REPORT
ON
PROBLEMS OF RACIAL JUSTICE
IN PORTLAND

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JUNE 21ST SPEAKER DISCUSSES SELECTIVE SERVICE POLICIES

Colonel Leonard G. Hicks, USMC, Oregon’s new Director of Selective Service, will address the City Club on Friday, June 21, discussing current policies and practices of the state selective service system.

Colonel Hicks assumed his office in February of this year, succeeding Spraque Carter, resigned.
REPORT ON PROBLEMS OF RACIAL JUSTICE IN PORTLAND

To the Board of Governors,
The City Club of Portland:

I. INTRODUCTION

Anticipating the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Board of Governors and Research Board of The City Club of Portland constituted a Committee on Racial Justice. It was charged to respond in terms of the Portland community to that Report. This is a large order. It might well have seemed insurmountable except for the availability of the work product of three City Club committees on Race Relations, on Law Enforcement and on The Ombudsman. These groups, for varying periods extending over many months, have been long at work on their respective assigned tasks. Each has virtually completed research into its assigned area of study. Sources of materials and information which have been considered by one or more of the three pre-existing groups or by this Committee are cited in Appendix C. This Committee, made up of members of those three established committees, has drawn heavily on the work of its three "parents," personnel of which is listed in Appendix A. In fact, your Committee’s report in the present form would not have been possible without the cooperation and extensive contributions from the investigations and findings of those committees. The wide reach of their basic investigations is indicated by Appendix B.

While the Committee has thus built its report very largely upon the parent committee work, it assumes full responsibility for the following presentation. The parent committees, as such, have not considered this report as drafted and carry no responsibility for the report or its recommendations.

Many of the matters discussed in this report are extremely fluid. Accordingly, the reader will appreciate that a statement offered as current fact may be rendered inaccurate by a change of which the Committee has not been advised. Some programs in the course of planning or even implementation may not have received notice. Hopefully, with change and improvement so urgently needed, the situation will remain fluid.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (herein called the "Kerner Commission")\(^{(1)}\) has been characterized by Tom Wicker of The New York Times, as an "indictment" which "makes plain that white, moderate, responsible America is where the trouble lies." It is "not so much a report on the riots as a report on America—one nation, divided." The Commission stated its general conclusion in the following firm and urgent call to action:

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer’s disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American.

This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.

\(^{(1)}\)Issued March 2, 1968. Available at newsstands in paperback as a Bantam Book at $1.25, herein referred to as the "Kerner Report." While the Kerner Report was a direct result of the mounting, virtually revolutionary racial disorders of the past few years, it also had genesis in a series of post-war inquiries—on civil rights, urban and slum problems, housing, equal employment opportunity, crime and law enforcement—with human rights and justice as the dominant, recurring theme. (See Appendix C.)
The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national action—compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule.

Violence and destruction must be ended—in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans.

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.\(^{(2)}\)

The Kerner Report is an extraordinary government document. Its comments and conclusions will surely move thoughtful readers to sobering reflections. But, it is the message of the Report that reflective inaction is no longer the order of the time or the circumstances. It is attentive concern and prompt, active and sustained commitment to the solutions which must come if there is to be for and among us all a satisfactory climate of order, justice, decency and hope.

While the Kerner Report is a "Report on America," it is concurrently a direct and individual challenge and warning to each American. The Commission, in summary, personalizes its message as follows:

We speak of us—for the freedoms and opportunities of all Americans are diminished and imperiled when they are denied to some Americans. The tragic waste of human spirit and resources, the unrecoverable loss to the nation which this denial has already caused—and continues to produce—no longer can be ignored or afforded.

Two premises underlie the work of the Commission:

that this nation cannot abide violence and disorder if it is to ensure the safety of its people and their progress in a free society.

that this nation will deserve neither safety nor progress unless it can demonstrate the wisdom and the will to undertake decisive action against the root causes of racial disorder.

This report is addressed to the institutions of government and to the conscience of the nation, but even more urgently, to the minds and hearts of each citizen. The responsibility for decisive action, never more clearly demanded in the history of our country, rests on all of us.

To this Committee is assigned the task of report and comment on the relationship and applicability of the Kerner Report, its findings and recommendations, to the Portland community. It would serve no useful purpose to detail here the Commission's observations respecting other metropolitan centers nor its call for remedial programs on a massive scale by the federal government. The Committee undertakes to report on the Portland Metropolitan area in the light of the wider survey and to recommend what should be done in this community.

The Committee essays a more specific look at the Portland scene, overall, and by problem areas. Except for limited portions\(^{(3)}\) its view is not correlated to a prospect or possibility of civil disorder or violence in Portland. It is not intended to serve as a critique limited to the anticipation of any "long hot summer," nor to suggest means to avoid imminent emergency. There is, of course, a recognized correlation between the possibility of disorder in the summer of 1968 or some other time and the acknowledged fundamental problems which demand prompt, effective and persevering attention.


\(^{(3)}\)A specific example is Section II-6 dealing with the preparations necessary to assure due process in event of massive disorder.
Sense of crisis and moral purpose are fundamental in Portland, as elsewhere. Shortly before his untimely death, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote:

White America has allowed itself to be indifferent to race prejudice and economic denial. It has treated them as superficial blemishes, but now awakes to the horrifying reality of a potentially fatal disease. The urban outbreaks are a "fire bell in the night": Clamorously warning that the seams of our entire social order are weakening under strains of neglect.

The American people are infected with racism—that is the peril. Paradoxically, they are also infected with democratic ideals—that is the hope. While doing wrong, they have the potential to do right. But they do not have a millennium to make changes. Nor do they have a choice of continuing in the old way. The future they are asked to inaugurate is not so unpalatable that it justifies the evils that beset the nation. To end poverty, to extirpate prejudice, to free a tormented conscience, to make a tomorrow of justice, fair play and creativity—all these are worthy of the American ideal.

We have, through massive non-violent action, an opportunity to avoid a national disaster and create a new spirit of class and racial harmony. We can write another luminous moral chapter in American history. All of us are on trial in this troubled hour, but time still permits us to meet the future with a clear conscience.({4})

Nothing of substance will come of any effort to supply only an expedient, or palliative to "cool" conditions temporarily. Rather, our concern must be for the identification of existing problems and for the indication of means to meaningful progress toward their ultimate solution.

One common denominator is found in each of the problem areas, and, indeed, is a basic, fundamental and essential factor characterizing local government generally. For shorthand purposes this common denominator is referred to as the "neglect of citizen involvement." It encompasses the failure on the part of local government to establish and maintain lines of effective communication with the citizens it serves and, most significantly, with residents of Albina and other depressed areas.

Local governments cannot continue to assume that they function exclusively at downtown seats of government. Even if the efforts so to do were combined with the best-motivated intent always to be "accessible," and to maintain a "my-door-is-always-open-to-the-citizens-of-this-community" policy, the necessary job would not be done. The fact is that local government affects persons who are mobile, articulate, confident, sophisticated about the structure of government and sufficiently aggressive in their efforts to be heard in the course of traditional conduct of the business of government. The correlative which local government has failed to accommodate is the fact that it affects also persons who are relatively immobile and rarely get to the Portland core area for any purpose, who have no confidence in their ability to articulate, who do not believe that anyone will try to listen, who have no conception of how to wend the maze of bureaucratic mysteries and who have so often been defeated, disappointed, discouraged and denied in their efforts at communication that hostility and despair have replaced any motivation to initiate contact with government.

A result of this lack has been a virtual denial to the Negro citizens and to many indigent white citizens of any participating role in local government. Accordingly, government has not acted "with" them. Insofar as government undertakes to serve their needs (as perceived by government), it tends to act "for" them. Actions taken "for" them are readily translated by them as actions taken "on" or "at" or "against" them. Thus, hostilities are aggravated, indignities are multiplied and the failure of citizen-government communication is compounded.

The foregoing is a problem regarding which local government has remained marvelously removed. Indeed, those in government have manifested an incredible degree of naivete regarding how they are seen by people in the community and what things need to be done respecting obvious local problems. In many respects their naivete has been such that substantial numbers have interpreted government's neglect of timely action as arrogance. This Committee has found little or no indication of affirmative arrogance, but it has found that Portland's local government officials, generally with the best of motivation, have been curiously and tragically

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insensitive. The resulting hostilities which have festered are unhealthy, dangerous and in immediate need of solution. Kerner Commission conclusions are pertinent:

No democratic society can long endure the existence within its major urban centers of a substantial number of citizens who feel deeply aggrieved as a group, yet lack confidence in their government to rectify perceived injustice and in their ability to bring about needed change.

We are aware that reforms in existing instruments of local government and their relation to the ghetto population will mean little unless joined with sincere and comprehensive response to the severe social and economic needs of ghetto residents. . . . we make specific recommendations with respect to employment, education, welfare, housing and other programs which we hope will meet some of these needs.

We believe, however, that there are measures which can and should be taken now; that they can be put to work without great cost and without delay; that they can be built upon in the future and that they will effectively reduce the level of grievance and tension as well as improve the responsiveness of local government to the needs of ghetto residents.

II. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

A. Situation and Needs in Brief: Goals

In reviewing the Portland situation, the interviews, investigations, and studies of the cooperating City Club committees have led to a fundamental and general conclusion that there exists a community situation calling for immediate and sustained attention.

This Committee has concluded that the Kerner Report is applicable to Portland and that conditions which are intolerable by any acceptable standard of social conscience persist here. Portland experienced civil disorder in the summer of 1967 and causative conditions persist to the present and demand action.

Portland's Negro community (reported in the 1960 census as numbering 15,637 of 372,676 total population, or 4.2 per cent) is substantially smaller than that of many of the cities which have also experienced disorders but that does not mean that the problems requiring attention here are different in kind. Neither does it mean that Portland is "different" or otherwise uninvolved with the matters pointed up in the Kerner Report. Indeed, the fact that the Negro population of Portland is relatively small may actually enhance the significance of that Report to this area, for a variety of reasons: (1) To the extent that the group is small, it is relatively easy for the white community to push from its collective conscience the group, its plight, and its problems; (2) because the group is small, this community has permitted to exist degrees of discrimination which actually exceed, in some forms, discrimination in other cities with more dramatic ghetto problems, and (3) inasmuch as the group is small, the problems (though not different qualitatively) are of manageable proportions and it would be inexcusable to deny or delay the effort to get on with their solution.

Thus Portland shares with most of the larger cities of the country a crisis in its citizen-government relationships. This crisis is marked by weaknesses in intercommunication, mutual understanding and trust, cooperation, uniformity of justice, parity of administration of government services and civil order and security both at central government and at neighborhood levels. These weaknesses are particularly marked with respect to blighted, depressed, or deprived neighborhoods and minority groups, including, very notably, the Albina community.

Tensions have mounted in this city, as elsewhere, in recent years. Currently there is substantial unrest. Immediate and positive actions are necessary in pursuit of human rights and justice and of freedom from explosive or lingering civic disorders.

A number of ameliorative efforts and measures are in effect or proposed in special fields of citizen-government relations, as indicated. However, these are limited in scope, intensity and coordination in relation to the magnitude and complexity of the interrelated problems confronted.

The range of deficiencies and grievances in Portland is similar to that found by the Kerner Commission to exist in large cities in general. It includes discrimination or inadequacies in many areas: in police attitudes and practices; in administration of justice; in unemployment and underemployment; in consumer treatment; in education and training; in recreation facilities and programs; in welfare and health; in housing and community facilities; in municipal services; in federal programs, and in the underlying attitudes and behavior of the white community.

Thus Portland shares the common pressing problems and perils. To the extent that its problems differ from those of Watts, Newark, or Detroit, the differences are of degree, not of cause and effect, or of urgency.

The revolutionary acceleration of deprivation and need, and resulting unrest of the deprived and needy during the past few years resulted in the far-reaching and urgent conclusions and recommendations of the Kerner Commission. Recognizing that the American political system has not provided opportunities or rights for a substantial minority of our citizens, the Kerner Commission recommended goals for national action in these universal terms:

Just as Lincoln, a century ago, put preservation of the Union above all else, so we should put creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity—as our major goal. Toward that goal, we propose the following objectives for national action:

- Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination, and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.
- Removing the frustration of powerlessness among disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives, and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
- Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, to end distrust and hostility, and to create common ground for efforts toward common goals of public order and social justice.

The Commission proposed the following basic objectives for community response considered fully applicable to Portland's general and special problems:

- Effective communication between ghetto residents and local government
- Improved ability of local government to respond to the needs and problems of ghetto residents
- Expanded opportunities for indigenous leadership to participate in shaping decisions and policies which affect their community
- Increased accountability of public officials.

The conclusions and recommendations of this Committee respecting the interrelated objectives and means of accomplishment in the Portland community and its various problem areas are presented in the following sections. Their main thrust is in the direction of a deeper citizen involvement and participation in vital civic and governmental affairs.

1. EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

a. Introduction

Daniel P. Moynihan, an outstanding student of urban problems, has written:

The principal measure of progress toward equality will be that of employment. It is the primary source of individual or group identity. In America, what you do is what you are: to do nothing is to be nothing: to do little is to be little. The equations are implacable and blunt, and ruthlessly public.

America faces a severe challenge in the area of equal employment opportunity. Lest anyone think that somehow Portland has met or escaped this challenge, a few pertinent facts are commended to attention.

A recent study by the Oregon State Department of Employment indicates that 8.2 per cent of non-white males are unemployed, compared with 3.7 per cent of white males.

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(8) Based in part on study of Subcommittee on Economic Opportunity, Race Relations Committee.
(9) Quoted in Kerner Report, p. 251.
The same study shows that 33 per cent of all residents of the Albina area are classifiable as "poor." Of all families in that area, 24.2 per cent earn less than $3,000 per year.

Recent information secured by this Committee indicates:

The City of Portland has a firefighter force of approximately 690, of these none is a Negro. The City of Portland has a police force of 720, of which eight are Negroes.

The City of Portland has recently conducted a Race Identification Survey, a copy of which is included as Appendix D to this report. Of 4,188 city employees, 136 or 3.2 per cent are Negro. Of the 136, all but 24 are employed in jobs which pay between $194 and $551 per month.

Publication of the Kerner Report has stimulated a great deal of activity, most of it unfortunately verbal. This is true of Portland; there has been talk but not enough action. As a result, the Negro worker in our city is little better off today than he was a few years ago.

There are some encouraging developments, however. The efforts of several large firms to recruit and hire Negro employees are particularly commendable. But a greater sense of commitment is essential, particularly by smaller employers. Out of 500 companies in the Portland metropolitan area which employ more than 50 people, only about 50 have gone out of their way to promote Negro employment.

The educated Negro with a college degree has no problem. He can find a job easier today than ever before. As one personnel manager put it, industry is looking for these people and is anxious to grab them up.

For every Negro teacher, engineer or doctor there are countless untrained Negroes who walk a treadmill of frustration without a decent job at a decent wage. As products of a disadvantaged environment, many lack the skill to perform a job, the ability to find one and the confidence and discipline to hold one. A 1966 Department of Employment survey shows that they are not lifting themselves out of the morass of poverty they inherited. The study shows that of males aged 24 to 35, 16.6 per cent of the non-white are unemployed, compared with 6.8 per cent of the whites.

Thus Moynihan's grim equation applies in microcosm to Portland. In order to alter it and halt the "cycle of failure" whereby the employment disabilities of one generation breed those of the next, labor, industry and public agencies must combine their efforts to provide the necessary training and employment. In the following pages, the situation in all three areas is briefly analyzed in the hope that illumination of the problem together with reasonable recommendations may facilitate the task of eliminating racial barriers or imbalance in employment.

b. The Role of Public Agencies

Public agencies whose responsibilities include the handling of employment problems have not been effective. To some extent this is due to underfinancing; to some extent it is attributable to a history of relatively unimaginative and uninspired programming. Until recently the State Department of Employment had failed to generate an aggressive and vigorous program directed to minority employment. The State Employment Service refused to follow the lead of California and other states in the hiring of minority specialists. As a result, the Service was seen by Negroes as the place least likely to offer promise of anything more than the most menial jobs, or of training facilities for upgrading employment, if found. Employers, for correlative reasons, have not traditionally relied upon the Service as a source of manpower. Local industry is currently reported to be encouraged by the prospects of the Service and its future under the leadership of the present Commissioner, J. N. Peet. A specific, and encouraging, example of promise is the relatively recent opening of an office of the Employment Service in Northeast Portland at 3620 N. Vancouver Avenue. This innovation has increased the availability of the Service to residents of the Albina area who were formerly reluctant
to travel, perhaps needlessly, to the office of the Service located downtown Portland. The Service is now administering, at 25 N.E. 11th Ave., its Concentrated Employment Program funded jointly by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the State Department of Labor, and operating under the able leadership of Chalmers Jones. CEP is directed to the basic problem of locating employment opportunities and then supplying the supportive services to coordinate the various factors which have previously rendered unemployable the person available to fill an available job. The "supportive services" include health considerations, financial and family counseling, and general adjustment guidance. The State Department of Employment is newly alerted to its responsibilities of training and qualifying persons to find and keep jobs located by the Concentrated Employment Program. However, its budget limitations indicate that it will be unable to meet that new goal. The Department reports that there are 5,000 disadvantaged persons who could qualify for retraining, but it has funds for only 703. Of these, it says that 1,250 Negroes need retraining, but only about 175 are getting it.

While the Race Identification Survey (Appendix D) indicates more than token employment of Negroes by the City of Portland, an analysis of the figures shows that a great deal remains to be done. For example, the bulk of Negro city employees are employed in the building maintenance and trade groups—traditionally the more menial and low-paying jobs. Negro employment in the uniformed Police and Fire services is notably low.

The Park and Recreation figures are somewhat misleading. They show 23 Negro employees out of 390 in this group. However, since the 390 include 108 Neighborhood Youth Corps workers of whom 17 are Negro, only six Negroes are employed in the Parks and Recreation Department in other than the low-paying Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs. Only two of the six are recreation instructors, while the other four presumably are in the more menial custodian jobs. The Committee does not wish to be understood as singling out the City of Portland for extra criticism. On the contrary, the members wish to thank the City officials for their cooperation in making the Race Identification Survey available. However, the Committee believes that the City government should be a leader in effectively promoting equal opportunity. This can best be done by example. A start has been made, but much more can and should be done.

In the judgment of the Committee, the City of Portland has not met its responsibilities in its own hiring and personnel advancement policies. Its shortcomings in this respect provide an unfortunate symbolism on which some employers, reluctant to change their hiring policies, rely in justification. The City should promptly review its position. To the extent that anachronistic and unrealistic standards and testing procedures are in use by the Civil Service Board, these should be identified and changed.

C. The Role of Unions

It is ironic that labor unions which were formed to "organize the unorganized" and thus elevate the poor and downtrodden in this country have in large measure failed to respond to the needs of today's poor and unorganized—primarily the Negro masses.

Portland and Oregon mirror the national situation.

The state apprenticeship program has 29 non-whites out of an enrollment of 2,061. More significantly, these 29 non-whites are in only 12 of the 86 apprenticeship crafts.

It is not enough to say, as some union officials do, that Negroes are reluctant to apply and those that do cannot pass the qualifying tests. The reaction of Negroes to this argument is eloquently stated by Dick Gregory:

Don't ask me about caviar in a test, when you have kept me in a damn ghetto all my life. (10)

(10) Speech to Senior Class Dinner, Yale University, reprinted in Yale Alumni Magazine, February 1968.
The unions most intimately involved in the apprenticeship program are building trades. In Portland, the situation with regard to Negro membership in these trades is illustrated by the following statistics:

In Carpenters Local No. 226, there are 1,400 members, only 20 of whom are Negroes.

In Plumbers Local No. 51 and Steamfitters Local No. 235, there are 1,100 plumbers and pipefitters, but only 11 are Negroes.

In Steelworkers Local No. 16, there are 750 sheet metal workers, but no Negroes.

Painters Local No. 10 does better. Of 950 members, 50 are Negroes.

Almost invariably unions deny any bigotry or discrimination. They normally explain the low number of Negro members by unpersuasive claims that there “have been no Negro applications . . . or, at least none who was qualified.” The weapons of union discrimination and exclusion are subtle and insidious. Standards established for the testing of union qualification are often unrealistic and arbitrary, incorporating standards which are unrelated to job performance. It is widely believed that these standards are enforced with the design and purpose to exclude Negroes and others whose “entry-level skills” can thus be shown to be lacking. Similarly, and equally arbitrary, are the personal review panels employed by some unions, particularly in the building trades unions, who screen the applicant and pass upon his personal qualifications. In a context unfamiliar, and often terrifying, to the applicant, the panel may impose the most subjective of standards and the consequences are almost invariably unfair. It is the practice of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to have a representative at such interviews. However, it has been reported to this Committee that the participation of those representatives is perfunctory and as a result this procedure dis-serves the cause of eliminating discrimination. Unless the Commission becomes appropriately concerned with regard to this problem and becomes more aggressive about its role, it will continue to be “used” to lend responsibility and an illusion of fairness to a procedure which is basically unfair.

