because they wanted better job opportunities for all Negroes.

VII. FINALLY, THAT THE "NEW NEGRO," ALTHOUGH HE TOO, LIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, IS A MEMBER OF A CHURCH, IS LESS INCLINED TO RELY SOLELY ON PRAYER TO ACHIEVE HIS GOALS.

The "new Negro" ministers who came to C-U to lead congregations are no less committed to their religion than their predecessors, but they are much more committed to rooting out every last vestige of un-Christian segregation to which their people have been subjected. We have seen that in C-U, in full church dress to identify their calling, the "new Negro" ministers walked for jobs while they prayed for divine intervention. And right behind the ministers were their deacons and ushers--the professional, the teacher, the social worker, the civil service employee, the high-school graduate--all "new Negroes," perhaps with prayers on their lips but with picket signs in their hands.

These, then, are the characteristics of the "new Negro," which have been interiorized by large enough numbers of C-U Negroes

to have changed substantially the population characteristics of this ghetto from what they formerly were.

What were the unique circumstances in the spring of 1961 that brought the C-U Negro community to action? There was present in C-U a sufficient number of "new Negroes," some having been brought here through employment at Chanute Field, civil service employment at the University and other state agencies, and some being local unemployed high school graduates in search of better jobs; and of course there were the ministers who united them. All of them possessed the highest aspirations for themselves and their people. When J. C. Penney, after offering 150 sales jobs to the public, failed to hire a single qualified Negro, this fact incensed the community, which then answered the call of the ministers.

However, in evaluating the success of the campaign several factors must be considered. On the negative side, the small percentage of Negroes in the total population of C-U, the absence of the economic necessity of hiring Negroes, and the weak political influence of the Negro in the community did not help the cause. One the positive side, however, in addition to the factors already mentioned, the presence in C-U of a larger reservoir of good will (from the "academic community") toward Negroes and their objectives than could ordinarily be expected in a northern town the size of C-U, helped considerably in the campaign.

These facts are of importance for the future campaigns that may be undertaken by the C-U Improvement Association. Can the Improvement Association achieve success in those areas where direct public pressure cannot be applied? It is true that since the spring of 1961 a state Fair Employment Practices Law has been passed which makes it illegal for a company employing a hundred or more people to discriminate on the basis of race, color or creed. However, it remains to be seen whether this law, weak in some respects, will aid in opening more job opportunities to Negroes in C-U.

Since the J. C. Penney campaign the Negro ministers have visited a number of establishments. Some fall into the category where direct public pressure can be highly successful; others, where the F.E.P. law can be applied. However, it is certain that although the "new Negro" of C-U will not be successful in every undertaking, his numbers will grow and he will fight more and more for the good things in American society.

Two of the above findings in this study merit further consideration because of their general implications for collective action in protest movements. One relates to the transfer through individuals of training and experience from one social setting to another. The other involves the problem of ascertaining which strata of a population in a society are more apt to participate in a social protest movement.

As we have shown, one of the unintended consequences of the Negro's exodus from the South and of the opening of jobs to satisfy the

needs of the growing industrial machine, was to bring Negroes into contact with the newly organized industrial unions. The beginning of this contact in the middle 1930's was concurrent with the upsurge in trade union organization that followed the economic upswing from the depths of the Great Depression. The newly formed, democratically oriented C.I.O. Unions first opened their doors to Negroes. It was in the C.I.O. that the "new Negro" received his "basic training" in the strategy, tactics and organization of protest movements. As one of the rank and file, he watched his union leadership go through the steps of organizing and uniting him with his fellow workers in a common effort. He learned how an organizational meeting is run and about strikes and picketing. Even if he was disinterested or a "backslider" he was surrounded in his occupational performance by the activities initiated by the unions. Certainly if he was deeply interested, he was given for the first time in his life an opportunity to participate in leadership and to shape the conditions of his labor, and he obtained a tremendous education and training, the details of which are beyond the scope of this thesis. What is important for this discussion is that Negroes took their experiences and the lessons they learned from the shop and their unions into the communities in which they lived. It must be noted that the transfer of protest forms from one social situation to another was not conveyed by any formal social structure or institutional means; the training and experience were informally transferred by individuals, and most of the time not consciously. We

have seen that in C-U, the Negro ministers, after they left the shops for their spiritual calling, brought with them to C-U their training and experiences as workers and stewards in industrial plants organized in the C.I.O.; and that when they sought to change the conditions of their existence in C-U they dipped into the reservoir of their trade union experiences and utilized its tactics. It also must be pointed out in the same connection that the Negro minister, whose prime responsibility it is to develop a viable church organization, must learn the "trade" of organizing. Again, the minister who came to C-U to organize congregations to pray together got involved in organizing the Negro community to protest together. And again he borrowed from another setting, this time the techniques necessary for a successful church organization, and utilized them in building a successful community organization.