An encouraging six-point program has been developed at the national level in an exchange of correspondence between Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and Building Trades Department President C. J. Haggerty.

Under this program the Department and “subscribing” general presidents of affiliated internationals will foster programs to recruit qualified minority candidates and help prepare others for apprenticeship, support existing and future projects for special pre-apprenticeship training of disadvantaged minority youth, urge their local affiliates to disseminate information on their training programs to all interested parties, particularly to minority group organizations, and to recommend that affiliated locals and joint apprenticeship committees “explore mutual problems with appropriate organizations directly representative of minority groups within the community.”

Probably the most encouraging plank in the program calls for impressing on locals the “social and economic necessity of striving for satisfactory minority participation.” The National Building Trades Department has gone on record in favor of affirmative action “for the purpose of preventing any possible discrimination in the operation of local unions” chartered by the Department. This statement of principle by the Building Trades Department is commended and its implementation by the Portland Building Trades locals is urged. Within the past few weeks, a program has been carried out between the Craft Unions and minority group representatives for a “Leap” program, projected to assist in the training of minority youth so they may become eligible for apprenticeship programs.

Some unions outside of the building industry are failing to meet the need to organize and admit to membership the Negro masses:

IBEW Local No. 48 (inside electricians) has about 1,200 members, of which about five are Negro.
IBEW Local No. 125 (outside linemen) has about 1,500 members, of which two are Negro.

Teamsters Local No. 162, relating to small, local delivery trucks and some warehousing, does a good job in admitting Negroes. However, Teamsters Local No. 81 relating to long haul "over-the-road" truck drivers has no Negro members. It should be noted, however, that trucking concerns are free to hire any person they choose. The employee then has thirty days within which to join the union. Thus, the absence of Negro truck drivers is not attributable solely to the union practices. However, it is certainly true that this union has not gone out of its way to attract Negro members.

ILWU Local No. 8 (longshoremen) has approximately 1,400 members, of which more than 40 are Negro.

The Sailor's Union of the Pacific has no Negroes in the Portland local; a short time ago, a "token" of 12 Negroes was admitted elsewhere to the International, which has 6,500 members.

There are no Negro taxi drivers in Portland.

Machinists Local No. 63 has 2,669 members, of whom two are Negroes.

Auto Mechanics Local No. 1005 has 2,686 members and does a good job of admitting Negroes.

In denying bigotry or discrimination in admitting members, unions explain low Negro membership by claims that there have been few applications or lack of qualified applicants. As was pointed out above, in relation to the apprenticeship program, these answers no longer suffice. During the 1930's when unions engaged in wholesale campaigns to organize the unorganized, they did not wait for applicants nor did they scrutinize qualifications with a magnifying glass. They sought out members on the theory that the greater the membership the greater the strength and the better their chances of survival. Far-sighted labor leaders, including Walter Ruether, have today concluded that the salvation of the labor movement lies in a new commitment to organizing the unorganized and opening the membership of unions to all Americans, black and white.

d. The Role of Industry

As stated above, a number of Portland employers have faced up with promise to the responsibility of increased employment for Negroes. However, much remains to be done. Your Committee can do no better in stating its opinion as to what constitutes a constructive approach in this field than to quote a letter from Henry Ford, II, written earlier this year to the various supervisors at all levels of hiring in the Ford Motor Company. He said:

Equal opportunity is one of Ford Motor Company's oldest, firmest and most basic policies. The purpose of this letter is to call on each of you to give that policy your full and active support, and to put it into practice in new ways and with a new sense of urgency.

Our goal is to do all we realistically can to give people who have been held back by prejudice and poverty a chance to earn a decent life. This goal is entirely consistent with our responsibility to conduct our business soundly and profitably. We cannot provide wider employment opportunities by hiring more people than we need or by keeping people who cannot learn to do their jobs or work with other people. There are, however, many things we can do.

We can make sure that our requirements for hiring, training and promotion do not exclude able people for irrelevant reasons.

We can continue to improve our internal training programs and provide leadership and support to public and private community programs, to seek out and develop latent abilities that may be productively employed in business and industry.

We can lend a helping hand in adjusting to the work and the work place, and treat all employees with the dignity and understanding every man owes every other.

By helping people to help themselves, we can help to cure a social cancer that threatens the vitality and peace of the communities where we do business, to reduce the costs of welfare and crime and the taxes we all pay, and to enlarge the markets for our products.

The company's Detroit inner-city hiring program is one example of the new approach I am calling for. Its aim is not only to offer employment opportunities, but actively to invite the interest of people who would not normally come to us—not to screen out doubtful applicants but to screen in if possible—and not merely to hire, but to help them make the grade after they are hired.
I hope that this innovative spirit will be reflected in our personnel policies at every level, and in every other aspect of our business. Opportunities to become a successful Ford dealer or supplier, for example, must be as open and as equal as the opportunities to become a successful employee. And, when we are considering locations for new facilities, we should consider the inner-city as well as the suburbs.

I ask each of you to be continuously alert in your own areas for conditions that could obstruct equal opportunity, and to make or suggest changes in the practices that are responsible. I ask each of you to receive suggestions with an open mind, to put good ideas into prompt effect, and to pass them on to others.

New approaches will bring new problems, but I know we have the management ability to solve them. Our company and our country will face far greater problems if we and other employers fail to do what we can to help disadvantaged people overcome the barriers that keep them from sharing in the abundance of the American economy.

The achievement of genuinely equal opportunity is the most urgent task our nation faces. Ford Motor Company is pledged to provide equal opportunity in its own operations, but that commitment can be only as good as the personal performance of each of us. I therefore ask you to accept a full share of the responsibility for making Ford Motor Company an equal opportunity business in every sense of the term.

Shortly following publication of this letter, a program of some potential was launched by the federal government. This is the National Alliance of Businessmen with its "Jobs" undertaking (Job Opportunities in Business Section). The national goal of the Jobs program is to place 30,000 persons in jobs by July 1, 70,000 within a year thereafter, and by June of 1971 it is hoped that 500,000 will have been placed. The Jobs program was the key feature of the President's Manpower Message to Congress. Under the program, the government will locate and counsel the hard-core jobless, give them health and education services and pre-job training or preparation. Private industry will then step in and offer them jobs and train them with the company bearing the usual cost of training. The government would subsidize the extra expense involved in hiring the long-time jobless including additional training, transportation services, literacy training, corrective health measures, counseling and lower productivity. The head of the National Alliance of Business is Henry Ford, II. Your Committee supports the full participation and cooperation by Portland-based industry with the Jobs program.

In Portland, the Businessmen's Alliance is getting in touch with 1,100 employers. The goal is to find 1,000 permanent jobs for the "hard-core unemployables" and 2,000 summer jobs for "poor youths." To date they have been more successful with the hard-core unemployables. The Alliance has completed contacts with some 25 per cent of the 1,100 potential employers, and it is assumed this percentage will include most of the bigger ones. To date they have firm commitments for over 117 of the permanent jobs for the hard-core unemployables, or "basics," and for over 400 youths. The project is using full-time and part-time personnel loaned by Portland General Electric Co., Pacific Power & Light Co., Pacific Northwest Bell, the United States National Bank and the Chamber of Commerce. In addition to six people who are devoting their full time to this project at the expense of their own employers, 85 firms are providing a total of 107 part-time employees to cover the contacts, meetings, etc., necessary to this project.

One positive note is the fact that demand for some categories of Negro workers in the Portland Metropolitan Area is greater than the supply. Real reluctance remains, however, in the promotion of Negro employees to supervisory positions involving authority over white workers, or to positions involving wide social contacts. Similar reluctance is seen in hiring Negro employees for critical positions in public service. Data are scarce but what evidence there is indicates that there has been success when otherwise qualified Negroes have been promoted or given sensitive positions without regard to racial considerations.

The Negro and ghetto sub-culture makes it difficult for its residents, without assistance, to learn about job openings, to pass employment screening procedures, and to last through probationary periods. This problem is compounded where "equality" of opportunity is seen as "identity" of treatment. The most dramatic example of the difference between "equality" and "identity" is found in the adjustments required to make the most economic use of the influx of women workers during the last fifty years.
To get the most work out of women, an employer simply did not treat them exactly as he treated men. Separate standards need to be developed whenever a source of labor supply shows special and distinct characteristics. It has been established that the so-called “disadvantaged” or “ghetto” areas produce a potential labor supply with initial atypical characteristics. It follows, then, that if we are to secure maximum economic utility from this particular labor source, the Portland Metropolitan Business and Industrial Community needs to establish experiments for the validation of testing, for analysis of employment records, and for the working out of appropriate procedures for probationary periods. When recruitment, selection, supervision, and promotion of minority group members can be seen as orderly procedures among other orderly procedures, then failure to utilize these procedures would constitute failure to take action demanded by economic, social and political realities.

Policy must exist, and affirmative action by top management is required, but we must not underestimate the key roles personnel workers and first-line supervisors can play in reducing the economic difficulties of the Negro community. The solutions to many other problems (housing, insurance, transportation, credit, etc.) are related directly to stable employment. The word “stable” is more important here than many realize. In the press to provide job openings, we seem to have lost sight of the well-established principle of industrial psychology, that no favor is being done to a person by placing him in a work situation where he cannot produce an acceptable product or where for any cause the risks of failure are high. It is true that the job openings have to be there first, but if the experience is not to add one more negative mark on the formal record, and one more blow to self-respect, then special attention needs to be paid to securing the understanding and cooperation of personnel workers and supervisors. Special procedures in risk evaluation and in supervision need to be seen by all concerned as extensions rather than hazards to sound human relationships. In short, industry must not content itself with the goal of creating job openings. A comprehensive effort to “tool up” the applicant for the job and to counsel and assist his orientation to the situation and the demands of regular employment is also necessary. It is easy to overlook the fact that for many the opportunity for steady employment may present a unique experience, and a pattern of regular work may be quite foreign. Some progress into this area has been made in Portland; much more can and must be done—and soon.

**Recommendations**

The Committee recommends that:

a. The City of Portland immediately review its hiring and promotion policies and practices to correct the racial imbalance revealed in the race identification survey and to set an example of enlightened procedures for other governmental and private sectors of our community.

b. The City forthwith adopt a policy and procedure for requiring contractors for city and county works, services, and supplies to certify to fair and non-discriminatory practices in that connection.

c. The state provide adequate means, through its Department of Employment, rapidly to expand the work of developing job opportunities, and of counseling, training, qualifying and upgrading workers.

d. The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and its local representatives reexamine their responsibilities and intensify the work of extension and enforcement of fair employment standards.

e. The labor unions of the Portland area immediately cease discriminatory practices in respect to membership and expand their programs and cooperation in apprenticeship training and in the qualification and retraining of workers of minority groups.

f. The employers and the business community continue and intensify their efforts in the creation of job and business opportunities for disadvantaged groups and community districts.
2. EDUCATION: RACIAL ISOLATION AND DISADVANTAGE

a. Introduction: The Current Scene in Portland

(1) Segregated Enrollment

The great majority of Portland's children attend schools which are racially isolated. Out of a total of 78,600 pupils in District No. 1, 6,300, or eight per cent, are Negroes. Of the 4,800 Negro elementary pupils, 73 per cent (3,500) are enrolled in nine of the 94 elementary schools (9½ per cent of the schools). Twenty-seven per cent are spread throughout 73 schools, with 12 schools enrolling no Negroes. Four schools are over 90 per cent Negro (Boise, 93 per cent; Highland, 94 per cent; Eliot, 92 per cent; Humboldt, 91 per cent). Almost half of Portland's Negro children are enrolled in these four schools.

In 1945, Eliot's percentage was only 35 and Boise's was only nine. In those schools with the largest number of Negro pupils, the five-year increase in Negro enrollment has averaged 8.7 per cent. Negro student enrollment in the high schools ranges from 37.4 per cent at Jefferson (671) to .38 per cent at Wilson (7). Jefferson has increased its percentage of Negroes to total enrollment by 11.6 over the past five years, as compared with the district-wide increase in percentage of Negroes to total enrollment of 1.53 per cent. It is more highly significant that whereas today there are 2,100 (3 per cent) fewer white children in Portland public schools than five years ago, there are 1,288 (25 per cent) more Negro children. Except for Lincoln High School, whose Negro enrollment has more than tripled (from 32 to 104 students since 1963), due largely to the open enrollment policy at schools which are underenrolled, the racial composition of the various school student bodies clearly reflects the residential pattern which has long been established in Portland.

(2) Survey of Present Educational Programs and Problems

During the academic year 1964-65, the School District inaugurated two major programs: (1) The Model Schools Program of compensatory education, currently serving the bulk of Portland's Negro children in nine schools; and (2) the administrative transfer program, currently bussing 424 Negro children to 41 other schools where room exists. In taking these and other courses of action, the School Board, on October 29, 1964, adopted the Race and Education Committee Report and has been trying to accomplish three goals set forth in that Report. These goals were stated as follows:

(1) to reduce racial isolation of children;
(2) to reduce class load in certain overcrowded schools; and
(3) to offer stimulating educational opportunities to children who will benefit from such programs.

By taking these steps and by approving other programs for betterments and changes related to high schools, teacher training, community-school relations, and open enrollment, the school administration appears to have accepted the axiom that schools can be the single most important agency of social change both with respect to handicaps arising from cultural or economic deprivation and with respect to problems of racial isolation. If public schools are expected to train for good citizenship, then racially imbalanced schools do not provide such training for either Negro or white children.

Arguments have been advanced that no amount of compensatory education will accord due justice to a slum child in terms of giving him a sense of personal dignity and self-confidence or the will and reason to achieve in school and thus every kind of legal, financial and political pressure must be brought to bear on the single goal of integration. Your Committee considers these points later in the report. Suffice it to say, though, that both compensatory education and greater efforts toward desegregation are necessary. The Model Schools Program director, Dr. Harold Kleiner, feels that some marked progress has been made in both areas despite limitations of space and funds. Sufficient funds to meet the goals have not been available. Local support has ranged from 19 per cent of the School District budget.

(11) Drawn from study of Subcommittee on Education of Race Relations Committee.
in 1965 to 14 per cent currently. Federal support has dropped from 72 per cent to 55 per cent. Although State support has increased from about eight per cent to 30 per cent, the entire program is currently operating with only 60 per cent of the total funding necessary to do a minimally adequate job.

In summary it can be said that, although the school administration is trying a number of new approaches, and although it seems to be committed to an accelerated program of desegregation, little real progress has been achieved toward eliminating racial isolation in the schools. The white community, and its leadership, has not really committed itself to the goal of integration, despite the number of annual brotherhood weeks, religious ceremonies and civic events which espouse the cause of civil rights with declarations of high resolve to do something concrete. The Negro problem is really a white problem; it is a community-wide concern, not just confined to Albina. An unhappy consequence of the establishment of the Model Schools Program was that it left many in the white community with the impression that the problem was "all over there in Albina," and now it would be solved. Unfortunately very little has been "solved." A number of serious problems currently exist; they relate to the areas of community-school relations; student-teacher-administration morale; teacher recruitment, training and promotion; and educational curriculum.

The Kerner Commission stresses educational lacks as a root, major, and persistent source of grievance and resentment within the Negro communities of the country. It looks to removal of isolation and improvement of quality and equality as priority education strategies in achieving civic peace and order. It recommends a series of local actions toward such goals.

b. Present Programs

(1) Elementary Level

(a) Model Schools Program

In January, 1965, the Portland Public Schools System inaugurated the Model Schools Program which was designed to provide (1) a compensatory education for kindergarten and elementary school children who were handicapped by deprivation and poverty; and (2) the administrative machinery to eliminate racial isolation. Currently there are nine schools with 5,900 children (about 10 per cent of the elementary enrollment) in the Model Schools Program. The heaviest Negro enrollment is to be found in these schools. An early childhood education program for more than 480 four-year-old children from poverty level backgrounds is also conducted by the School District in the Model School area. Some additional district support has been provided Jefferson High School which receives the majority of the children from the Model School area.\(^{(13)}\)

The Model Schools Program should cost about $1,200 per child—double the normal District expenditure. Actually, the District can afford to spend only about $200 per child more than the normal expenditure of approximately $550 per child, or about $450 per child less than it should. In the words of the Program's director, Dr. Harold Kleiner,

> the disadvantaged child is the most handicapped of all the handicapped, because he passes this disability on from one generation to another. The cost of educating a deaf child is $1600 per year; for a crippled child, $2600 per year.\(^{(14)}\)

What have been the goals of the Model Schools Program?

(1) Reduction in class size from 30 to 20, a goal which has only been about 50 per cent achieved. Just the cost of reduction of class sizes by ten pupils is the equivalent of $200 more per child, and, because space has not been available, it has not been possible to reach the goal of 20 children per classroom in the Model School area.

(2) Addition of reading specialists. Approximately 24 are currently working with the classroom teachers who divide their classes into three reading groups. Teacher teams operate in grades one and two. Two to four specialists are assigned to each school, depending on enrollment.

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\(^{(13)}\)Letter of Dr. Harold Kleiner to Education Committee, April 5, 1968.

\(^{(14)}\)Committee interview with Dr. Harold Kleiner, May 25, 1967.
(3) Establishing a program of Aid to Deprived Children. Over fifty teacher aides and nine Community Agents (one per school) work with the social life and activities of the students and their families. Each school has at least one professional social worker (this activity has been cut back recently, due to the defeat of the educational levy in 1967). The development over the last few years of a Boy Scout project in the North Portland region, under the direction of Roland Moore, is a result of this undertaking.

(4) Creation of volunteer programs providing tutoring after school hours, and cultural enrichment activities through an extended day. *(15)*

Sizeable expenditures have gone for permanent instructional materials, supplies and equipment. Libraries have been added to each school. All of this extra education is costly. The need for more facilities is great. Lacking space, efforts have been made to provide additional resources and personnel in order that the ratio of adults to children may be more favorable than in other schools.

An outstanding example of a Model Schools Program school is Woodlawn under the able principalship of Dr. Robert Selby. Woodlawn is an ideally integrated school in Dr. Selby's view, 60 per cent white (with a variety of European backgrounds) and 40 per cent Negro. Dr. Selby would like to freeze the present ratio (Negro enrollment has been increasing about five per cent a year) by requiring white students who start in the school to remain enrolled even though their parents move out of the neighborhood but remain within the district. In a similar manner, Negro children whose parents move into the neighborhood would have to remain in their old schools. The Committee has not undertaken to evaluate this proposal. Woodlawn appears to have excellent morale. Five years ago, teacher turnover was 54 per cent; this year it will be about 12 per cent (three teachers). A long waiting list of teachers who want to be part of the Woodlawn program attests to the school's outstanding reputation. Woodlawn’s community relations are excellent. The neighborhood is heterogeneous, with a range of home values from $30,000 to $5,000. The school is a designated center for the Division of Continuing Education. An extended day program provides a variety of student activities. Evening programs schedule courses for parents from the neighborhood and for teachers from all over the district. The school's community agent is well known and respected within the neighborhood.

In matters of curriculum, the school maintains a tutorial form of instruction for children who need extra help. Students who cause trouble are isolated and given individualized (one to one) instruction until their needs are met (about one child in thirty falls into this category). Every child has at least one conference per year with the teacher and a parent present, and a record is kept of the proceedings. Formal report cards with letter grades are not used. Conferences and comments have taken their place. Recently, the school's staff filmed a movie of the school’s program and it has been shown widely around the community. So far this year, three luncheons have been held to show the film to invited community leaders. The 8th Grade home economics class prepares and serves the lunch and Dr. Selby talks and answers questions.

All in all your Committee was very impressed with the Woodlawn program, especially with the spirit revealed by the teachers and administration. They truly believe in the job which they are doing. At the same time they are alert to new ideas and are constantly trying to improve their performance. The children with whom Education Committee members spoke are most enthusiastic; they feel that the school cares about them and considers them as individuals in their own right. The school's disciplinary procedures involve the students who are given a good deal of responsibility for establishing and enforcing rules and guidelines. The system appears to work very well.

*(15)*Education Committee interview with Harold Kleiner May 25, 1967 and subsequent phone conversations with the Committee.
MODEL SCHOOLS PROGRAM FUNDING
Summary of the income and expenditures since 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Additional local funds</th>
<th>State of Oregon</th>
<th>Federal funds (ESEA)</th>
<th>Total additional expenditure</th>
<th>Projected cost for year</th>
<th>Deficiency—Funds needed to do the job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>333,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>1,226,000</td>
<td>$1,659,000</td>
<td>$1,700,000</td>
<td>$41,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>263,000</td>
<td>587,000(b)</td>
<td>1,179,000</td>
<td>$1,442,000</td>
<td>$2,100,000</td>
<td>$658,000(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>263,000</td>
<td>587,000</td>
<td>1,061,000</td>
<td>$1,911,100</td>
<td>$5,293,500</td>
<td>$3,382,400(d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>263,000</td>
<td>587,000</td>
<td>1,061,100*</td>
<td>$1,911,100</td>
<td>$3,929,500(e)</td>
<td>$2,018,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*anticipated

Notes:
(a) Not implemented. Program curtailed by this amount. The curtailed program was maintained by reducing allocations to other schools with smaller number of qualifying disadvantaged children.
(b) The 1967 Legislature originally voted $625,000 a year for two years but the special session reduced the annual amount to $587,000.
(c) This sum included $1,364,000 for capital outlay.
(d) Nearly one-half of this amount ($1,500,000) was included in the 1967 special levy which was twice defeated by the voters.
(e) This sum includes $1,064,500 for capital outlay (more classrooms, facilities, a camp, etc.)

Additional note: The May 1968 tax base increase included $500,000 toward implementation of this program.

(b) Evaluation of the Model Schools Program

Racial isolation in the schools harms all children. The Model Schools Program has been a special attempt to improve the quality of education for the most culturally deprived (largely Negro) children. Your Committee does not wish to suggest that compensatory education is incapable of remedying the effects of poverty on the academic achievement of individual children. The limited experience of the Model Schools Program, under the competent and dedicated leadership of Dr. Kleiner, would indicate at least some success in this regard. In the words of Dr. Kleiner,

Despite the limitation of space and funds, all evidence indicates that achievement is improving and gains in skills, understanding, attitudes, and appreciations are increasing.

What your Committee does feel, however, is that compensatory education is only a small first step in equipping Portland's deprived and segregated children with the realization of their potential for participating fully in American life. The experiences of a number of compensatory programs throughout the country, as reviewed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, show that these programs do not wholly compensate for the depressing effect which racial and social class isolation have upon the aspirations and self-esteem of Negro students—factors which have an important influence upon academic success. Efforts to improve a child's self-esteem cannot be wholly productive in a student environment which seems to deny his worth. The compensatory programs reviewed by the Commission appear to suffer from the defect inherent in attempting to solve problems stemming in part from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class.

(17) It is understood that the recent passage of the School Tax Base will allow for increased allocation by the School Board for implementation of the Model Schools Program.
(18) Kleiner, op. cit.
Other studies, notably the exhaustive Coleman Report, show that variations in teacher salaries (premium pay), library facilities, laboratories, school sizes, class size, have little relation to student achievement—when the family backgrounds of the students are roughly equated. The factor that shows the clearest relation to a child's achievement is his home background. The home background disadvantage is severe for deprived children, Negro and white. School segregation reflecting residential segregation, combined with lower educational backgrounds of many Negro families, places many Negro children "in schools where the sum of educational resources brought to the school by members of the student body is very small." The results of the Coleman Report, the most thorough such project ever completed, indicate that "the heterogeneity of race and of family educational background can increase the achievement of children from weak educational backgrounds with no adverse effect on children from strong educational backgrounds."

What is more significant is the conclusion of the Coleman Report that integration is most important to the development of Negro and white children principally for reasons other than academic performance. In Dr. Coleman's words: "We are committed to becoming a truly multiracial society. . . . All the educational policies must recognize the legitimacy and importance" of this aim. The only possible way for the white child to know, understand and accept the Negro child is to work, play and socialize with him.

(c) The Administrative Transfer Program

One attempt to eliminate racial isolation is to transport Negro children to other, largely white, schools provided the parents consent and the receiving schools have the space. Portland has been doing this for the past three years with considerable success. Under the direction of the Model Schools Program's Dr. Kleiner, 424 students are currently being transported to 41 other schools where room exists. In addition, 185 elementary children are attending other schools where room is available on the open enrollment program. Approximately 245 high school students are attending other high schools on the open enrollment program. The present administrative transfer program, involving about 15 per cent of the Negro enrollment, represents some progress toward ending racial isolation. But it is only a small step. The cost of bussing is approximately $60,000 a year, with the Federal government financing most of it. Dr. Kleiner recognizes that much more could be done if the school system had the funds to construct additional classrooms in other parts of the city where the schools are already packed tight. He also recognizes that the bussing program benefits the more capable Negro children who are better able to adjust to the academic demands of the new schools outside of the ghetto. But more importantly, bussing benefits the white children in the receiving schools. Unfortunately, the Negro children have to leave at the end of the school day and go back to their ghetto. Little opportunity is thus provided for the type of informal recreational and social activity which builds lasting friendships. In terms of its limited goals, bussing has produced generally favorable results and reasonably wide acceptance by both Negro and white children and their parents. Even though it should be expanded, it is a limited program; a rather poor substitute for residential integration.

(2) Secondary Level

A common concern of those who work in the Model Schools is the availability or unavailability of opportunities for the children when they leave the eighth grade. The high school dropout problem is severe—about 30 per cent of the Negro students leave before graduation. The reasons are not hard to find: lack of academic success, discouragement, boredom, and financial hardship. The repercussions of this problem are even more severe. A recent study by Dr. Sophia McDowell of Howard University shows that the highest degree of anti-white orientation exists among Negro school dropouts, indicating that dropping out of school symbolizes a virtual dropping out of the white people's world.

The Portland School District has just approved the launching of a major program to expand vocational education and part-time work for students, and to

(20) See "Toward Open Schools" by James S. Coleman, "The Public Interest, Fall 1967, p. 22.
(21) Kleiner, op. cit.
offer more vocational-type programs which appeal to male students. About 450 students are now enrolled in the work-study programs. Job opportunity specialists are to be added at Grant, Roosevelt, Jefferson and Washington High Schools. Benson and Girls Poly (now James Monroe) have for some time employed this type of student counselor. The School District hopes to expand the program to more than 1,000 students in 1968-69 but the cost will be close to $400,000.\(^{(23)}\)

Your Committee hopes that this new program will provide for a larger number of graduates from the Model Schools. In 1967, fewer girls were admitted to Girls Poly than in previous years. None was accepted from Boise. Both Benson and Girls Poly have admission restrictions\(^{(24)}\) which should be carefully examined by the School Board and Administration. Admissions standards seem to have tightened considerably in recent years. In some quarters, Benson is refered to as a “little M.I.T.” This year, Benson has 14 fewer Negro boys enrolled than two years ago; Girls Poly has 40 fewer Negro girls. The latter decrease may be partially due to a reported drop in school morale in recent years. But regardless of the reasons, a widening gap appears to be developing between the opportunities available for the academically talented and those for the non-academically oriented students. What happens to the students who are not academically successful and who are not admitted into Portland’s vocational programs to learn a trade?

There is also a strong feeling expressed by some teachers in the Model Schools that Portland’s open enrollment program is too restrictive.\(^{(25)}\) Each year certain high schools are open and others are closed. The School-Community Citizens’ Committee appointed by the Mayor strongly recommends that Portland follow the example of Seattle and declare all city high schools a permanent part of the open enrollment system, provided that transfers are made only if they favorably affect the racial balance of both the sending and receiving schools. In other words, white students could not transfer out of Jefferson, for example, into Madison, but white Madison students could transfer into Jefferson.\(^{(26)}\)

In matters of academic curriculum, the high schools with the largest enrollment of Negro students are offering very little which is either relevant to, or stimulating for, the average ghetto child. “The fact that no one . . . has yet developed a vision of what the ghetto schools ought to do, how they should operate, or what an educated Negro child ought to be if he is to be something different from a dark-skinned, middle-class white.”\(^{(27)}\) The overriding emphasis in Portland schools, as throughout America, is on high verbal and cognitive skills. These are the sacred tools of the white middle class. Such emphasis is in itself a “form of racial and social bias.” Our education is thus arranged “to separate the sheep of privilege from the goats of deprivation.”\(^{(28)}\) None of the above high schools offers any real diversity—teaching the skills of a trade or of an art with as much of a sense of importance as one teaches mathematics or history.

Few of the high schools, especially Jefferson, make any effort to widen the horizons of their students by encouraging them to participate in community, academically-related activities such as are available at the Albina Art Center. Not one Jefferson student submitted a work of art to the 1968 city-wide high school art show located at the Center, only a few blocks from Jefferson.

Rigidly guarding its prerogatives, a single public school system has created a single standard of success and failure. Perhaps what professional educators must recognize is the principle of pluralism not only in a cultural context but in an educational one as well. “A few years ago, such suggestions would have been regarded as racist slurs, but it is now the black-militant who regards Swahili as desirable for Negroes as Latin.”\(^{(29)}\)

\(^{(24)}\) Information furnished by School-Community Citizens’ Committee.
\(^{(25)}\) From meetings of the School-Community Citizens’ Committee, Winter 1968.
\(^{(26)}\) Ibid.
\(^{(28)}\) Ibid, p. 36.
\(^{(29)}\) Ibid, p. 37.
In this connection, it is encouraging to note that the School District has just approved the introduction of a large body of material on "The Role of the Negro in American History" into the 5th, 8th and 11th grade social studies classes throughout the District. In addition, the high schools will offer a senior (12th grade) elective course in the history of the American Negro, such a course having been pioneered on an experimental basis during the winter 1968 at both Jefferson and Washington High Schools. In the general subject area of civil rights, new materials are being introduced at various levels. Much effort should be given to this project if students are to develop healthy concepts of justice and equality and to understand the personal rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the role of the courts in securing them. Several recent studies have revealed an alarming degree of civil rights ignorance among high school students in Portland.

c. Teachers, Administration, School Morale

A most critical problem is teacher recruitment and training. The teacher turnover in the ghetto schools is excessive. This is despite the fact that the School Board has paid premium pay to teachers in the Model Schools Program. Of the 325 teachers in the Model Schools Program, approximately 75 replacements occur each year. Teachers who teach the culturally disadvantaged need to have a great deal of love and understanding for children. They must set good examples of human relations. Your Committee received a number of complaints from Negroes about the teaching received by their children. It is contended that some of the teachers at Jefferson High School are racially and socially biased. The above phrase, "culturally disadvantaged" can be used, like assertions about Negro inferiority, as an excuse for failure, a "cop-out" for bad teachers. In the words of Kenneth B. Clark "statements about uneducable children tend to become self-fulfilling prophecies."(30)

Some of the blame for this quality of teaching lies with the professional schools of education which, in Oregon at least, have done a poor job of preparing teachers for urban ghetto conditions. For one thing, too many of the training programs are physically as well as psychologically removed from the core area. The School District has not been successful in recruiting teachers for inner-city schools, or at least in retaining them once recruited. Furthermore, up until this winter (1968) efforts to recruit Negro teachers, let alone administrators, had not been successful. Out of 3,400 teachers in the District, there are only 77 Negro teachers, 15 more than in 1966-67. In 1967, the District received about 12 Negro teacher applications. Half of them were offered jobs, and only half of these accepted. For 1968-69, fourteen new Negro teachers have been placed under contract. In addition, four more have been hired officially and six more unofficially. From talking at length with School Superintendent Dr. Melvin Barnes(31) your Committee feels that some real efforts have been made this year. What remains to be seen is how these teachers are assigned and how they will be promoted in the future.

There is a general feeling within the Negro community that the personnel office of the School District discriminates against Negroes, especially male Negro teachers with secondary teaching certificates. Most of the Negro teachers are women; 96 per cent of the Negro teachers instruct at the elementary level. Currently, only three male Negroes teach at the high school level, and there is only one Negro with administrative ranking who is an Elementary Supervisor, employed through the Federally financed Head Start program. The first Negro school principal in Portland has just been hired for the academic year 1968-69.(32)

Jefferson High School's problems have been highlighted again in recent days, especially during the week following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. After the outbreaks in the summer of 1967, the Mayor appointed a School-Community Citizens Committee, headed by Robert Nelson. The efforts of this group, together with those of other community agencies and of Jefferson counselor Don Barrett, have produced some real progress in communication between teachers, students, parents and administration. A series of dialogue-type discussions have been held between students and teachers of Jefferson and of other schools, under

(31)Interview with Dr. Melvin Barnes, April 9, 1968.
the sponsorship of the North Branch YMCA. Notwithstanding these attempts, relations between white and Negro students at Jefferson are not healthy. Your Committee does not have the space to analyze in detail what is a very complicated situation. Suffice it to say, there is a good deal of unhappiness with the Jefferson administration. School morale is obviously not good. Newspaper reporting has been somewhat misleading. It is apparent to those who are in touch with what is going on that while order must be maintained, this in itself will not solve the problem. Dr. Barnes and his staff, along with the School Board, are sensitive to the needs of the school and its surrounding community. They know that the most important action they can take is to keep all lines of communication open while at the same time they involve all parties to the dispute in a common attempt to seek mutual understanding and agreement. It appears to your Committee that a number of changes in the Jefferson staff can be expected next year. Your Committee has heard that several teachers wish to be transferred. The Jefferson staff includes only one Negro teacher and one Negro counselor, compared with Seattle's Garfield High School which, although it has only a few more Negro students, employs 13 Negroes in a staff of 91.

d. Community-School Relations

Until the last year or so, relations between the Negro community and the schools were poor. Despite the current furor in the Jefferson area, some improvement has resulted in recent months. One of the more hopeful developments is the recent decision by the School Board to hire a special assistant to the Superintendent of Schools in Intergroup Relations. This official's primary responsibility will be to stimulate, encourage, and assist in the development of district-wide programs directed at increasing interracial understanding for teachers, children and the community. Your Education Committee strongly supported the creation of this position. On the other hand, an Assistant Superintendent at a minimum salary of $20,000 is favored rather than an Assistant to the Superintendent at a salary of between $15,500 and $18,500. The Committee is concerned about the degree of authority and responsibility which will be granted the new office. It realizes that much of the work will be centered on the Caucasian community which must be more deeply involved in intergroup communication and understanding than it has been in the past.

An important ingredient of community-school relations is the attitude of and toward the School Board. The District has never elected a Negro member to its School Board—a condition which has created resentment among Negroes in Portland. In an attempt to establish closer contact with the community and to perform an educational function of its own, the School Board has held regular open meetings at various of the high schools during the past year. Endeavors of this sort, combined with greater efforts by the schools to involve the parents in the educational programs of their children—efforts such as are presently being attempted at the Woodlawn School—will pay high dividends in the future. Parent education should be taught when the children first enter school and be continued until they have completed their schooling. Such programs involve school and library visits, informal round-table discussions between teachers and parents, evening courses, and a variety of other related activities. A noteworthy development of the past year was the establishment of the Opportunity School in Albina directed toward the "drop-out" problem. As a storefront community operation, sponsored by C-CAP, it grants school credit approved by the District.

e. Plans to Reduce Racial Isolation

(1) Racially isolated, segregated schools, whether white or Negro, public or private, cannot provide a quality education, one that is relevant to the conditions of the world, the nation and the community. According to a recent article in The Oregonian, educational leaders in Oregon are finding it difficult to determine

(33) At its meeting on May 13, 1968, the School Board appointed William D. Proppe, principal of Wilson High School, as the new principal of Jefferson High School, effective July 1, 1968. He is reporting to Jefferson immediately to finish out the year, assisting the present principal and familiarizing himself with the Jefferson operation. In addition, Mr. Proppe will visit other racially troubled high schools throughout the country. Oregonian, May 14, 1968.

(34) Oregonian, March 31, 1968.
their responsibility in this regard. What is really required is a decision by the educational leadership that school segregation must be eliminated. This is the crucial step in the process. It takes courage. Where it has been done nationally through a variety of different programs, success and support have usually resulted, particularly in the smaller cities. The two biggest factors making for success have been the commitment of the leadership and the involvement of all the schools in the community. A variety of different plans have been and are currently being attempted throughout the country, all of them questioning the validity and sacredness of the "Neighborhood School" concept. Such plans include: the creation of middle schools (grades 5-8) which are strategically located between existing neighborhood boundaries and which cut across racial residential patterns; the establishment of junior high schools on similar bases; the paring of existing schools; the closure of key schools with the heaviest Negro enrollments; the redrawing of existing attendance boundaries. Recently, Seattle Superintendent of Schools Forbes Bottomly recommended the closure of one central-area school and major changes in the student body composition in several others as part of a broad program to reduce school segregation. Three central area junior high schools will be converted to middle schools and Garfield High School will be developed into an experimental multi-racial high school.\(^{(13)}\) On a smaller scale, Evanston, Ill., integrated its entire school system this fall, with all schools enrolling between 17 and 25 per cent Negro pupils.

(2) One plan which could help reduce racial isolation and at the same time maximize human potential within the Portland School System is the projected Clinical School, the new John Adams High School, which will open in September 1969 and which will enroll students, including a number of Negroes, from the Jefferson, Madison, and Grant districts. As a brainchild of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and of five Ph.D. candidates who will administer the school in cooperation with five local colleges and universities, the school's principal objective will be to find better ways of helping adolescents to learn. The organizational concept is based upon the model of the teaching hospital. In-service teacher training would be one of the main objectives of the Clinical School. From a first view of the proposal, your Committee's reaction is highly favorable.

Another plan for improving teacher training, especially the preparation of young people for teaching careers in underprivileged communities, was recently announced in Portland. A project originated by the Portland State College School of Education, the plan has grown to include the 42 colleges and universities in the Pacific Northwest which train elementary school teachers. Under the direction of the Portland-based Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, a model teacher training program will be put together within the next few months and an application will be made for a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under P.L. 90-35. If approved, the staff would be assembled during 1968-69 and the program would become operational in the summer of 1969. In marked contrast to current teacher training programs, this new approach would involve a three-year program for each trainee. Students would be identified in their sophomore year; they would work in an agency the following summer; in their junior and senior years they would work in the schools at a paraprofessional level while taking a half-time academic load. During their fifth college year, they would be almost full-time teaching interns. Students would be paid for their work throughout the three-year period. The entire program would involve an investment of $10,000 per student. It would be expensive and yet it would save money over the long haul, because the teachers would be well prepared to undertake assignments which today discourage a large number of young teachers who subsequently transfer to other schools or drop out of the system. Every time this happens, money previously invested is wasted. The theory on which the new program is based is that success depends on early identification, commitment, and the selection of persons who are "color-blind" with respect to race and background, receiving pay so that there is immediate reinforcement.

\(^{(13)}\)Oregonian, March 29, 1968.
f. In Summary

Providing a quality education for all students, white and Negro, may well be a distant goal, considering local funds presently available, voter resistance to tax increases, and the current formula for distributing state support funds. On the other hand, the school leadership must never cease publicizing this "goal" which embodies more than money can buy. It encompasses a totally new concept of education, one that is directed toward maximizing human potential. In the structure of existing school systems, segregation, repression, competition, and failure are all essential parts. "Until we are ready to stop selecting people out, almost every concept of education is going to involve some sort of segregation."

If Portland is to accept the gradual integration of its schools, a good deal of educational spadework will have to be done. The Negro problem is really a white problem; it should be a community-wide concern, not one confined just to Albina. The future may reveal that the Portland schools will be unable to eliminate racial isolation and still keep white students in the public schools without the suburban schools being incorporated along with the city schools into one metropolitan school district. This may be a distant goal but it is one to which educational and community leaders must begin to give serious consideration.

Recommendations

In harmony with conclusions of the Kerncr Commission, your Committee feels that an effective educational plan must

1. reduce segregation with the ultimate aim of eliminating racial isolation for white and Negroes alike;
2. provide better educational services for all students; white as well as Negroes;
3. improve community-school relations; and
4. expand opportunities for both higher and vocational education.

With these objects in mind, your Committee recommends that:

a. The Model School Program be continued, expanded and provided with more adequate financial support, recognizing, however, that it is only a small first step in giving Portland's racially isolated children the best possible environment in which to learn.

b. The administrative transfer program (bussing) be expanded beyond the current number of 15 per cent of the district's Negro elementary enrollment. Toward this end funds should be provided for installing additional facilities on as many as possible of the 44 elementary school sites, outside of the Model Schools, which are presently not included in the program.

c. Additional outside recreation areas be built at many of the elementary schools, but especially at the ghetto schools. For example, Boise and Eliot Schools have pitifully limited play yards and they are mostly of asphalt or concrete construction.

d. Portland follow the example of Seattle and declare all district high schools a permanent part of the open enrollment system, provided that transfers are made only if they favorably affect the racial balance of both the sending and receiving schools. Future school budgets should make allowance for underwriting the costs of transporting those students who elect the open enrollment program and who now must transport themselves at their own expense.

e. The School Board conduct a thorough examination of the personnel policies and procedures of the District Administration, i.e., in the recruitment, assignment and promotion of Negro teachers and administrators. At least one Negro teacher should be employed in each district school. More Negro male teachers should be employed at the high school level. Available and qualified Negroes should be recruited for and/or promoted to administrative positions, especially principalships.