The second general implication we mentioned is the problem of ascertaining which strata in a society are more apt to participate in a social movement. The protest movement in C-U, although it was relatively successful and had the good wishes of the vast majority of Negro people in the community, was organized and participated in by only a fraction of the whole Negro population. Efforts were made to involve as many of the Negro citizenry as possible, but for the most part those involved were the professional, the civil service worker and in general the strata employed in jobs higher on the occupation ladder than the sales jobs for which they were fighting. This same phenomenon appeared in somewhat modified form during the 1930

depression and in the subsequent upsurge in trade union organization. It was not until the upswing in the business cycle that workers began to organize themselves into trade unions to better their conditions. At the height of the depression, when jobs were scarce and "sweat shop" conditions of employment prevailed, opportunities for union organization were unfavorable; workers accepted their depressed conditions and whatever abuse their employers imposed upon them with little protest. However, when jobs became more plentiful and wages began to rise, only then did workers join and participate in programs pointed against management. Trade union organizers attest that the worker at the bottom of the industrial heap or the worker decrying conditions in the plant in which he nonetheless continues to work is not the one who joins the union and is active in it. From the ranks of the more educated (though not necessarily formally educated) and the more skilled, and from those who are not completely dissatisfied but would like to improve the conditions of their labor, the most active trade unionists are recruited. Those who have been beaten and are downtrodden often give up the struggle and some escape to "booze" and dereliction. The more educated and trained ones, who have higher aspirations, seek means to improve their initially higher status. In C-U it was the Negro professional, the civil service worker, the high school graduate, the few who wanted a sales job and the ministers who organized them, who made up the most effective and the hardest working elements in the victory at J. C. Penney. In all three social situations--the depression, the building of unions and the

Negro protest movement in C-U--it was not the lowest strata, but rather those among the more educated and trained of the oppressed, that mounted the campaign to better their conditions. This phenomenon would seem to contradict those who hold that social protest movements--particularly social revolutions--feed on poverty and the plight of the downtrodden masses. On the contrary, the indications are that social protest movements are generated and manned by the more forward-looking people who have developed some stake in their society but still aspire to a better way of life.

In C-U the collective action that developed was a product of the social, economic and political conditions which had matured in the industrialization of America and which were partially present in C-U in the spring of 1961. These conditions in turn brought to and/or developed in C-U the "new Negro," who had already raised himself educationally, occupationally, economically and socially above the depressed strata in our society generally and in the C-U Negro community in particular and who desired full citizenship in America's middle-class society. The new minister, armed with social and political techniques he had learned in the church and in the unions, and insulated from the pressures of the white community by his parishioners who were now more affluent, united those forces in the C-U Negro ghetto struggling to be free. With secondary support from those of good will in the "academic community," C-U Negroes won sales jobs not only in J. C. Penney but in all the major department stores in C-U.

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29. Ibid.

30. Council for Community Integration of Champaign-Urbana, Newsletter, Vol. III, No. 3 (May, 1961), 1.

31. The interviewing schedule is in Appendix A, and the tabulation of answers is in Appendix B.

32. See map of Champaign-Urbana in Appendix C.

33. Janet Andrews Cromwell, "History and Organization of the Negro Community in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, 1934), Tables X, XI, XII, pages 34, 36 and 38 respectively.

34. Ibid., p. 71.

35. Donald O. Cowgill, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Non-Whites in American Cities 1940-1950," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1956), 47.

36. Cromwell, op. cit., p. 39.

37. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, Illinois, page viii.

38. Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrick C. Reitzes, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVIII, No. 3 (Nov., 1952), 240.

39. This statement, interestingly enough, was made in the presence of my assistant who is a Negro.

40. See map of Champaign-Urbana in Appendix C.

41. From an interview with Charles Phillips, retired political and business leader.

42. Cromwell, op. cit., p. 2.

43. Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., 333.

44. Cromwell, op. cit., p. 71.

45. From the interview with Virgil Burgess, Justice of the Peace, Champaign County, who related that daily larger numbers of Negroes get off the train coming up from New Orleans.

46. U. S. Bureau of Census, op. cit., Table 21, with approximated nonwhite student population subtracted from the total.

47. Mary S. Bedell, "Employment and Income of Negro Workers--1940-1952," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 76, No. 6 (June, 1953), 596-600.

48. Hugh H. Smythe, "Negro Masses and Leaders: An Analysis of Current Trends," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Sept.-Oct. 1950), 34.

49. Steele, op. cit., 154.

50. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 475.

51. Cromwell, op. cit., p. 1.

52. Ibid., p. 54.

53. Ibid., p. 60.

54. Everett S. Lee, "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klineberg Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (April, 1951), 227.

55. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1945), p. 284.

56. Rose, op. cit., p. 314.

57. John Hope, "Industrial Integration of Negroes: The Upgrading Process," Human Organization, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter, 1952), 5.

58. Robert J. Dwyer, ""The Negro in the U.S. Army," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Nov.-Dec. 1953), 106-110.

59. John Hope II, "The Self-Survey of the Packinghouse Union--A Technique for Effective Change," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. IX, No. I (1953), 28-36.

60. John Hope Franklin, op. cit., p. 512.

61. James C. Evans and David A. Lane Jr., "Integration in the Armed Services," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Services, Vol. 304 (March, 1956), 78-85.

62. William H. Brown, "Attitudes Toward the Education of Negroes," *Phylon*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Second Quarter, 1952), 158.

63. Lynn S. Clark and James H. Kirk, "Characteristics of Minority Group Families Who Have Tried to Move into White Neighborhoods," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (April, 1959), 243.

64. Smythe, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

65. Cromwell, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

66. Drake and Cayton, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-285.

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APPENDIX C

Map of Champaign-Urbana--Distribution Negro Population, 1961

CHAMPAIGN URBANA

DISTRIBUTION
NEGRO POPULATION
1961

CROSS HATCHED AREA - 92% NEGRO
BLACK DOTS - NEGRO RESIDENCES