(36) Schrag, op. cit., p. 38.
f. A Negro be appointed to the newly created post of Director of Intergroup Relations. This position should be at the level of Assistant Superintendent rather than Assistant to the Superintendent and it should carry authority and responsibility throughout the entire district.

g. Ideally, the Negro population should be represented on the elective School Board and qualified Negro candidates encouraged to file for such office.

h. The School Board consider the establishment of at least one Citizens' Advisory Committee which would be charged with the duties of reviewing the effectiveness of programs, studying the experiences of other communities, working closely in partnership with neighborhood groups of parents and citizens whose educational interests are deeply personal, and acting as a channel of intimate communication between the schools and the community.

i. The School Board give immediate consideration to a variety of plans being undertaken in other communities throughout the nation to attempt to reduce and ultimately eliminate racial isolation. The neighborhood school concept should be critically examined.

j. The academic curriculum generally followed by the district high schools be thoroughly evaluated. The high schools with the largest enrollment of Negro students are offering very little which is either relevant to, or stimulating for, the average Negro child. With few exceptions it is a white, middle class-oriented curriculum.

k. The School Board give closer attention to the problem presented by those students who are not academically successful and who are not admitted in Portland's high school vocational courses, despite the recent expansion of the vocational education program. These students become drop-outs—they drop out of the mainstream of society and at the same time they exhibit the highest degree of antiwhite feeling.

l. Serious attention be given by the School Board and Administration to the establishment of Community College programs in the Albina area. Portland's new Community College site in suburban Southwest Portland has removed the college from its original urban orientation. It is now physically and psychologically in a different world from the Albina Community.

3. PUBLIC WELFARE

a. National Proposals

For a sizeable percentage of Portland's Negro population, poverty is a way of life and public welfare the only means of support. The Kerner Commission identified the standards and practices of American welfare agencies as a factor contributing to the despair and restlessness in the ghettos:

The Commission believes that our present system of public assistance contributes materially to the tensions and social disorganization that have led to civil disorders. The failures of the system alienate the taxpayers who support it, the social workers who administer it, and the poor who depend on it. As Mitchell Ginsberg, head of New York City's Welfare Department, stated before the Commission, "The welfare system is designed to save money instead of people and tragically ends up doing neither.

The system is deficient in two critical ways:

First, it excludes large numbers of persons who are in great need, and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient;

Second, for those who are included, it provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a decent level of existence, and imposes restrictions that encourage continued dependency on welfare and undermine self-respect.

The Kerner Commission's remedial recommendations are directed primarily to the federal government, which funds the majority of welfare programs. The Commission proposes, in brief: (1) higher welfare benefits, having some reasonable relation to current standards of living; (2) a revision of regulations which presently tend to separate families and to destroy incentives for employment and job training; (3) new formulas for and increases in federal funding, coupled with elimination

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137) Drawn in part from Study of Welfare Subcommittee of Race Relations Committee.
of residency requirements; (4) prompt repeal of the 1967 welfare amendments putting a ceiling on the number of children who can be covered in the Aid to Dependent Children program; and (5) last, but certainly not least, institution of programs to make welfare services, including family planning, more readily available to the poor.

In addition to the above reforms in the present welfare system, the Kerner Commission recommends that the nation promptly adopt a system of income supplementation based strictly on need.\(^{40}\)

**b. Relevance to Oregon**

The problem areas identified by the Kerner Commission exist in large part in the Oregon system of public welfare. The plain fact is that, for years, Oregon welfare programs have been underfinanced and therefore obliged to compromise with the lives and rights of those human beings forced to depend upon their more prosperous fellows for support. Welfare benefits are tragically low.\(^{41}\) Indeed, by one study, Oregon's level of welfare benefits ranks 39th in the nation. Oregon welfare allowances are commonly as much as 25 per cent less than accepted measures of the bare minimum standard of living. As a result, welfare recipients in Oregon are forced to live in dire poverty, themselves compromising on all non-fixed expenses. The obvious resulting despair is an important factor in the mood of the ghetto.

Welfare services, as well as welfare benefits, are underfinanced. Welfare case workers are grossly overloaded. As a cumulative result, the "system" fails to meet adequately or at all the needs of great numbers of the poor.\(^{42}\)

\(^{(40)}\)Ibid, pp. 466-467.

\(^{(41)}\)The formulas used to establish levels of assistance benefits are complex and not readily available. The following comparative study is one of several prepared by the Research Division of the State Welfare Commission (supplemented in some particulars by the Committee's own research) which illustrates the disparity which exists between present welfare benefits and the approximate cost of a minimum existence in 1967-68:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current State P.W. Standards</th>
<th>1967 &amp; 1968 Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$25.50 Mother</td>
<td>$29.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.00 Child, 5</td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.00 Child, 3</td>
<td>15.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.00 Child, 2</td>
<td>15.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$69.50</td>
<td>$80.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ 6.00</td>
<td>$15.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>11.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>10.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$18.00</td>
<td>$47.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ 6.75</td>
<td>$11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>$13.50</td>
<td>$17.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>$.75</td>
<td>$.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.75</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$.75</td>
<td>2.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>$ 4.75</td>
<td>$11.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidentals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total without shelter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$105.75</td>
<td>$157.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter costs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.00 (statewide shelter allowance)</td>
<td>75.00 to $85.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Grant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$176.75</td>
<td>$232.07 to $242.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round off to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$177.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For larger families, the disparity is even greater. In some instances, Oregon welfare benefits are 37 per cent below accepted indices of a minimum standard of living in 1967-68.

One explanation for this great disparity is that Oregon welfare benefits have not been revised for a decade or more. Oregon food allotments are based upon 1953 cost of living standards; allowances for clothing and personal items are based upon 1957-58 standards.

\(^{(42)}\)The press of time has required your Committee to limit itself to a consideration of welfare assistance benefits, at the expense of a detailed study of the many welfare services. Your Committee is aware, too, of the considerable controversy in Portland and other communities about the "rights," if any, of welfare recipients, but this large and important subject is beyond its limitations.
Officially, Oregon welfare agencies operate under policies which forbid discrimination. Your Committee believes that most welfare workers attempt in good faith to administer their programs without discrimination. Nevertheless, the inadequacies of the system force welfare workers to make compromises which are sometimes in fact discriminatory. Much more importantly, however, because the system fails adequately to deal with the needs of the poor, it is viewed by the poor with cynicism and, by the Negro poor, as discriminatory.\(^{(43)}\)

In short, your Committee believes that felt discrimination, as much or more than actual discrimination, is a motivating factor in ghetto unrest.

Your Committee believes that responsibility for the inadequacies of the present system rests with every member of our community, particularly those citizens who are not poor. We have been too long content to let the welfare people take care of the problem and, in fact, have relied on the welfare system to insulate us from the problems of the poor. Your Committee thinks this felt discrimination is not limited to public welfare. A number of Negroes interviewed were quite antagonistic to social agencies in general. In their view, such agencies do not listen, do not hear, do not understand, and offer services other than those most needed. Some, indeed, denied the need for any social service, apparently from the feeling that any service given brought with it the implication of a paternalistic (superior-aiding-inferior) status. In the same context, some felt that the whole field of social work was permeated with an unconsciously patronizing attitude toward those whom it professes to serve.

Some social workers interviewed sensed this lack of support. One agency director expressed his frustration in being in “a damned if you do and damned if you don’t” position. He felt a professional commitment to offer service and felt that a need existed for his service. Yet he was aware of criticisms both that the service was not available and that the offer of services demeaned Negroes by implying that they had problems.

It is unfortunate that the State Welfare Commission has never functioned as an advocate for the needs of the poor. Certainly, no group of citizens is more aware of the crying needs of the under-privileged and of the inadequacies of the middle class response. As public welfare personnel interviewed themselves pointed out, “No one seems to speak effectively for the poor.” The poor in general are not militant or articulate.

On the whole, public welfare in Oregon, as elsewhere, has functioned over the years not as an advocate for the needs of the poor, but as a broker or middle-man between the poor and the great middle class. Welfare workers interviewed expressed the feeling of being very much in the middle between welfare recipients and the public and of the need therefore to tread very softly and cautiously. Their rationale was two sided: (1) By not antagonizing the public and the legislature, the agency makes slow but consistent gains over the years. (2) By not advertising itself, prospective recipients may not apply, leaving more funds available for those receiving assistance benefits.

The recent emergence of welfare rights organizations, such as Mothers on ADC, poses something of a threat to the institutionalized brokering function of the welfare agency. Welfare workers and administrators often feel that such groups are pushing too hard and too fast, an attitude reminiscent of that which has been and is being expressed about the civil rights movement in general. This view was reflected by Andrew F. Juras, State Public Welfare Administrator, in an *Oregonian* article on October 4, 1967:

> The real agitation in this country is recipients trying hard to wreck the welfare program in the expectation of getting something better. What guarantee do they have that they will get something as good?

It may be too much to expect the institutionalized system suddenly to take on the new role of spokesman for the poor. Indeed, it is not at all certain to your Committee that the middle class to which we belong is ready to hear of the poor’s

\(^{(43)}\)Except for overt racial discrimination sometimes encountered, Negro welfare recipients face the same problems as their white counterparts. Since there is virtually no communication between these groups, however, the Negro poor tend to regard their lot as resulting largely from racial discrimination.
problems. It has been said of the Oregon Legislature, a reasonably accurate, though imperfect, microcosm of its constituency, that “the Legislature likes Juras. He keeps the lid on.”

Your Committee believes that the time is now for a wholesale commitment on the part of Oregon’s “haves” to share with the “have nots.” This is a large order. The biennium costs for public assistance funds in 1967-69 are $72,049,037. Private estimates given by knowledgeable welfare workers suggest that a biennium budget just to feed, clothe and house the needy of this state might well be $100 million. This is a big investment, but it is an investment with a potentially far greater return. As the Kerner Commission notes:

If the deepening cycle of poverty and dependence on welfare can be broken, if the children of the poor can be given the opportunity to scale the wall that now separates them from the rest of society, the return on this investment will be great indeed.\(^{(44)}\)

c. Discussion

Your Committee supports the recommendations of the Kerner Commission calling for a substantial overhaul of the national welfare system. Your Committee believes that it is time for the nation to give serious consideration to a national system of income supplementation. As long ago as 1949 Senator Robert A. Taft described the goal as follows:

I believe that the American people feel that with the high production of which we are now capable, there is enough left over to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing, to give to all a minimum standard of decent living and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life.\(^{(45)}\)

But your Committee believes equally that the time is past for passing the buck to the federal government. There is much that can and must be done on the local level. Oregon citizens, and particularly the influential citizens to whom this report is initially addressed, must make known to the State Legislature that Oregon welfare benefits can no longer be 24 to 37 per cent below a bare minimum standard of living.

More immediately, the State Welfare Commission and the County Welfare Commission must abandon the role they have too long filled as an institution separating the needs of the poor from the sensitivities and abilities of the non-poor. This means that both the lay commission and the professional administrators must move forward now on two fronts: (1) To articulate the needs of the poor to the public and to the legislature in whatever graphic and dramatic terms are needed to elicit the necessary response. (2) To abandon the present practice whereby welfare is administered by a centrally located bureaucracy.

Your Committee believes that the geographical and bureaucratic isolation of the welfare office in Portland is a substantial contributing factor to the discrimination—racial and otherwise—felt by many welfare recipients. In terms of the Negro poor, the existing system requires a welfare applicant to venture from the familiar confines of his Albina neighborhood to “the other country,” to find and enter a not easily located, imposing edifice and to submit himself to the rigors of a mysterious bureaucracy which seems to such a person to exist more for its own purposes than for his assistance.

Your Committee calls upon the Multnomah County Welfare Commission, and, where relevant, upon the State Welfare Commission and other county departments, to establish neighborhood storefront locations staffed by trained, experienced, sympathetic welfare workers, so that welfare recipients may more adequately and promptly communicate their needs to the agency. This extension of welfare services should be located in coordination with other neighborhood government service facilities.

The second step which should be initiated promptly throughout the state is the publication and distribution of clearly written pamphlets explaining the substantial requirements for qualification for welfare assistance. Your Committee has been made aware of two pamphlets presently being circulated by the State Welfare

\(^{(44)}\)Kerner Report, pp. 466-468.

\(^{(45)}\)Ibid, p. 466.
Commission. Both contain nothing but statutory language. Moreover, these two pamphlets do not begin to cover the many areas in which welfare is involved, nor do they even answer all the questions likely to be raised by one interested in their particular subject matter. Beyond these two pamphlets, the State Welfare Commission apparently makes no effort to publicize the criteria for welfare eligibility. Since the welfare regulations are not generally available, either in total or in simplified summary, the only way in which a person can attempt to determine his eligibility for welfare is to apply.

But as described above, application is at present a difficult and a forbidding procedure. Moreover the applicant has no guarantee that the advice he will receive upon application will be accurate. Since the regulations are not available readily, if at all, to outsiders, no lawyer or other independent person can offer a meaningful check on the eligibility decision rendered by the welfare worker. The practice of secret regulations is so offensive to our notions of essential fairness that the welfare administration must promptly abandon it.

It seems obvious to your Committee that welfare's geographical isolation and mysterious qualification standards lead many poor people, and especially the Negro poor, to believe that the system is designed not to assist them, but is a sop to middle class consciences. Regardless of the validity of such feelings, they are held, and strongly held, by a disturbing number of people.

For this reason, among others, your Committee believes that the activities of the various embryo welfare rights organizations should be encouraged by the public and particularly by the welfare administration. During the short period of its existence, your Committee has made some licited effort to reach out and listen to the poor and to the Negro, and not surprisingly, they had much to say. These people must be heard if the system is to be truly responsive to their needs.

d. Some Hopeful Signs

The Kerner Commission was justly critical of the prevailing rule that welfare benefits, particularly under the Aid to Dependent Children program, are available only when a parent is absent from the house. The Kerner Commission endorsed temporary federal legislation, enacted in 1961, which extends the ADC program to needy families with two unemployed parents. Your Committee is pleased to report that Oregon is one of the 22 states which has elected to participate in this important program, because it means that Oregon's welfare agency is not, by its regulations, forcing an unemployed father either to abandon his family or see them go hungry. Approximately 400 families in Multnomah County are receiving assistance benefits under this program. Regretably this program does not reach those families in which the father is underemployed or underpaid. In such families, the previous "man in the house" rule continues to prevail.

A long-standing criticism of welfare administration, repeated by the Kerner Commission, is that trained case workers are required to spend much of their time investigating the eligibility of welfare applicants. Last year, Congress amended the law to require local and state welfare agencies to separate, no later than July, 1969, the functions of determining eligibility and servicing the poor. This long-needed change will have at least two important effects. First, it will free case workers to spend their time using their special talents to assist the poor and needy. Second, and perhaps much more importantly, it will hopefully lead to a situation where the poor need no longer fear their case worker as an investigator whose true purpose is to determine whether the welfare recipient is cheating. Your Committee is convinced that the dual role which welfare workers heretofore have been required to play has materially inhibited their ability to establish meaningful relationships with welfare recipients.

e. Conclusions

The welfare system, in Oregon as elsewhere, today has the support of neither the poor nor the rich. For too many years, the poor and their needs have been hidden beneath the institutional umbrella of the public welfare administration, while the rich have looked only at the total cost of welfare services. It has been too easy for Oregonians to dismiss the problems of the poor and the Negro as belonging to other areas, but they are here today. It is time to act.
The Committee concludes that:

1. The national pattern of welfare practices must be overhauled in line with the recommendations of the Kerner Commission.
2. The nation should give serious consideration to adoption of a system of income supplementation based solely on need.

**Recommendations**

The Committee recommends that:

a. The Oregon Legislature, supported and encouraged by its constituency, act at its next session and with the highest priority to raise welfare benefits to a level at least compatible with current costs of living.

b. The State Welfare Commission assume a new and needed role as spokesman for the poor and move now to articulate the needs of the poor to the public in a meaningful way.

c. The State and County Welfare Departments seek out the potential recipients of welfare benefits by establishing neighborhood offices and by publicizing the standards for eligibility.

d. The State Welfare Commission seek out and listen to those of the poor who have begun to speak for themselves, for they have an important message.

4. **HOUSING, NEIGHBORHOOD REHABILITATION AND CONSERVATION, URBAN RENEWAL**

a. **Introduction**

Inadequacy and blight in housing and in neighborhood facilities and conditions is part of the complex of major causes in deep civic unrest. The Kerner Commission cites the Housing Act of 1947 in establishing as a national goal the realization of "a decent home and suitable environment for every American family." Yet, "after more than three decades of fragmented and grossly underfunded federal housing programs," the Commission adds, "some six million substandard housing units remain occupied in the United States today." Its Report continues:

The housing problem is particularly acute in the minority ghettos. Nearly two-thirds of all non-white families living in the central cities live in neighborhoods marked by substandard housing and general urban blight. Two major factors are responsible:

First: Many ghetto residents simply cannot pay the rent necessary to support decent housing.

Second: Discrimination prevents access to many non-slum areas, particularly the suburbs, where good housing exists . . .

The Commission presents a series of recommendations for federal action based on two points:

First: Federal housing programs must be given a new thrust aimed at overcoming the prevailing patterns of racial segregation . . .

Second: The private sector must be brought into the production and financing of low and moderate rental housing to supply the capabilities and capital necessary to meet the housing needs of the nation.

The range of the Commission's recommendations is broad, including: Expansion and modification of the rent supplement program to provide for application of that program to existing housing; expansion and modification of the below-market interest rate program; creation of an ownership supplement program to make homeownership possible for low-income families; federal writedown of interest rates on loans to private builders constructing moderate-rent housing; expansion of the public housing program, with emphasis on small units on scattered sites, and leasing and

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(46) Based in part on study of Housing Subcommittee of Race Relations Committee.

(47) Kerner Report, p. 467.


(49) Ibid, p. 28.

(50) Ibid, p. 28.
"turnkey" programs; expansion of the Model Cities program; and expansion of the urban renewal program to give priority to projects directly assisting low-income households to obtain adequate housing.\(^{(51)}\)

The basic goals defined by the Commission are widely applicable:

- The supply of housing suitable for low-income families should be expanded on a massive basis.
- Areas outside of ghetto neighborhoods should be opened to occupancy by racial minorities.\(^{(52)}\)

With differences in degree or intensity of needs and problems, the situations outlined for the nation apply to the Portland area. Substandard housing prevails in Portland’s depressed neighborhoods. Discrimination exists in the wider Portland community. Public housing programs have lagged in scope, with level of development below need and below that of other western cities.

b. Discussion

(1) Housing

The extensive and pressing needs of Portland for housing and neighborhood improvement are hardly open to question. Vital needs are a great broadening of opportunities and choices available to disadvantaged citizens—for better ownership and rental housing and living conditions, for kinds and locations of housing units at costs that can be met by low- and moderate-income family units. Extensive areas of substandard housing exist in the city—most notably in the Albina district, but also in Southeast, Northwest, and other sectors of the central city.

Conditions and needs in the Model Cities project area of Albina have been delineated by a current reconnaissance survey of environmental health conditions. Many code violations have been catalogued, involving most of the city’s departments and bureaus. Violations noted include unsound and substandard buildings, fire conditions, dangerous appliances, sanitation, garbage and refuse storage, rat harborage, litter, and abandoned automobiles.

The situation with respect to condition of housing and difficulty of improvement in Albina is exacerbated in many instances by absentee ownership.

This Committee has concluded that conditions affecting ability of Negroes to buy or rent housing are gradually improving in the Portland metropolitan area. Recent and present relatively enlightened leadership of the Portland Realty Board has contributed some efforts in this regard. Nevertheless continuing serious deficiencies and many difficulties—beyond those of poverty or inability to pay—are reported as existing. This Committee is unable to report or verify whether current charges of continuing incidents of discrimination are accurate or valid. If they are accurate, the practices should be discouraged, outlawed or eliminated. If these practices have already been eliminated, it remains a serious matter of concern that there is a belief widely held in the Negro community that the practices continue. Charges currently persisting by and among Negroes include the following:

- Rental homes for Negroes—both houses and apartments—are hard to find.
- Brokers handling rentals available to Negroes are scarce.
- Lenders are reported to ask for higher qualification for Negroes than for whites of comparable financial standing.
- Federal, state and local legislative curbs on discrimination in housing are reported as easy to evade.
- Negroes may be told that advertised housing is not available, or that the property "has been taken off the market," e.g., a prospective Negro buyer may be told that earnest money has been deposited by someone else and that he "will be called" if that applicant’s loan does not go through.
- Negroes, in contrast to white, are placed at a disadvantage in negotiating for purchase and are subject to a so-called "black tax," i.e., their offers may be refused if below the asking price, even though the majority of sales to whites are made below the asking price.

\(^{(51)}\)Ibid, pp. 474 ff.

\(^{(52)}\)Ibid, pp. 474 ff.
A broker may exercise effective discrimination through his employee's degree of interest and zeal in serving Negro clients or by consistently eluding prospective Negro buyers.

Discriminatory attitudes are predicated upon the feeling of some brokers that they lose future business by dealing or listing with Negroes.

The view is widely held that home owners who do have an equity and move out of Albina, face discrimination and that those who stay in the area have more than normal difficulty in obtaining improvement or building loans.

Overt discrimination is diminishing, and representatives of lending and realty agencies claim that equal treatment is accorded, regardless of race. Covert discrimination still exists to some degree, which is not empirically demonstrable, and further improvements in underlying community, citizen and business attitudes are essential to its eradication.

A 1966 City Club report on The Housing Authority of Portland describes a controversy, including a difference of opinion in the Albina community itself, relating to the proposed establishment of a public housing project in that district, specifically the "Daisy Williams" project. A community view that such a project would tend to perpetuate de facto segregation prevailing at the time and the project was dropped. Recently, reconsideration has been asked by the Citizens Improvement Association, with the suggestion that new housing and recreation areas are needed and that land is underutilized. It would appear now that the policies with respect to type and location of public housing should be carefully reviewed from a number of standpoints, including those of desegregation and widening the opportunities and choices of prospective Negro tenants. This review should be conducted with the active participation of representatives of the tenants of public housing, including Negroes.

With respect to quantitative as well as qualitative needs, the Committee accepts the view that mass low-cost housing must be provided now at an accelerated rate, that opportunities must be opened to all without discrimination, and that the housing and neighborhood climate should be one fostering dignity and self-respect among occupants.

The 1966 Report on the Housing Authority found a substantial quantitative need for public housing. It indicated that Portland lags substantially behind other West Coast cities, including those both larger and smaller, in available public housing per capita. It ranked distinctly at the bottom of the list of a dozen cities, some of comparable low-income and Negro ratios, in units of public housing per thousand of population. HAP has repeatedly stressed the failure to meet the need and to keep pace with other urban areas. At that time the HAP executive director offhandedly estimated a need of about ten thousand units. That City Club Committee concluded that:

Such information as [it] has found indicates clearly that there is a need for additional low-rent housing in Portland—a need which has not been and is not being met by either HAP or private housing. The lack of a recent and comprehensive survey of public housing needs in Portland and the absence of long-range planning leave HAP with no adequate foundation on which to make decisions with respect to new projects. The City Planning Commission would be particularly well-qualified to make the necessary study.

That Committee recommended:

. . . that a comprehensive survey of Portland's need for low-rent housing be immediately undertaken through the City Planning Commission and a long-range plan developed to meet the scope and type of need disclosed, to the greatest extent possible, within the limits of available funds.

The same City Club report also found a special need for housing, public and private, for the elderly. An early City Club report of September 1960, on Housing for the Aging, noted an affinity of "old people for old houses," largely sub-standard, and for core or close-in areas of the city. In view of low income levels of many of the elderly, the public responsibility for adequate housing for this group is particularly acute.


In its January, 1967 Report on the HAP’s proposed outlying *Southwest Hillsdale Terrace Project* (supported by the Club), the City Club also supported the idea of using small units scattered throughout the city.\(^{(55)}\) The project was strongly opposed by many local residents on various grounds, including allegations of adverse impact on schools, excessive land-use density, high costs, and disparate economic and social backgrounds of the prospective tenants. That committee did not suggest that the persons who opposed the project did so because of unarticulated racial or social-economic prejudice. It said:

\[\ldots\] The Committee does feel that those reasons that have been given for opposing the project are not as important as the necessity of affirmatively dispelling any implication of racial or social-economic prejudice. The Committee feels that there is no essential difference between a desire to avoid the intrusion into a neighborhood of persons of different educational, social, or economic background, because of a fear that this may have an adverse effect on property values and schools, and a desire to exclude persons on a purely racial basis. In either case, the criteria being applied are inappropriate in today’s urban society.

Despite some improvements in this regard, current criticism of public housing activities continues to impute serious lack of contact and meaningful communication between HAP and the Negroes in Portland. There are differences of view as to the situations and needs of poor, middle class, and elderly Negroes. Also reported are differences between views of HAP and County Welfare respecting policies and practices in housekeeping, maintenance, and payment of rent. Such differences should be ironed out in a closer contact between those two agencies.

The Committee is aware of the fact that the greater part of the housing needs of the Portland area must be met through private enterprise. At the same time, it recognizes the limitations of profit-making ventures in reaching lower-income families without financial and technical means or assistance. Accordingly, the Committee is concerned that all feasible means—public and private—be developed to lower the practical limits of private enterprise in providing housing for low-income families. These may include: federal, state and local governmental and business and financial arrangements for below-market interest rates, rent supplements, ownership supplements; building code reform; technological innovations in design and building; mass or factory production; economies of scale and coordination; innovations in organization, financing and management of development and operations.

*(2) Neighborhood Improvement*

The expansion and advancement of neighborhood improvement programs is obviously necessary.

The Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project is administered by the Portland Development Commission. It has been funded two-thirds by the federal government and one-third by the City, with a three-year budget of $2,040,000. It is being conducted in a 100-acre area within greater Albina and bounded by Mississippi, Skidmore, Vancouver and Fremont streets. It originally contained 525 old and substandard dwelling units. Of these, 78 have been acquired and demolished, 46 because they were beyond repair and 32 to make room for a 4.5-acre park. The median income of about 2,000 residents of this district is about 30 per cent lower than the city norm, but home ownerships are about 65 per cent as compared with 53 per cent for the greater Albina district. Over 380 dwellings have been rehabilitated under a low-interest loan and grant program, with demonstrably good results in upgrading the district generally, and increasing property values. The project is scheduled for completion at the end of the present year. The land remaining from the dilapidated structures that Portland Development Commission has bought and cleared is being resold to private developers for re-use under a variety of low-cost programs. Active neighborhood participation in the project has been a very important feature from the standpoint of the people concerned, and that of improved citizen-government relations. The program has had good cooperation from banks and savings and loan associations. It has been a marked success.

The *Model Cities Program* for planning an innovative neighborhood rehabilitation, now getting under way in North and Northeast Portland under a federal

planning grant, is very promising and of large potential importance in improvement of the city's physical and cultural environment. A vital feature is proposed citizen involvement in the project through a governing board of elected and mayoral appointees. Some difficulties were experienced in organizing the project because of a failure to bring in the local community at the earliest possible stage. The current problem and goal is to bring the project successfully through its planning phase into actual redevelopment.

With federal approval of the Model Cities project, proposals were made, but not effectuated, for extension of the limits of the program into a depressed area of Southeast Portland. Interim measures have been taken in that area for rehabilitation planning, without federal aid, in the hope that the area can be brought under Model Cities coverage at an early time.

Another neighborhood improvement and service plan is in being, with citizen group and business-financial cooperation, in the dominantly middle class Irvington district which abuts the Albina area. This project, of less immediate moment from the standpoint of civic order, is of considerable importance in the longer-run solution of the city's housing and rehabilitation problems. The Portland Development Commission is cooperating with the organizational efforts of the Irvington program. It is hoped that this projection will lead to a federally-assisted code enforcement effort in the future.

This Committee recognizes that throughout all of the activities related to housing and neighborhood and environmental improvement, the interests of the citizens concerned are of paramount importance. It is essential that they be deeply involved, that communications be strengthened, that their rights, desires, and aspirations be given full weight, and that democratic participation in policy-making, planning, development and operations be provided for and implemented.

This Committee considers acute and continuing interest in this field very desirable, in view of the vital and complex physical, economic and social, and political problems and issues involved in cooperative public and private action in planning, organization, finance, development, and improvement.

Recommendations

The recommendations of this Committee respecting housing, neighborhood improvement, and related concerns are general and diverse to meet very broad and ramified conditions and needs. The Committee recommends:

a. That community leadership—city and metropolitan, official and citizen—formulate, extend, and advance a comprehensive housing and rehabilitation program designed—

(1) To invoke all available ways and means to improve basic civic attitudes—individual and group—respecting housing, and to carry out the letter and spirit of state and federal anti-discrimination, open-housing laws.

(2) To overcome deficiencies in the numbers of units and quality of available housing, particularly in the central city and particularly for minority and low-income groups and areas.

(3) To enlarge and accelerate progress in Portland's public housing program to provide, for low-income families, housing opportunities of diverse character, capacity, and location, including neighborhoods outside of areas presently of racial concentration.

(4) To expand, and accelerate, with government support, private housing construction, improvement, and financing, particularly for low-income families, through coordinated planning and action by lending agencies, realtors, builders, and materials suppliers.

(5) To advance the technology of housing development and management in the interest of quality construction at lowest unit costs and, consequently, at minimum rental rates.

(6) To expand neighborhood improvement and urban renewal programs in decaying areas, including those of Albina and blighted Southeast and other sections, and, in this connection, to invoke the cooperation of residents, social groups, public agencies, and business interests, and to develop cooperative arrangements for accomplishment of these purposes.
(7) To support and advance the Model Cities program for North and Northeast Portland, and to extend the movement, as soon as feasible, to adjoining depressed areas in Southeast Portland.

(8) To review and reform building and sanitary codes, and their administration and enforcement, on an equitable, non-discriminatory basis, in the interests of economy, health, welfare, and favorable living conditions in presently depressed areas.

(9) To support federal policies, legislation and programs for assistance to the states and local governments in housing, renewal, neighborhood improvement and related programs.

b. That such policies, plans and programs of housing and neighborhood development and improvement be formulated and carried out with full recognition of the needs and desires of the citizens of the respective areas directly concerned, and with their effective consultation, advice, and participation in planning, organization, and administration.

c. That the City Club continue studies of housing and neighborhood improvement problems, needs, and potential courses of action in greater detail, with a view to continuing and accelerating progress consistent with the foregoing recommendations.

5. THE POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

a. Introduction

The City Club Research Committee on Law Enforcement in Portland has been at work for the past two years. During that period it has consulted extensively and freely with the police and law enforcement authorities and with many others concerned. Its study is now drawing to a conclusion, and its report to the Club is anticipated in the early future.

That Committee’s report will undoubtedly include findings with respect to the wide range of conditions, needs and problems encountered together with definitive suggestions and recommendations looking to the betterment of police administration and police-citizen relations and the advancement of civic harmony and well being.

Police problem areas considered particularly relevant to this report and to the central need of effective government-citizen communications, understanding, and cooperation, include, among others, the following:

- Police education and training policies, programs and facilities in general, including special measures for training in community and neighborhood relations and services.
- Organizational and procedural arrangements for the effective handling of community and citizens’ relations—beyond the ordinary realm of “public relations.”
- Qualification, recruitment and employment of Negro officers for general police service, as well as for special community and neighborhood police services.
- Establishment of improved systems and procedures for handling citizens’ complaints and meeting individual and group grievances.
- Parity of police protection among neighborhoods.
- Advancement of policies and procedures for forestalling, mitigating, and handling civil incidents and disorders and promoting civic order.
- Perfecting the role of the police in the general, across-the-board scheme of strengthened citizen-government relations.

In the interim, pending completion of the report of the Law Enforcement Committee, this Committee is basing its presentation upon the situations and needs prevailing, more or less universally, in the larger cities across the country. In this it has drawn extensively upon the findings, goals, strategies and proposals of the Kerner Commission investigations of the past two years.

b. Discrimination and Unrest

It is the sad fact that segregation and discrimination, which the Kerner Report firmly assigns as resulting from white racism, have been the Negroes’ lot in greater or less degree in all parts of our country and that, until relatively recent times, little
was done about it. It is the equally sad fact that Negroes in many parts of our
country have faced and continue to face problems of crowded urban neighborhoods,
insufficient employment opportunities, inadequate education, unsatisfactory hous-
ing, and all the fuming, mounting frustration which these circumstances create. On
the one hand, it is clearly the responsibility of society to undertake immediately,
and to pursue relentlessly, appropriate efforts to solve these problems and to elimi-
nates vestiges of discrimination. We would delude ourselves, however, to believe
that solutions to the problems can be accomplished overnight. There will be no
miracles. On the other hand, America's cities must not be burned and looted and
their citizens terrorized.

The delicacy of this tenuous balance is aggravated by the fact, which must be
apparent to an objective observer, that the white society, by and large, has generated
a serious commitment to the solution of the problems only since it has been faced
with attendant violence or threat of violence. Some Negro leadership, rather lately
emerged, tends to exploit the premise that continuing threat of disorder is necessary
to continuing progress. This leadership enhances thereby the possibility of a
repetition of those events of last summer when domestic tranquility—one of the
goals set out in the preamble of the Constitution—was shattered by mob action,
by arson and by looting. Fortunately, the disorder experienced in Portland in 1967
did not reach the proportions experienced by other cities, but, there are those who
threaten greater violence in 1968. In the face of this potential violence, and during
the time necessary to implement solutions to the underlying causes, we operate
then under two mandates of equal dignity: First, to ensure that law and order are
maintained; and second, to ensure that the individual rights of all citizens are
established, preserved and protected at all times.

**c. Police Function in Law Enforcement**

The police are obviously directly involved in the maintenance of law and
order. As an institution, the police have traditionally been charged with this respon-
sibility. Also traditionally this has been the emphasis of their orientation and their
training. By the very nature of this assignment the police are necessarily in a role
which is felt by many Negroes to be adverse and hostile. In Portland as elsewhere,
the very nature of the police law enforcement function must be recognized as a
source of friction. Nor is the sense of resentment felt by many solely a resultant
of the essence of that police function. The police do suffer from the fact that,
inasmuch as they are the most visible representatives of government in ghetto areas,
they personify the governmmt: To the extent that citizens are resentful of govern-
ment generally, that resentment is largely focused on the police, and the citizens
are resentful of the police. In this connection, the Kerner Commission reported:(56)

We have cited deep hostility between police and ghetto communities as a
primary cause of the disorders surveyed by the Commission. In Newark, in Detroit,
in Watts, in Harlem—in practically every city that has experienced racial disruption
since the summer of 1964—abrasive relationships between police and Negroes and
other minority groups have been a major source of grievance, tension and, ultimately,
disorder.

In a fundamental sense, however, it is wrong to define the problem solely as
hostility to police. In many ways the policeman only symbolizes much deeper
problems.

The policeman in the ghetto is a symbol not only of law, but of the entire
system of law enforcement and criminal justice.

As such, he becomes the tangible target for grievances against shortcomings
throughout the system: against assembly-line justice in teeming lower courts; against
wide disparities in sentences; against antiquated corrections facilities; against the
basic inequities imposed by the system on the poor—to whom, for example, the
option of bail means only jail.

The policeman in the ghetto is a symbol of increasingly bitter social debate over
law enforcement.

One side, disturbed and perplexed by sharp rises in crime and urban violence,
exerts extreme pressure on police for tougher law enforcement. Another group,
inflamed against police as agents of repression, tends toward defiance of what it
regards as order maintained at the expense of justice.

The policeman in the ghetto is a symbol, finally, of a society from which many
ghetto Negroes are increasingly alienated.

(56)Kerner Report, pp. 299-300.
More serious is the fact that, in Portland, as elsewhere, the difficulties arising from the nature of the law enforcement function are compounded by the fact that the performance of that function frequently is not carried out in a proper, non-discriminatory manner.

There have come to the Committee's attention numerous charges, and reports of police discrimination against minorities or individual members of minority groups. Specifically, it is charged that police response to calls from disadvantaged neighborhoods usually is slower than to calls from other neighborhoods; that under identical circumstances, police frequently confront, or harass, Negroes and ignore misconduct of whites; that police, by word or manner, are sometimes unjustifiably rude, arrogant, or abusive toward Negroes. The Committee does not have firm evidence to substantiate these charges, but it believes that such indignities have occurred. Furthermore, it is clear that they are deeply resented by those who are thus offended and that the resentment has engendered serious hostility and alienation toward the police. The Kerner Commission concurred with the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (herein called the Crime Commission) as follows:57)

In assessing the impact of police misconduct we emphasize that the improper act of a relatively few officers may create severe tensions between the department and the entire Negro community. Whatever the actual extent of such conduct, we concur in the Crime Commission's conclusion that: "...all such behavior is obviously and totally reprehensible, and when it is directed against minority-group citizens it is particularly likely to lead, for quite obvious reasons, to bitterness in the community."

d. Other Police Functions, Services, and Relations

It is also evident that this type of police conduct which is sometimes intentional, sometimes careless and insensitive—but always resented—arises also in the performance of other police services. Society is rather recently coming to some understanding that the broad spectrum of police activities includes many services which are not technically law enforcement. The Crime Commission, through its Task Force on the Police, has observed:58)

While each person has a somewhat different impression of the nature of the police function, based primarily upon his personal experiences, contacts with police officers, there is a widespread popular conception of the police, supported by news and entertainment media. Through these, the police have come to be viewed as a body of men continually engaged in the exciting, dangerous, and competitive enterprise of apprehending and prosecuting criminals. Emphasis upon this one aspect of police functioning has led to a tendency on the part of both the public and the police to underestimate the range and complexity of the total police task.

A police officer assigned to patrol duties in a large city is typically confronted with at most a few serious crimes in the course of a single tour of duty. He tends to view such involvement, particularly if there is some degree of danger, as constituting real police work. But it is apparent that he spends considerably more time keeping order, settling disputes, finding missing children, and helping drunks than he does in responding to criminal conduct which is serious enough to call for arrest, prosecution, and conviction. This does not mean that serious crime is unimportant to the policeman. Quite the contrary is true. But it does mean that he performs a wide range of other functions which are of a highly complex nature and which often involve difficult social, behavioral and political problems.59)

Wide latitude of discretionary judgment is required in the proper performance of these types of service. The Task Force has pointed out:60)

Domestic disputes account for a high percentage of the total number of incidents to which the police are summoned. They generally occur late at night and result in a call for the police because an assault has taken place, because the neighbors are disturbed, or simply because a low income couple has no other source of help in arbitrating marital conflicts. Given the nature of such disputes, the formal system of arrest, prosecution, and conviction is rarely an appropriate means for dealing with them. In the absence of likely alternatives to police involvement, police officers are left with the responsibility for dealing with such situations without being adequately equipped to do so.

When criminal activity involves a "willing buyer" and a "willing seller," a somewhat different pattern of problems is present. Widespread community support

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for some forms of gambling activity or an ambivalent community attitude toward some forms of sexual conduct require that a police agency decide what constitutes an appropriate level of enforcement. In the absence of a complainant, police must determine the amount of resources and the investigative procedures that they should employ to discover criminal offenses.

Because a high percentage of crimes is committed by juveniles, police are frequently called upon to deal with the youthful offender. In spite of this, there remains uncertainty as to the proper role of the police in the juvenile process. In practice most incidents involving juveniles are disposed of by the police without referral to a social worker or a judge, and consequently what police do is of great significance.

Finally, police must respond to the conflicts that arise out of what has been termed the “social revolution.” It is difficult, in policing such situations, to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate group behavior and to balance the value of free expression against the risk of public disorder. The lines which must be drawn are difficult to determine and call for policy decisions quite different from those made in traditional crimes like burglary.

That these services are varied in character does not mitigate the importance of fairness, dignity and impartiality in their performance. On the contrary, because they involve judgmental responsibilities, it is of highest importance that they be performed with maturity and respect.

e. Police Policies, Attitudes, and Practices

The Mayor and the Chief of Police have indicated that in their opinions the Kerner Report is not applicable to Portland. Satisfactory police-citizen relations are not likely to be achieved as a reality in Portland in the absence of a fundamental change in the philosophy of the officials who formulate policy for the police bureau.

It is comforting to appreciate the Portland Police Bureau as an essentially honest agency. But, this is not enough. It has become clear from the work done by the Crime Commission that the concept of the “honest cop” is inadequate to serve fully and satisfactorily the sophisticated demands made today upon a metropolitan police force. Unimaginative leadership, jealous of the autonomy which some police officials find a comforting insulation against public scrutiny and criticism, will not serve the day. Innovations with community support and cooperation are required, as reported by the Kerner Commission:

At the same time, police responsibilities in the ghetto have grown as other institutions of social control have lost much of their authority: the schools, because so many are segregated, old, and inferior; religion, which has become irrelevant to those who lost faith as they lost hope; career aspirations, which for many young Negroes are totally lacking; the family, because its bonds are so often snapped. It is the policeman who must fill this institutional vacuum, and is then resented for the effort this demands.

Alone, the policeman in the ghetto cannot solve these problems. His role is already one of the most difficult in our society. He must deal readily with a range of problems and people that test his patience, ingenuity, character, and courage in ways that few of us are ever tested. Without positive leadership, goals, operational guidance, and public support, the individual policeman can only feel victimized.

Nor are these problems the responsibility only of police administrators; they are deep enough to tax the courage, intelligence, and leadership of mayors, city officials, and community leaders. As Dr. Kenneth B. Clark told the Commission:

"This society knows . . . that if human beings are confined in ghetto compounds of our cities, and are subjected to criminally inferior education, pervasive economic and job discrimination, committed to houses unfit for human habitation, subjected to unspeakable conditions of municipal services, such as sanitation, that such human beings are not likely to be responsive to appeals to be lawful, to be respectful, to be concerned with property of others."

And yet, precisely because the policeman in the ghetto is a symbol—precisely because he symbolizes so much—it is of critical importance that the police and society take every possible step to allay grievances that flow from a sense of injustice and increased tension and turmoil.

In this work, the police bear a major responsibility for making needed changes. In the first instance, they have the prime responsibility for safeguarding the minimum goal of any civilized society—security of life and property. To do so, they are given society’s maximum power—discretion in the use of force. Second, it is axiomatic that effective law enforcement requires the support of the community. Such support will not be present when a substantial segment of the community feels threatened by the police and regards the police as an occupying force.

(61) Kerner Report, pp. 300-301.
At the same time, public officials also have a clear duty to help the police make any necessary changes to minimize so far as possible the risks of further disorders.

We see five basic problem areas:

• The need for change in police operations in the ghetto to ensure proper individual conduct and to eliminate abrasive practices.
• The need for more adequate police protection of ghetto residents to eliminate the present high sense of insecurity to person and property.
• The need for effective mechanisms through which the citizen can have his grievances handled.
• The need for policy guidelines to assist police in areas where police conduct can create tension.
• The need to develop community support for law enforcement.

To meet these needs, the Kerner Commission offered a number of specific recommendations which this Committee finds applicable to the Portland area:

(1) To ensure assignment of well qualified police to ghetto areas:62)

Officers with bad reputations among residents in minority areas should be immediately reassigned to other areas. This will serve the interests of both the police and the community.

Screening procedures should be developed to ensure that officers with superior ability, sensitivity and the common sense necessary for enlightened law enforcement are assigned to minority group areas. We believe that, with proper standards for recruitment of new officers, in the long run, most policemen can meet these standards.

Incentives, such as bonuses or credits for promotion should be developed wherever necessary to attract outstanding officers to ghetto positions.

(2) To establish standards and policies for guidance of police personnel63)

Police departments should have a clear and enforced policy that the standard of law enforcement in ghetto areas is the same as in other communities; complaints and appeals from the ghetto should be treated with the same urgency and importance as those from white neighborhoods.

Because a basic problem in furnishing protection to the ghetto is the shortage of manpower, police departments should review existing deployment of field personnel to ensure the most efficient use of manpower. The Police Task Force of the Crime Commission stressed the need "to distribute patrol officers in accordance with the actual need for their presence." Communities may have to pay for more and better policing for the entire community as well as for the ghetto.

The issuance of orders to citizens regarding their movements or activities—for example, when ever should a policeman order a street gathering to break up or move on.

The handling of minor disputes—between husband and wife, merchant and customer, or landlord and tenant. Guidelines should cover resources available in the community—family courts, probation departments, counseling services, welfare agencies—to which citizens can be referred.

The decision whether to arrest in a specific situation involving a specific crime—for example, when police should arrest persons engaged in crimes such as social gambling, vagrancy and loitering, and other crimes which do not involve victims. The use of alternatives to arrest, such as a summons, should also be considered.

The selection and use of investigative methods. Problems concerning use of field interrogations and "stop-and-frisk" techniques are especially critical. Crime Commission studies and evidence before this Commission demonstrate that these techniques have the potential for becoming a major source of friction between police and minority groups. We also recognize that police regard them as important methods of preventing and investigating crime. Although we do not advocate use or adoption of any particular investigative method, we believe that any such method should be covered by guidelines drafted to minimize friction with the community.

Safeguarding the constitutional right of free expression such as right of persons engaging in lawful demonstrations, the need to protect lawful demonstrators, and how to handle spontaneous demonstration.

The circumstances under which the various forms of physical force—including lethal force—can and should be applied. Recognition of this need was demonstrated by the regulations recently adopted by the City of New York further implementing the state law governing police use of firearms.

The proper manner of address for contacts with any citizen.64)
The importance of expressly stated policies for the guidance of police officers was summarized by the Crime Commission as follows:

1. There are two alternative ways in which police can respond to the difficult problems currently confronting them:

   a. The first is to continue, as has been true in the past, with police making important decisions, but doing so by a process which can fairly be described as "unarticulated improvisation." This is a comfortable approach, requiring neither the police nor the community to face squarely the difficult social issues which are involved, at least until a crisis—like the current "social revolution"—necessitates drastic change.

   b. The second alternative is to recognize the importance of the administrative policymaking function of police and to take appropriate steps to make this a process which is systematic, intelligent, articulate, and responsive to external controls appropriate in a democratic society; a process which anticipates social problems and adapts to meet them before a crisis situation arises.

Of the two, the latter is not only preferable; it is essential if major progress in policing is to be made, particularly in the large, congested urban areas.

3. To reduce the frustration felt by many that grievances cannot be aired and heard, the Commission recommended:

   Making a complaint should be easy. It should be possible to file a grievance without excessive formality. If forms are used, they should be easily available and their use explained in widely distributed pamphlets. In large cities, it should not be necessary to go to a central headquarters office to file a complaint but it should also be possible to file a complaint at neighborhood locations. Police officer on the beat, community service aides, or other municipal employees in the community, should be empowered to receive complaints.

   A specialized agency, with adequate funds and staff, should be created separate from other municipal agencies, to handle, investigate and make recommendations on citizen complaints.

   The procedure should have a built-in conciliation process to attempt to resolve complaints without the need for full investigation and processing.

   The complaining party should be able to participate in the investigation and in any hearings, with right of representation by counsel, so that the complaint is fully investigated and findings made on the merits. He should be promptly and fully informed of the outcome. The results of the investigation should be made public.

   Since many citizen complaints concern departmental policies rather than individual conduct, information concerning complaints of this sort should be forwarded to the departmental unit which formulates or reviews policy and procedures. Information concerning all complaints should be forwarded to appropriate training units so that any deficiencies correctable by training can be eliminated.

4. To "humanize" the service type functions of police, to establish mutually respectful police-citizen relations and to reduce the neglect of citizen participation, the Commission said:

   Community relations programs and training can be important in increasing communication and decreasing hostility between the police and the ghetto. Community relations programs can also be used by police to explain new patrol practices, law enforcement programs, and other police efforts to reduce crime. Police have a right to expect ghetto leaders to work responsibly to reduce crime. Community relations programs offer a way to create and foster these efforts.

   We believe that community relations is an integral part of all law enforcement. But it cannot be made so by part-time effort, peripheral status, or cliche methods.

   One way to bolster community relations is to expand police department award systems. Traditionally, special awards, promotional credit, bonuses and selection for special assignments are based on heroic acts and arrest activity. Award systems should take equal cognizance of the work of officers who improve relations with alienated members of the community and by so doing minimize the potential for disorder.

   However, we see no easy solution to police-community relations and misunderstandings and are aware that no single procedure or program will suffice. Improving community relations is a full-time assignment for every commander and every officer—an assignment that must include the development of an attitude, a tone, throughout the force that conforms with the ultimate responsibility of every policeman: public service.

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(66) Kerner Report, pp. 311-312.
f. Police Officer Training and Law Enforcement Academy

Higher educational standards and improved in-service training programs are necessary if law enforcement is to keep pace with personnel needs in policy organizations throughout the state. There is a clear need for more sophisticated, professional, and better educated and trained policemen than past methods of selection, recruitment, and training can produce. Present programs and facilities in Oregon are not adequate for the task before us.

The portion of training time and effort devoted to subjects of human and community relations is woefully inadequate.

Present training programs are carried on in facilities that are scattered, improvised, inadequate, and poorly designed. An academy of modern functional design, suitably located and sited, is an urgent necessity. Its location should be such as to facilitate intercourse with and use of resources by and between cooperating colleges and universities. It should also be visible, accessible, and convenient from the standpoint of the general public.

The Mount Sylvania area of southwest Multnomah County near Portland city limits, has been proposed as a desirable location. Land is presently available for a site adjacent to the Portland Community College. The Academy and College would benefit mutually from this relationship. The proximity to downtown Portland would also be desirable because of accessibility to city and county government, other educational institutions, and a substantial part of the general public of the state.

This police academy proposal has the support of Region 5, Police Standards and Training Committee of the State Police Board of Standards and Training.

Recommendations

The Committee recommends that:

a. As an interim and general proposal, local government and police authorities take a new look at the problems of police and law enforcement, as recommended by the Kerner and Crime Commission Reports, to improve citizen-government relations and secure and maintain civic peace and order.

b. Steps be taken by the Portland Police Bureau to improve the education and training of police officers in general duties including particularly those pertaining to human and community relations.

c. The project be advanced for the establishment, in the Portland metropolitan area, of a Law Enforcement Training Academy for the State of Oregon.

6. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER EMERGENCY CONDITIONS

a. Introduction

The national commissions on Crime and Civil Disorder (Kerner) have discussed at length the problems of administration of justice under emergency conditions.

The latter recommends that the cities and states:

- Undertake reform of the lower courts so as to improve the quality of justice rendered under normal conditions.
- Plan comprehensive measures by which the criminal justice system may be supplemented during civil disorders so that its deliberate functions are protected, and the quality of justice is maintained.

It notes that "such emergency plans require community participation and dedicated leadership by the bench and bar." They should include:

- Laws sufficient to deter and punish riot conduct.
- Additional judges, bail and probation officers, and clerical staff.
- Arrangements for volunteer lawyers to help prosecutors and to represent riot defendants at every stage of proceedings.
- Polices to ensure proper and individual bail, arraignment, pretrial, trial and sentencing proceedings.
- Procedures for processing arrested persons, such as summons and release, and release on personal recognizance, which permit separation of minor offenders from those dangerous to the community, in order that serious offenders may be detained and prosecuted effectively.
- Adequate emergency processing and detention facilities.

\(^{68}\) Drawn from paper on Law Enforcement and Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Race Relations Committee.
The foregoing specifics, while they may not in every respect be as applicable to Portland as they may to other areas of the country, do provide a well-supported foundation for an appraisal of this community's needs.

b. Discussion

At no time is it more essential that our system of judicial administration operate effectively to protect individual constitutional rights than during periods of civil disorder. The stresses and strains on every level of the judicial process produced by the peaked emotions and tensions of such periods can tax even a well-organized and efficiently-run mechanism. A system that is not fully equipped to meet such emergencies with strength will surely break. The resultant loss of constitutional guarantees can fortify and foment the underlying causes of conflict and provide the foundation for repeated discord.

The history of other communities of our nation which have experienced riot problems all too tragically reveals that practically none of the communities involved were able to handle competently the astronomical demands made upon their individual judicial administrations. Examinations of these experiences indicate beyond question that there is an absolute and vital need for pre-planning and organization at every level and degree of the judicial process. By making themselves aware of as many as possible of the problems that may arise, responsible officials and citizens can formulate in advance and install adequate machinery to arrest and segregate those who violate laws; and to deal effectively with them and mete out appropriate punishment while, at the same time, safeguarding the constitutional rights to which those persons are entitled.

Many agencies and groups have addressed themselves to this general problem. This Committee considers its conclusions and suggestions as points of reference for an appraisal of our own community's needs. Among those sources which treat the problem well are the Kerner Report and the Report Bar Leadership and Civil Disorder, published by the Section of Criminal Law of the American Bar Association. These authorities recognize the critical challenge that major civil disorders create and conclude that the total breakdown of law and order occasioned by riots jeopardizes both the rights of the individual and the protection of the community. Only by a rule of law can disorder be curbed and tranquility maintained. At no time can vigilante action produce anything but chaos; "fighting fire with fire" only produces an inferno of greater intensity.

Every community—our own being no exception—must be prepared well before any problem ever arises—quickly and efficiently to bring the forces of appropriate government and private agencies into operation. Such planning does not prophesy or invite disorder. Nor does it indicate more than a vital community protective action. The following are general suggestions for starting places in this area.

c. Review of Legal Authority

Advance preparation should include a complete analysis of existing and available ordinance structure so that proper legal powers are made available for effective use. Those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing laws must be made aware of their existence and their interpretation of all changes made.

These laws must define and identify those who are acting properly within constitutional standards from those who are not, so that the officers administering these can make value judgments quickly and easily. Special training and education on the rules should be had, to insure that the rights of dissenters and demonstrators will be respected at all times.

The Office of the City Attorney, your Committee is advised, has recently suggested some changes in Portland Municipal Ordinances to extend the authority of the Mayor. This Committee would suggest that detailed evaluations be made of various current ordinances to the end that sufficient tools are available for proper use. The City can call upon the assistance and support of the local Bar Association for suggestions in this regard. Whatever changes and additions are made, together with the existing regulations, it is felt should be made known to the public at large.

d. Arrests

Another critical area for planning is that stage of a riot at which the decision is made to effect an arrest or not. Under certain circumstances the violation of law
may be very clear. Under other conceivable situations, however, a monumental judgment decision is faced. Enforcement officers therefore should be thoroughly schooled with respect to the theories and practices of lawful and unlawful demonstration, and be trained as nearly as possible to react correctly under difficult conditions. Overreaction and excessive use of force are tragically prevalent attributes of most recent major disorders. Example after example may be found of exaggerated responses by officers assigned to riot duty because of misunderstandings and inaccurate evaluation of emergency conditions. The elimination of such mistakes through training and control mechanism must be given high priority in all advance planning. Of course, underreaction to situations requiring police intervention may allow a situation which might otherwise be controlled, to get out of hand.

Of necessity, plans should provide for cooperation and liaison between similar agencies at all local and state levels. This Committee acknowledges prior public pronouncements that the Portland Police Bureau presently has working arrangements for concerted action with the Multnomah County Sheriff's office, the Oregon State Police, the Oregon National Guard and other local municipal policing agencies to call for needed assistance in time of major disorder. In the time available to the Committee it has been impossible to analyze or evaluate these plans in detail and no attempt is made to do so here.

e. Booking Procedures

Subsequent to an arrest an all-important procedure of ministerial action takes place: the booking. During this phase the judicial process begins acquiring that information necessary properly to hear and dispose of the case. By examining the recorded experiences of Portland and other communities during civil disorders much can be learned. Frequently the mechanical details of booking arrested parties, processing large numbers of arrestees, providing adequate personnel and medical assistance, handling records and meeting other logistical problems, were simply greater than existing facilities could cope with. Chaotic situations developed in many areas, with resulting irreparable damage to individuals' rights as well as to the prosecution.

The Portland Municipal Court is the initial judicial agency before which most of the persons arrested in any riot would be taken. It must be prepared to expand its clerical and administrative facilities to proportions far beyond its present capacity. Its limited present physical facilities are well known to those who are actively associated with that court. Diligent effort is indicated to plan and prepare for abnormal demands upon those facilities well in advance of any actual need.

f. Detention Facilities

Another area of deficiency equally well known to the Portland community is the inadequacy of the municipal jail to provide for such volume of arrests as may be occasioned by civil disturbance. Planning to utilize the custodial facilities of Multnomah County and of the surrounding counties should be made. Provision should also be made for increased custodial personnel, both male and female. Adequate facilities must be made available for persons in custody to consult promptly with their families and counsel.

g. Arraignment and Bail

Since the existing number of courtrooms at the municipal court would obviously not be sufficient, others must be found for arraignment proceedings. Due process requires the appearance of the accused before a magistrate as quickly as is reasonably possible. The lack of adequate numbers of courtrooms at the municipal level is well known in this city. Borrowed facilities at other locations is the only obvious answer.

Judges to preside over such arraignments would be needed and schedule for their service must be made. Unfortunate results occurred under extreme conditions in some cities during prior civil disorders when individual rights were sacrificed.

(69) Municipal Jail Report, Portland City Club Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 7, June 18, 1948. This committee's investigation exposed Portland jail conditions in specific terms and recommended a number of measures for improvement. Many of the inadequacies reported at that time still prevail.
by mass arraignments. Such procedure can only be condemned and must be avoided at any cost.

Uniform policies and practices with regard to bail procedures must be established. The release of arrested parties on their own recognizance is to be encouraged. All steps should be taken to avoid haphazard application of these policies and uneven treatment of persons arrested. In this respect the previously received report of the City Club(70) can provide a guide to future planning.

h. Trial

The prompt disposition of all arrested cases is a goal to be sought at any cost to avoid depriving participants of their rights. Comprehensive plans to afford the public and the defendants proper and adequate hearings must be made. This would include the supplementing if necessary of the prosecutorial staff by adding local practicing attorneys for temporary duty.

The same is obviously true of the need for counsel for defendants. Experience in prior emergencies has indicated that there is usually a shortage of lawyers skilled in the defense of criminal cases. The local and state bar associations must be prepared to fill the need for competent professional assistance to those who are not equipped to secure their own counsel.

Such voluntary programs must insure that lawyers called upon to serve arrested persons have sufficient skills in the particular fields needed adequately to represent charges. It is the responsibility of the bar organizations to provide and prepare a sufficient number of defense counsel so that justice will be accomplished. The providing of clerical assistance and investigatory aids must also be furnished.

i. Summary

In addition to the policing authorities actions previously mentioned, this Committee has been made aware of the interaction at this time of various public and private agencies directed to the above mentioned tasks. Some of those persons and groups who will be involved in the event of major civil disorder have undertaken to discuss together their general and particular problems and are commencing to formulate plans to meet them. Those responsible for the beginnings that have been made are to be commended. It is earnestly suggested that such initial efforts be intensified.

Conscious effort has been made to withhold public announcements of these meetings that are presently taking place, and this Committee, while not indicating its approval or disapproval of such policy, is respectful of it. Such lack of public pronouncement should not, however, lull those concerned to drag in this task of critical importance.

Recommendation

The Committee recommends that Portland, together with its related communities, take appropriate steps to anticipate and carry the burdens on the system of judicial administration attending mass emergency conditions in order to assure due process and to protect the constitutional rights of all concerned.

7. DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

The Committee has at all times been mindful of the fact that at the heart of the racial problem is white prejudice and white apathy. Accordingly, it has attacked that attitudinal problem by breaking it down into institutional categories: education, housing, employment, welfare, and law enforcement. The dissection is traditional.

But noticeably lacking from this categorization is a vast and pervasive field where prejudice and apathy do exist and yet have not received any known investigation. It is the field of social association. There are myriad clubs, lodges, fraternities, orders and other private social institutions in the city, be their ostensible purpose athletic, educational, religious, mystic, civic or business, which are nevertheless socially oriented. We are all aware that all too many of these groups follow racist policies and practices. There are quota systems, exclusionary clauses,

"blackballs" and other forms of *de facto* discrimination. Your Committee does not believe that any of these organizations approaches the avowed bigotry of a Ku Klux Klan or a White Citizens' Council. Nevertheless, systematic exclusion of a race is considered contrary to human rights and is immoral even though that policy is supported by hypocrisy or indifference, rather than by express views of racial superiority. Such an exclusion serves as a constant reminder of non-acceptance and condescension.

Such systematic exclusion is not only insidious, worst of all it is infectious. It infects its members, and its members are often the community leaders—the same men who educate, who provide housing, who employ, who govern.

No report by “The Conscience of a City,” which attempts to attack racial prejudice and apathy at all fronts, can avoid this enervating and degrading facet of our society. Limitations of time and manpower precluded the Committee from study of discrimination in social organizations in any depth. However, the Committee believes that such research is of fundamental importance in improving race relations and should be instituted promptly through a new study committee. The present Committee does not envision that such a committee would recommend *legislative* solutions. Neither does it feel that much can be accomplished solely by the reporting and publicizing of its findings of fact although increased public awareness would be salutory. From such findings, however, an understanding and aroused membership of each such organization could fashion just and internal solutions.

**Recommendation**

The Committee recommends that the Board of Governors of The City Club of Portland consider appointing a study committee to research and report on race discrimination, if any, practiced by private clubs, fraternities, societal orders, lodges, or other similar social organizations.

8. **CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

a. **Situation and Need**

In prior chapters, your Committee has inquired into several areas of societal action which affect the poor or Negroes, or most perniciously the Negro poor. It has identified a host of problems which demand imaginative and creative action locally, and it has attempted, in its recommendations, to chart a course for local action.

In each of the problem areas the Committee found one common denominator. Indeed, it was an embryonic awareness of that denominator among members of our parent committees that led to the creation of this Committee. For shorthand purposes, this common denominator is referred to as the "neglect of citizen involvement."

The Committee is satisfied that this neglect is a basic factor characterizing local government in the Portland metropolitan area.

This finding, like many of our others, echoes the Kerner Commission's report which states:

First, there is a widening gulf in communications between local government and the residents of the erupting ghettos of the city . . .

The lack of communication and the absence of regular contacts with ghetto residents prevents city leaders from learning about problems and grievances as they develop. As a result, tensions which could have been dissipated if responded to promptly, mount unnecessarily and the potential for explosion grows inevitably. Once trouble erupts, public officials are frequently unable to fashion an effective response; they lack adequate information about the nature of the trouble and its causes and they lack rapport with local leaders who might be able to influence the community.

Second, many cities are poorly organized to respond effectively to the needs of the ghetto residents, even when those needs are made known to appropriate public officials . . .

Third, ghetto residents increasingly believe that they are excluded from the decision-making process which affects their lives and community. This feeling of exclusion, intensified by the bitter legacy of racial discrimination, has engendered a deep-seated hostility toward the institutions of government. It has severely compromised the effectiveness of programs intended to provide improved services to ghetto residents.(71)

A striking example of the City's protracted neglect of citizen needs and involvement has been the failure or refusal of City Government and its Parks and Recreation Department for many years to appreciate and act upon the special needs of the Albina district. Recreation facilities have been virtually lacking, except for the Knott Street Community Center located at 77 N.E. Knott, and that facility has been severely handicapped by budget limitations. The Parks and Recreation Department generally has been inadequately supported financially, and the Albina area has not been accorded a reasonable portion of what has been made available. This in itself has been an understandably major irritant to the Negro community and demands prompt and manifest correction.

Beyond this has been discrimination by the Parks and Recreation Bureau in respect to its hiring policies, and the non-availability of its programs and facilities. As long ago as 1962, the Mayor was formally advised by his Human Relations Commission (then the Intergroup Relations Commission) that gross discrimination has been practiced in the Park Bureau over a period of years. But notwithstanding that official notice to the Mayor the City Government has not responded visibly either to the documented human relations grievance or to the continuing needs and frustrations of the Negro community in this vital area of citizen-government relations and public service.

A new park is under construction on a two-block area bounded by Kerby, Shaver, Haight and Failing Streets. However, this is a part of the program of the Portland Development Commission and will merely be turned over to the Park Bureau for operation on completion. The Park Bureau has recently and belatedly broken ground for a swimming pool at the Knott Street Community Center. Completion of that facility at the earliest possible time is imperative.

The Park Bureau has recently assigned a director to handle the Albina area recreation program. Unfortunately, this important action was taken without advance notice to and involvement of area residents and the Negro community has had no reason to believe that any non-white person was even considered for this critical position. The City seems uncomprehending of the abrasive effect of this type of disregard. A critical and introspective review of these policies, and appropriate change of policy, is imperative.

Another example of the City's neglect of citizen participation is its failure to recognize and use the potential of the Human Relations Commission. The Commission had an anomalous origin and during much of its existence it has been largely ineffective. In 1949 two city ordinances were passed, one a so-called public accommodations ordinance; the other establishing the Mayor's Intergroup Relations Commission to enforce the first. The public accommodation ordinance was repealed, but the Commission, later renamed the Human Relations Commission, has remained by referendum. Its enabling ordinance does not fully contemplate the comprehensive responsibilities and areas of concern which should today be receiving attention from the Commission. Moreover, the agency is structurally inadequate to its task and has not received meaningful support from the City's elected officials.

The Commission and its staff personnel are appointed by and responsible and answerable to the Mayor. They do not have the autonomy to act with independence, objectivity and suitable aggressiveness in matters affecting municipal government and particularly the Mayor's office. Its staff office has been located in conjunction with the Mayor's office in City Hall. This location has not served the ostensible goal of encouraging citizen traffic to the seat of government. On the contrary, it has discouraged citizen approach to the Commission. The Commission has a staff consisting of a single Director. His function has been that of an assistant to the Mayor performing largely public relations tasks. He has been burdened with routine duties which assist the Mayor's office and image, but which effectively block the Director from establishing effective rapport with the recipients of government service. In many ways, the Director's presence has served more to insulate city government from existing problems than it has served the needed functions of searching out problems, receiving complaints and identifying and implementing appropriate solutions.

These deficiencies have not wholly escaped detection by the Human Relations Commission or its Director. The Commission has recently requested two additional full-time staff people: one to move around the community and work in field contact
with citizens at the point of grievance or felt grievance; the other to work in the
City Hall so that the Director's time is released to move as a "gadfly" and coordi-
nator between the city and the community. These two additional staff personnel
should be hired immediately.

The Committee believes that the budget of the Human Relations Commission
should be increased to provide for personnel sufficient for the Commission's high
purposes and broad responsibilities.

In recent months the Mayor has been attempting to utilize the existence of
the Human Relations Commission and the services of its Director to improve his
administration's relations and image with various citizen groups, particularly the
underprivileged. At this writing, the City Council, under the auspices of the
Human Relations Commission, has held an open meeting in the Brooklyn neigh-
borhood, the announced purpose of which was to promote an interchange of views.
The agenda of this meeting was set by the Brooklyn Action Core, successor to the
neighborhood service center. Following prepared remarks by the Mayor and
members of the Council, the Human Relations Director entertained a series of
obviously prepared statements and questions from the floor. The Mayor then assured
the residents that their statements would be referred to appropriate city offices for
action where possible and the meeting was adjourned. There was little if any
spontaneous interchange during the formal meeting, although the Council members
stayed for a coffee reception sponsored by the Action Core group.

Representatives of your Committee attended this meeting. They report that the
meeting was a significant gesture—to be repeated—but that the meeting probably
produced little deep and meaningful intercommunication. Future meetings should
abandon the stiff formality of prepared statements and be conducted on a true "town
meeting" principle. In short, as conducted, the meeting had the form, but not the
spirit, of citizen-government intercommunication.

The Human Relations Commission, in conjunction with the Model Cities
program, is projecting a series of meetings in disadvantaged neighborhoods to
encourage citizen support for the establishment of neighborhood information centers
to serve as reception stations for complaints and to assist in implementing govern-
ment services. The proposal for information centers has some potential, but its
details remain to be worked out. Moreover, apart from the participation of the
Human Relations Commission's Director, the proposal has not received significant
support from the City's elected officials. As a result, the neighborhood meetings
program has been somewhat indefinite and has not generated a significant degree of
commitment to the proposal.

The Mayor has made another beginning with the appointment of the School
Community Action Committee. The committee was originally formed to deal with
the human relations problems at Jefferson High School. It functions under the able,
engetic and persevering leadership of Robert Nelson. This Committee has suc-
cessfully involved many members of its constituency and has made a number of
practical suggestions which it has addressed not only to the Mayor, but to the
School Board and other related agencies. Regrettably, the Committee's character,
purposes and relationship to the City Government are so loosely defined that its
recommendations have often gone unheard or at least have not been accorded
official notice or response. The Committee's ability to carry out what it has so
courageously begun would be vastly improved were the channels of communica-
tion and responsibility formalized.

In particular, the School Community Action Committee must be acknowledged
as the 'listening post' and spokesman that it is. Those government agencies with
which it deals must undertake to acknowledge and respond to transmitted recom-
mandations, so that the citizen involvement begun by the Committee is meaningful.
With such improvements, the Committee would be an excellent beginning for
needed intercommunication between the government and the governed.

Each of these steps taken by Portland's city government contains the seed
of potential improvement in citizen-government communication and participation,
but the ideas—and their support—are so tentative that your Committee believes
little if any of their potential has been realized. Similarly, citizen involvement with
the Model Cities planning program, the Southeast uplift program and the various
War on Poverty groups represent beginnings. But such programs themselves are limited and exist with curious, ill-defined and sometimes tenuous relationships to City Hall.

Cities across the nation are experimenting with numerous programs to stimulate citizen-government intercommunication. Your Committee has studied the programs of several communities, particularly the ambitious efforts of New York City and Buffalo, New York.\(^{(72)}\) The institutional arrangements imposed by those communities are instructive and have influenced our recommendations below. But the significant thing learned from the experiments in these and other cities is that the institutional forms are less important than the commitment and imagination of the city government. New York City’s ambitious and multi-faceted program works largely because it is supported by the Lindsay administration, not because of any magic in its institutional forms.

Accordingly, your Committee calls upon the Mayor and City Council to move with enthusiasm and energy to support, strengthen and expand the present embryonic efforts to improve citizen participation in government. The recommendations which follow are necessarily non-specific, for there are no established institutional forms in our City or any other to do the job. Within our City Government, there are offices—most notably the Human Relations Commission—with considerable potential to respond meaningfully, given the necessary support of elected officials and the community. Whether City Hall will choose to use these existing offices or to create new offices is less important than that the effort be made—and now!

While the City Government must take prime responsibility for this effort, the effort will be truly successful only if it is supported by those other governmental agencies—particularly the School Board and the County Government—whose jurisdictions overlap the City’s.

**Recommendation**

Your Committee recommends that the Portland City Government—in cooperation with the County, the School Board, and other agencies sharing a common jurisdiction—take immediate and enlightened action to involve the citizens of our town in the processes of government.

This action should proceed in three distinct directions, each of which complements the others:

1. The City must extend itself to the people, primarily by establishing neighborhood offices to coordinate City and other governmental services. Each of these offices should be manned by one or more vigorous, dedicated employees selected for their sensitivity to the needs of the neighborhood.

   These offices should be empowered to receive and act upon complaints, inquiries and requests related to government service. Their personnel should be aware of the organization and jurisdictional limitations of the departments of local government, so that they can provide prompt and accurate information and assistance to citizens seeking aid.

   Perhaps most importantly, the City—and other government agencies—must not only establish such neighborhood offices, but they must give to the offices full and continued support. Reports and requests from the personnel must be promptly acknowledged and fairly considered for action.

   These offices, if they are manned by sensitive personnel and if those personnel have the confidence of governmental officials, will serve as significant and important communications centers—“listening posts”—for the City and the other governmental units. Indeed, the type of personnel who should be manning such offices will not be content to limit themselves to citizen complaints. Ideally, such personnel will be true neighborhood leaders, reaching out to the citizens and helping them to focus and direct their ideas—including grievances—to proper channels.

2. At City Hall, the Human Relations Commission—strengthened and with an adequate budget—or an alternative “citizens’ office,” acting under the Mayor, must be established as a true community relations (not “public relations”) office.

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\(^{(72)}\) For a description of these efforts and other supportive material, see Appendix E.
This central office should be manned by the same type of vigorous, dedicated personnel named for the neighborhood offices. It should function to coordinate the activities of the neighborhood offices and to extract from the reports of the neighborhood personnel the ingredients of a community-wide attack on common problems.

This office, like the neighborhood offices, must receive the acknowledged and unequivocal support of the elected officials of the City. Put another way, this office must not be allowed to become another bureaucratic layer separating the elected officials from their constituents. Instead, the personnel of this office must be expected to function as spokesman and advocate for the needs of the mass of non-influential citizens.

3. City Government must encourage the formation of and support the activities of, citizen interest groups such as the School Community Action Committee. The City, and related agencies, must make clear their willingness to consider and act upon suggestions of such citizen committees, and this expressed willingness must be followed with action and acknowledgment.

c. A Word About Cost and Feasibility

What is here proposed need not be expensive. Although limitations of time have prevented preparing a cost analysis, preliminary observations indicate that almost all of the above outlined program for “citizen participation” could be implemented within the bounds of the present municipal budget. Were the School Board and County to contribute to the cost of operation, this entire program could undoubtedly be initiated with no more than a reallocation of presently budgeted funds.

So, too, with feasibility. What is suggested here will not require any reorganization of the forms of government or overhauling of enabling legislation. As the Committee hopes is apparent, it does not advocate—and in fact strongly discourages—the creation of another city bureau somehow miraculously to solve the problem of citizen involvement. The call is for an extension of executive general staff to increase the effectiveness of the Mayor in the exercise of his vital citizen-relationship responsibilities. Your Committee sees no significant impediment to prompt implementation of these recommendations.

Even if there exist hurdles to be crossed or funds to be raised, one thing seems clear: whatever the cost and trouble of implementing such a program, it is far less than the cost of doing nothing or conducting city affairs on a business-as-usual basis. It would be tragic, indeed, if Portland waited for the destruction of property and confidence, like that of summers past in Detroit, Newark, or Watts.

B. Recapitulation of Recommendations

The Committee recommendations included above in the discussions of various fields of community action are recapitulated below for facility in consideration by the City Club and its members, and in subsequent use of the report by all concerned:

1. Employment and Economic Opportunity

a. The City immediately review its hiring and promotion policies and practices to correct the racial imbalance revealed in the race identification study and to set an example of enlightened procedures for other governmental and private sectors of our community.

b. The City forthwith adopt a policy and procedure for requiring contractors for city and county work, services, and supplies to certify to fair and non-discriminatory practices in that connection.

c. The state provide adequate means, through its Department of Employment, rapidly to expand the work of developing job opportunities, and of counseling, training, qualifying and upgrading workers.

d. The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and its local representatives reexamine their responsibilities and intensify the work of extension and enforcement of fair employment standards.

e. The labor unions of the Portland area immediately cease discriminatory practices in respect to membership and expand their programs and cooperation in
apprenticeship training and in the qualification and retraining of workers of minority groups.

f. The employers and the business community continue and intensify their efforts in the creation of job and business opportunities for disadvantaged groups and community districts.

2. Education; Racial Isolation in Portland Schools

a. The Model Schools Program be continued, expanded and provided with more adequate financial support, recognizing, however, that it is only a small first step in giving Portland's racially isolated children the best possible environment in which to learn.

b. The administrative transfer program (bussing) be expanded beyond the current number of 15 per cent of the district's Negro elementary enrollment. Toward this end, funds should be provided for installing additional facilities on as many as possible of the 44 elementary school sites, outside of the Model Schools, which are presently not included in the program.

c. Additional outside recreation areas be built at many of the elementary schools but especially at the ghetto schools. For example, Boise and Eliot Schools have pitifully limited play yards, and they are mostly of asphalt or concrete construction.

d. Portland follow the example of Seattle and declare all district high schools a permanent part of the open enrollment system, provided that transfers are made only if they favorably affect the racial balance of both the sending and receiving schools. Future school budgets should make allowance for underwriting the costs of transporting those students who elect the open enrollment program and who now must transport themselves at their own expense.

e. The School Board conduct a thorough examination of the personnel policies and procedures of the District Administration, i.e. in the recruitment, assignment and promotion of Negro teachers and administrators. At least one Negro teacher should be employed in each district school. More Negro male teachers should be employed at the high school level. Available and qualified Negroes should be recruited for and/or promoted to administrative positions, especially principalships.

f. A Negro be appointed to the newly created post of Director of Intergroup Relations. This position should be at the level of Assistant Superintendent rather than Assistant to the Superintendent and it should carry authority and responsibility throughout the entire district.

g. Ideally, the Negro population should be represented on the elective School Board, and qualified Negro candidates encouraged to file for such office.

h. The School Board consider the establishment of at least one Citizens' Advisory Committee which would be charged with the duties of reviewing the effectiveness of programs, studying the experiences of other communities, working closely in partnership with neighborhood groups of parents and citizens whose educational interests are deeply personal, and acting as a channel of intimate communication between the schools and the community.

i. The School Board give immediate consideration to a variety of plans being undertaken in other communities throughout the nation to attempt to reduce and ultimately eliminate racial isolation. The neighborhood school concept should be critically examined.

j. The academic curriculum generally followed by the district high schools be thoroughly evaluated. The high schools with the largest enrollment of Negro students are offering very little which is either relevant to or stimulating for the average Negro child. With few exceptions, it is a white, middle class-oriented curriculum.

k. The School Board give closer attention to the problem presented by those students who are not academically successful and who are not admitted in Portland's high school vocational courses, despite the recent expansion of the vocational education program. These students become drop-outs—they drop out of the mainstream of society and at the same time they exhibit the highest degree of anti-white feeling.
1. Serious attention be given by the School Board and Administration to the establishment of Community College programs in the Albina area. Portland's new Community College site in suburban Southwest Portland has removed the college from its original urban orientation. It is now physically and psychologically in a different world from the Albina community.

3. Public Welfare
   a. The Oregon Legislature, supported and encouraged by its constituency, act at its next session and with the highest priority to raise welfare benefits to a level at least compatible with current costs of living.
   b. The State Welfare Commission assume a new and needed role as spokesman for the poor and move now to articulate the needs of the poor to the public in a meaningful way.
   c. The State and County Welfare Commissions seek out the poor—by establishing neighborhood offices and by publicizing the standards for eligibility.
   d. The State Welfare Commission seek out and encourage those of the poor who have begun to speak for themselves, for they have an important message.

4. Housing, Neighborhood Rehabilitation and Conservation, Urban Renewal
   a. Community leadership—city and metropolitan, official and citizen—formulate, extend, and advance a comprehensive housing and rehabilitation program designed:
      (1) To invoke all available ways and means to improve basic civic attitudes—individual and group—respecting housing, and to carry out the letter and spirit of state and federal anti-discrimination, open-housing laws.
      (2) To overcome deficiencies in the numbers of units and quality of available housing, particularly in the central city and particularly for minority and low-income groups and areas.
      (3) To enlarge and accelerate progress in Portland's public housing program to provide, for low-income families, housing opportunities of diverse character, capacity, and location, including facilities in neighborhoods outside of areas presently characterized by concentrations of racial minorities.
      (4) To expand, and accelerate, with governmental support, private housing construction, improvement, and financing, particularly for low-income families, through coordinated planning and action by lending agencies, realtors, builders, and material suppliers.
      (5) To advance the technology of housing development and management in the interest of quality construction at lowest unit costs and, consequently, at minimum rental rates.
      (6) To expand neighborhood improvement and urban renewal programs in decaying areas, including those of Albina and blighted Southeast and other sections, and, in this connection, to invoke the cooperation of residents, social groups, public agencies, and business interests, and to develop cooperative arrangements for accomplishment of these purposes.
      (7) To support and advance the Model Cities program for North and Northeast Portland, and to extend the movement, as soon as feasible, to adjoining depressed areas in Southeast Portland.
      (8) To review and reform building and sanitary codes, and their administration and enforcement, on an equitable, non-discriminatory basis, in the interests of economy, health, welfare, and favorable living conditions in presently depressed areas.
      (9) To support federal policies, legislation and programs for assistance to the states and local governments in housing, renewal, neighborhood improvement and related programs.
   b. Such policies, plans and programs of housing and neighborhood development and improvement be formulated and carried out with full recognition of the needs and desires of the citizens of the respective areas directly concerned, and with their effective consultation, advice, and participation in planning, organization, and administration.
c. City Club continue studies of housing and neighborhood improvement problems, needs, and potential courses of action in greater detail, with a view to continuing and accelerating progress consistent with the foregoing recommendations.

5. The Police and Law Enforcement
   a. As an interim and general proposal, local government and police authorities take a new look at the problems of police and law enforcement, as recommended by the Kerner and Crime Commission reports to improve, secure and maintain civic peace and order.
   b. Steps be taken by the Portland Police Bureau to improve the education and training of police officers in general duties including particularly those pertaining to human and community relations.
   c. The project be advanced for the establishment, in the Portland metropolitan area, of a Law Enforcement Training Academy for the State of Oregon.

6. Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions
   Portland, together with its related communities, take appropriate steps to anticipate and carry the burdens on the system of judicial administration attending mass emergency conditions in order to assure due process and to protect the constitutional rights of all concerned.

7. Discrimination in Private Organizations
   The Board of Governors of the City Club consider appointing a study committee to research and report on race discrimination, if any, practiced by private clubs, fraternities, societal orders, lodges, or other similar social organizations.

8. Citizen Participation in Local Government
   The Portland City Government—in cooperation with the County, the School Board, and other agencies sharing a common jurisdiction—take immediate and enlightened action to involve the citizens of our town in the processes of government.
   (The Committee proposes that such action proceed in three complementary directions:
   (1) the City must extend itself to the people ... to the neighborhoods;
   (2) City Hall staff must be strengthened with a “citizens' office” for coordination in this community relations field; and
   (3) City government must encourage and support citizen interest groups.)

C. Recommendations for City Club Action
   In addition to the recapitulation of the previous recommendations, your Committee makes further recommendations to the City Club itself, as follows:
   (1) The City Club, through special committees and otherwise, actively encourage and promote the implementation of the foregoing recommendations and their purposes.
   (2) The Board of Governors of the City Club consider establishment of a special committee to inquire and to report from time to time to the Board and the membership respecting the progress toward implementation of those recommendations and purposes.
III. A GENERAL WORD

The societal problems with which Portland, in common with other urban centers, is faced can be segregated for analysis and for individual solution. But, they constitute in reality a complex and interrelated cluster of ills. In the opinion of some persons, one problem demands priority; in the opinion of other persons, a different problem. Because of their interrelation, solution of none of the situations can await solution of the others. We must be on with the task of meeting each problem—now. But inevitably, the answers are not to be found in government and industry alone. Heart and spirit and general will are needed, as well as mind and knowledge, if programs and actions are to be successful.

And no citizen can take comfort or seek refuge in the belief that the syndrome is too complex for him to make a contribution. While the problems are the problems of Portland, they are equally the problems of each of its citizens. Indeed, some of the most subtle and serious of the problems can be solved only by individuals, acting individually. Foremost is the task of improving personal relations, sharing a sense of participation with one of a different skin, extending to others appropriate respect, courtesy and dignity without discrimination on account of race and, in short, being decent. This is the responsibility of each of us, white and black. Attitudinal changes will not be accomplished immediately or soon. But each of us must be committed to a consistent aspiration and effort to that end because—failing that—the task before us will remain otherwise unsatisfied.

Respectfully submitted,

Jonathan Ater
Roy F. Bessey
James C. Caughlan
Robert M. Christ
James Gruetter
Bernard Jolles
Ronald B. Lansing
E. Kimbark MacColl
David Hain, Research Intern
Richard W. Nahstoll, Chairman

Approved by the Research Board and the Board of Governors on May 31, 1968 and ordered printed and submitted to the membership for discussion and action on June 14, 1968.
APPENDIX A

ROSTERS OF COMMITTEES

This Committee on Racial Justice, made up of several members of three established and on-going City Club committees, has drawn heavily on the work of its three “parents.” The personnel of the several Committees is listed herewith:

Race Relations
James G. Gruetter, Chairman
E. Kimbark MacColl, Vice Chairman
Subcommittee on Economic Opportunities
Charles W. Bursch, Chairman
Michael M. Brand
Harley E. Crain
Jack H. Radow
Subcommittee on Housing, Health & Social Service
William C. Church, Chairman
Gibson Bowles
Rufus Butler
Charles D. Fosterling
Richard C. Newlands
Subcommittee on Education
E. Kimbark MacColl, Chairman
Edward J. Aschenbrenner
Gordon Hearn
Subcommittee on Law Enforcement & Civil Rights
Jonathan U. Newman, Chairman
Donald E. Clark
Ronald B. Lansing
Clifford E. Campbell
Phillip M. Mayer, Consultants
George M. Joseph, Advisor
Racial Justice Committee
Richard W. Nahstoll, Chairman
Jonathan Ater
Roy F. Bessey
James C. Caughlan
Robert M. Christ
James Gruetter
Bernard Jolles
Ronald B. Lansing
E. Kimbark MacColl
David Hain, Research Intern
George M. Joseph, Advisor

Law Enforcement Practices
James C. Caughlan, Chairman
Administrative Subcommittee
Joseph J. Adams, Chairman
J. Pierre Kolisch
Jerald W. Schmunk
Edward G. Welch
Personnel Subcommittee
Walter G. Klopfer, Chairman
A. M. Burdge
Public Relations Subcommittee
Robert M. Christ, Chairman
Royald D. Caldwell
Paul D. Hanlon
John S. Griffith
David Hain, Research Intern
William F. Caldwell, Advisor

Ombudsman
Richard W. Nahstoll, Chairman
Jonathan Ater
Roy F. Bessey
P. R. Bogue
Lloyd G. Hammel
E. Shelton Hill
Bernard Jolles
Charles McKinley
Peter A. Plumridge
Ronald K. Ragen
Samuel B. Stewart
Michael Opton, Research Intern
Herbert M. Schwab, Advisor
APPENDIX B

Persons and agencies interviewed or consulted by Committees

Claire Argow, former head, Oregon Prison Association; presently member of Advisory Committee to Department of Correction.
Lawrence A. Aschenbrenner, former Public Defender, State of Oregon.
Melvin W. Barnes, Superintendent of Schools, School District No. 1.
Donald Barrett, Social Worker and Counselor, Jefferson High School.
George Birnie, Attorney, representing various Special Districts.
Robert M. Blum, Assistant to the Mayor for Neighborhood City Halls, City of New York.
Edward "Skip" Bracken, Mallory Avenue Christian Church.
Dennis Buchanan, News Staff, KGW-TV.
Rufus Butler, Director, Albina Art Center.
John Buttler, Attorney; ex-member, State Board of Parole.
Owen Card, Multnomah County Civil Service Commission.
Patrick Carr, Deputy Chief, Portland Police Bureau.
Sam Chapman, Associate Director, Task Force on Police, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.
Donald E. Clark, Faculty Member, Law Enforcement Department, Portland State College; former Sheriff, Multnomah County.
Katherine Clark, Executive Director, Family Counseling Service.
Robert Cochrane, Director of Community Ministry, Mallory Avenue Christian Church.
Charles Davis, President, American Civil Liberties Union of Oregon.
Peter Dehn, Multnomah County Welfare Commission.
Mrs. Andres Deinum, Executive Secretary, American Civil Liberties Union of Oregon.
Al C. Germann, Professor of Criminology, California State College at Long Beach.
Kenneth Gervais, Urban Studies Center, Portland State College.
Ron Gevurtz, Head, Multnomah County Legal Aid.
Leonard Gibson, Executive Vice President, Great Western Bank.
Gordon Gilbertson, Director, Multnomah County Welfare Commission.
James Hale, School of Education, Portland State College.
Ted Hallock, Oregon State Senate.
H. J. Belton Hamilton, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, Department of Labor, State of Oregon.
William Hammersly, Manager, Manpower, Inc.
Gary Haynes, Sergeant, Portland Police Bureau.
E. Shelton Hill, Executive Secretary, Portland Urban League.
George Hoffman, Portland State College.
The Rev. John Jackson, C-CAP Director.
Donald Jenkins, Inter-College Research Committee.
John Jenkins, Portland State College.
Chalmers Jones, Director, Concentrated Employment Program.
Keith Jones, Administrative Assistant, Mayor of Portland.
Andrew Juras, Director, Oregon State Welfare Commission.
Susa Katz, Model School Program, School District No. 1.
Edward Kearney, Portland Police Association.
John Kenward, Executive Director, Portland Development Commission.
Harold Kleiner, Director, Model Schools Program, School District No. 1.
William Knouff, Principal, Jefferson High School.
E. G. (Bud) Kyle, Mayor, City of Tigard, and Chairman, Metropolitan Study Commission.
Fay Laydey, Chairman, Multnomah County ADC Mothers.
Dorothea Lensch, Director, Bureau of Parks and Recreation, City of Portland.
Isadore G. Maney, Manager, North Portland Office, Oregon Department of Employment.
William McClendon, Multnomah County Welfare Commission.
David McNamara, Chief, Portland Police Bureau.
Charles Merten, Director, Albina League Services Division, Multnomah County Legal Aid.
Edward Mitchell, Secretary, North Branch, YMCA.
William Moshofsky, Member, Advisory Committee, Department of Correction.
Arvilla Nelson, Multnomah County Welfare Commission.
Robert E. Nelson, Chairman, School Community—Citizens Committee.
Ancil Payne, Vice President, KGW-TV.
Russell Peyton, Human Rights Commission, City of Portland.
E. L. Pfeifer, Personnel Director, Pacific Northwest Bell Telephone Co.
Paul Pingar, Callison House.
Herman Plummer, Portland Development Commission and Realtor.
John Pock, Reed College.
Bard Purcell, Captain, Portland Police Bureau.
John Richardson, Deputy Chief, Portland Police Bureau.
Fred Rosenbaum, Chairman, Housing Authority of Portland; Mayor's Committee on Intergroup Relations.
Richard Ross, News Director, KGW-TV.
Ted Runstein, Attorney, Albina League Services Division of Multnomah County Legal Aid.
Otto Rutherford, Portland Development Commission, Albina Neighborhood Service Center.
Al Schoenauer, Portland State College.
Paul T. Schulze, Director, Model Cities Programs; former Director, CAP programs.
Thomas Sloan, Personnel Director, Tektronix, Inc.
Hugh Smith, Attorney, Chairman, Administrative Procedures Committee, Oregon State Bar Association.
Mark A. Smith, Administrator, Civil Rights Division, Bureau of Labor, State of Oregon.
Robert Steele, Deputy Chief, Portland Police Bureau.
George Van Hoomissen, District Attorney, Multnomah County.
Harry Ward, NAACP.
Mayfield Webb, Executive Director, Portland Metro Steering Committee, OEO.
Vern Weiss, Director, East-CAP Project.
Jack Wiseman, Deputy Director, State Board of Parole.
Ray Wolf, School of Education, Portland State College.
APPENDIX C

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


.........................*The Ombudsman's Relevance to American Municipal Affairs*,


**National Commission Reports, etc.**

  Commission on Civil Rights, Report, 1947, 1961 *et seq*.

  Commission on Urban and Slum Problems.

  Commission on Equal Opportunity in Housing.


  White House Conference on Civil Rights.


Portland City Club Bulletins, including:


APPENDIX D
RACE IDENTIFICATION SURVEY

City of Portland

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE
(not for mailing)

March 18, 1968

From Finance & Administration, Personnel Office
To Finance & Administration, Office of the Mayor
Addressed to Mayor Terry D. Schrunk
Subject Race Identification Survey

Attached is a summary of the information obtained in the Race Identification Survey. The tabulation in which the material is combined indicates the bureau, the classification, and the number of individuals in the five racial groupings. There are, as a total in the City, 9 Spanish-Americans, 24 Orientals, 136 Negroes, 5 American Indians, and 4,014 Caucasians.

Since basic data is now registered on data processing punch cards for each individual, there are any number of studies which could be made. As noted in the attached summary data, the greatest number of non-Caucasians are employed in the Building Maintenance & Trades group. That group includes custodians, laborers, utility workers, equipment operators, skilled mechanics and public works foremen. The Parks & Recreation group includes gardeners, park foremen, animal keepers, recreation leaders and 108 N.Y.C. youth. Seventeen of the latter group are Negroes.

Only the full-time personnel of the Auditorium, Stadium and E-R Commission have been included in the count. There is little or no control that these agencies have over the part-time personnel which are ordered from the unions. Included in the survey, however, are some Park Bureau employees who are considered as regular employees, but who work less than full time.

/s/ Robert D. Johnson
Personnel Officer
### Race Identification Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>No. Employees</th>
<th>Non-Caucasion No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Negro No.</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Finance &amp; Admin. (including Civil Service)</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dept. of Public Affairs (including E-R Comm.)</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dept. of Public Safety</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dept. of Public Utilities</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dept. of Public Works</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>3.1%</td>
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<td>Office of the City Auditor</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
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<td>3.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total City</td>
<td>4188</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Class Group*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Group</th>
<th>No. Employees</th>
<th>Non-Caucasion No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Negro No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Clerical-Fiscal-Admin.</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
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<td>Building Maint. &amp; Trades</td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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<td>Building &amp; License Inspection</td>
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<td>0.0%</td>
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<td>Engineering</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
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<td>0.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parks &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police &amp; Fire</td>
<td>1400</td>
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<td>.9%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
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</table>

*Classes are grouped according to the seven major divisions within the Civil Service Classification Plan.

### Distribution of Negro Employees by Classification and Salary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Maximum Monthly Rate</th>
<th>No. Empls.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.C. Aide</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Health Aide</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk I</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist Clerk</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed Practical Nurse</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Records Clerk I</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographer Clerk</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Recreation Leader</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Maintenance (E-R Commission)</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Punch Operator</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custodial Worker</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk 3</td>
<td>530</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility Worker</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asphalt Raker</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Sewage Works Operator</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief Custodial Worker</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Matron</td>
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<tr>
<td>Automotive Equipment Operator 2</td>
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<td>Automotive Equipment Operator 3</td>
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<td>Construction Equipment Operator 1</td>
<td>614</td>
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<td>Recreation Instructor</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water Service Mechanic</td>
<td>653</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.Y.C. Crew Chief</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police Patrolman</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Detective</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health Nursing Supervisor</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works Operations Supervisor</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Employees</td>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
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</table>
Distribution of Annual Wage Rates of Full-Time City Employees as of Aug. 1967; with Distribution of 136 Negro Employees by Annual Income at Maximum Rate for Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Uniformed</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Uniformed</th>
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<tr>
<td>2,330 (N.Y.C. Youth)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500-3,999</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000-4,449</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>4,500-4,999</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-5,499</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,500-5,999</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000-6,499</td>
<td>197</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,500-6,999</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000-7,499</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,500-7,999</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000-8,499</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,500-8,999</td>
<td>146</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000-9,999</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>10,000-10,999</td>
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<td>63</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000-11,999</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000-13,999</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>16,000-20,200</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

Average Annual Wage:
- All Employees: $7,587
- Uniformed Employees (Police and Fire): $8,699
- Other than Uniformed Employees: $6,992
- Negro Employees: $5,655
APPENDIX E

Added Discussion of Citizen Participation and Governmental Arrangements*

The urgent need of closer citizen-government communications, understanding, confidence, and cooperation in Portland has been made clear in the broad and diverse investigations and interviews of this Committee and its parent committees.

The gap in citizen-government intercourse exists here, as it does elsewhere in an increasingly concentrated and complex urban society. The fostering and supporting organizational arrangements and procedures are needed here. The needs are of particular significance with Portland’s disadvantaged and minority individuals, groups, and neighborhood areas, as in other large cities. Ferment, insecurity and unrest have grown to crisis proportions in all such cities; Portland has not escaped the urban crisis or the civil rights revolution of this period. The differences among metropolitan cities are mainly matters of degree or intensity.

A factor in the communications and confidence gap increasingly recognized as crucial lies in the area of citizen grievance and governmental response. The general lack of effective machinery for equitably and justly handling complaints is getting new attention at all levels of government in our country. The Swedish and other models of an ombudsman—a “citizens’ defender”—have been looked to in many quarters.

At the vital local level, the trend of progressive thought is toward a broader concept than that of an office for handling complaints.

Walter Gellhorn, a leading American proponent and authority in this field, has said in a recent paper: (1)

An ombudsman, I conclude, can isolate mistakes, he can point out better pathways to goals that right-minded people want to reach; he can suggest new applications of already accepted concepts. What he cannot do is compel unwilling officials to adopt an outlook that he himself has freshly dictated. . . .

. . . An ombudsman will perforce leave untouched many of the things that most deeply irritate some elements of the citizenry.

Gellhorn dwells upon the positive aspects of the function: the aids to the bureaucracy, the protection of officials as well as citizens, the enhancement of confidence in government and its employees, the confidence of the public that its grievances will be objectively explored. Beyond the mere handling of grievances, Gellhorn comments that

American cities populous enough to need an ombudsman probably also need a counterpart of the English and Japanese citizens’ bureaus which furnish information, give advice, and extend a helping hand in connection with just about any perplexity that may beset an individual. . . . the real issue is to devise a system that will humanize the urban environment because of the general alienation of people from government.

A broad approach to the handling of citizen relations was advanced, very notably, by a New York study group in 1964. (2) That group was proposed for New York City a system of community districts, and district boards which would concern themselves with all matters relating to the welfare and orderly development of their districts. Their planning would be social and governmental as well as physical. The boards would be advisory, not administrative, but their advice would be a mandatory part of the city’s operations. They would be appointed by the Mayor, and district offices would be staffed by him.

*Based largely on investigations of the Ombudsman Committee.


(2) Joint Committee of the Citizens’ Union and Citizens’ Housing Council of New York City, A Program for Community Districts, June 1964.
Mayor Lindsay of New York City is following a broad program in the citizen relations field which advances the community district idea in an effort to build the citizen-government bridge. The essential elements of this plan are outlined:

(3) The essential elements of this plan are outlined:

Administrative Service is in process of establishment by Mayor Sedita with the characteristics of that plan are briefed:

(4) The Department of Investigation, which operates a complaint bureau;

cooperation of the School of Law of the State University of New York. The salient

York. In that metropolitan city of about half a million, a demonstration Citizens'

information and grievance aspects of an "involvement plan" is that of Buffalo, New

(Prospectus, releases, and correspondence of City of Buffalo.

Letter, Robert M. Blum, Assistant to the Mayor, City of New York, to Mrs. W. E. Naylor

Executive Secretary, City Club of Portland, Dec. 29, 1967.

(4) Prospectus, releases, and correspondence of City of Buffalo.
This Buffalo demonstration project in "ombudsman" or "citizens services" performed in correlation with the Community Action Program, is of some particular interest to Portland, because the two cities are of roughly comparable size.

Your Committee is generally aware of community relations activities in several other cities. Boston has opened five neighborhood offices of city government. St. Louis is making broad use of storefront offices manned by the police. Tampa has involved many of its youth in the "white hat" movement, working with the police and other agencies in ghetto neighborhoods. Undoubtedly many other cities are experimenting with various forms of organizational arrangements looking to effective citizen involvement.

Civil disorder—past, present, or incipient—is a factor adding greatly to the urgency of action toward the strengthening of citizen-government relations across the board. The Kerner Commission has recommended measures to this end in a series of "first phase" and "second phase" actions.\(^5\)

Recommended First Phase Actions include establishment of neighborhood action task forces, establishment of effective grievance-response mechanisms, expanded legal service to the poor, guidance for mayors and city councils, hearings on ghetto problems and enactment of appropriate local legislation, and expanded employment by city government of ghetto residents.

With respect to the grievance-response proposal, the Kerner Commission expressed its conviction that "the frustration reflected in the recent disorders results, in part at least, from the lack of accessible and visible means of establishing the merits of grievances against the agencies of local and state government, including but not limited to the police." The Commission was "not prepared to specify the form which such a mechanism should take in any particular community," but it did present certain criteria which should be met:

\(\text{Independence.}\) This can be achieved by long term appointment of the administrator, subject to City Council removal. The grievance agency should be separate from operating municipal agencies.

\(\text{Adequate staff and funding.}\) Exact costs will vary depending on the size and needs of the city's population. It is most important that the agency have adequate funds and staff to discharge its responsibilities.

\(\text{Comprehensive coverage of grievances against public agencies and authorities.}\) General jurisdiction will facilitate access by grievants. Moreover, unlike specialized complaint agencies such as civilian review boards, all agencies would be brought under public scrutiny. This should facilitate its acceptance by public officials.

\(\text{Power to receive complaints, hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, make public recommendations for remedial action to local authorities and, in cases involving violation of law, bring suit.}\) These powers are the minimum necessary to the effective operation of the grievance mechanism. As we envisage it, the agency's principal power derives from its authority to investigate and make public findings and recommendations. It should, of course, have a conciliation process whereby complaints could be solved without full investigation and processing.

\(\text{Accessibility.}\) In large cities, access may require setting up neighborhood offices in ghetto areas. In others, local resident aides could be empowered to receive complaints. It should be possible to file a grievance orally or in writing. If forms are used they should be easily understood and widely available.

\(\text{Participation in grievance process:}\) Grievants should be given full opportunity to take part in all proceedings and to be represented by counsel. They should receive prompt advice of action taken, and results of investigation should be made public.

On expanded legal service to the poor, the Commission said, in part:

Among the most intense grievances underlying the riots of the summer of 1967 were those which derived from conflicts between ghetto residents and private parties, principally the white landlord and merchant. Though the legal obstacles are considerable, resourceful and imaginative use of available legal processes could contribute significantly to the alleviation of tension resulting from these and other conflicts. Moreover, through the adversary process which is at the heart of the judicial system, litigants are afforded meaningful opportunities to influence events which affect them and their community. However, effective utilization of the courts requires legal assistance, a resource seldom available to the poor.

The Legal Services Program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity has made a good beginning in providing legal service to the poor.

\(^{(5)}\)Kerner Report, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 291-292, 16-17.
In the matter of assistance for mayors and city councils, the Kerner Commission recommended that "both the state and federal governments provide financial assistance to cities for these purposes as a regular part of all urban program funding."

The Commission recommended "that the legislative body of each city with a substantial minority population hold, as soon as possible, a series of hearings on ghetto problems. . . . In addition to establishing a needed foundation for needed legislative measures these hearings would constitute a visible demonstration of governmental concern for the problems of ghetto residents. They would also provide a most useful means of bridging the communication gap, contributing to an improved understanding in the white community about the conditions of ghetto life."

The Commission's final recommendation for First Phase Actions proposed that local government undertake concerted effort to provide substantial employment for ghetto residents.

The Commission's recommendations for Second Phase Actions are also in general harmony with the Committee's recommendations and discussion under section II-8 above. In brief, they relate to:(6)

The establishment of neighborhood city halls, as "lasting structures," erected upon and transforming "the official component of the Task Force into a permanent instrument of local government . . . ."

The development of multi-service centers, of comprehensive character covering a wide range of health, welfare, employment, legal and other services, with appropriate federal and state participation and assistance, with neighborhood participation and training and employment—coordinated "one-stop service centers."

Improved political representation, under a revitalized political system to encourage fuller participation by all segments of the community, and to foster major democratic values. Also furthering participation of Negroes by "concerted effort to appoint Negroes to significant policy positions in city government."

More effective community participation, in the advancement of "self-determination" or "community control," the overcoming of apathy, involvement in program development, the use of diverse instrumentalities such as community neighborhood school boards, community planning boards, tenants' councils, advisory committees, and consumer trade organizations, etc. The neighborhood membership corporation is noted as a most promising approach and the Columbus, Ohio, East Central Citizens Organization is cited as a pioneer example. ECCO's activities encompass day-care centers, credit unions, legal and medical services, newspapers, restaurants, and business enterprises.

The basic strategy and goals proposed by the Commission are considered by the Committee as applicable in Portland as in other major cities. These would advance effective communication between residents and government, improve ability of local government to respond to needs and problems, expand opportunities for indigenous leadership in policy-making and decision-making, and increase accountability of public officials.

The final note in the Commission's proposals for community response to need and crisis is that of leadership:(7)

Now, as never before, the American city has need for the personal qualities of strong democratic leadership. Given the difficulties and delays involved in administrative reorganization or institutional change, the best hope for the city in the short run lies in this powerful instrument. In most cities the mayor will have the prime responsibility.

It is in large part his role now to create a sense of commitment and concern for the problems of the ghetto community and to set the tone for the entire relationship between the institutions of city government and all the citizenry.

(7) Ibid, p. 298.