

Fifteen Years Ago . . . Rural Alabama Revisited

The United States Commission
on Civil Rights

Clearinghouse
Publication Number 82

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U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting discrimination or a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to discrimination or denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to discrimination or denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin;
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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This report was approved for publication by the members of the previous Commission on Civil Rights and does not necessarily represent the views of the current Commission.

PREFACE

In 1958 and 1968, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings to investigate denials of equal protection of the law in 16 rural counties in southern Alabama, to the east and west of the State capital of Montgomery. These counties were Autauga, Barbour, Bullock, Butler, Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox.

Over three-fifths of the population in the 16-county area were black, and there were reports of discrimination in all areas against blacks in the 16 counties. The purpose of the hearings was to document the extent of discrimination and to examine educational, employment, economic, and other conditions of blacks in the area.

At both hearings, the Commission heard testimony concerning pervasive discrimination against blacks in education, employment, and health care. Specifically, the hearings' findings showed that:

- Blacks were disenfranchised and were excluded from all political, social, and economic institutions in these counties.
- Public schools were completely segregated, despite the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that ruled State-supported dual school systems unconstitutional and ordered them to be dismantled. Furthermore, public schools for blacks were substantially inferior to those for whites.
- Discrimination in employment limited blacks to the most menial and lowest paying jobs.
- The majority of blacks in almost every county were below the poverty level.
- Health care services were segregated, and rural health care for most blacks was nonexistent.

Conditions for blacks in the 16 counties had changed little between 1958 and 1968, despite enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The political structure was manipulated by whites to circumvent the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and dilute black voting strength through such methods as gerrymandering, at-large elections, and outright harassment of blacks who registered and voted. Public schools remained segregated, and the schools attended by black students remained inferior in terms of facilities, equipment, and resources. State and local public officials either did not apply for or refused to accept Federal funds to support education and health care that would benefit the majority of blacks.

In 1958 and 1968, the Commission found that blacks suffered from discrimination and segregation in every facet of life. This cycle of unequal opportunities in

employment, education, health, and other areas lasted from cradle to grave and from generation to generation.

In 1982 the Commission decided to reexamine the 16-county area to determine the extent of changes in education, employment, and health conditions for blacks since 1968. The purpose of the study is to determine whether disparities between blacks as compared to whites continue and whether discriminatory barriers to equal opportunity remain. The 1982 report on rural Alabama did not use hearings, but field investigations to assess education, employment, and health conditions for blacks relative to whites since 1968 in 6 of the 16 counties. The Commission believed that certain events had occurred since 1968 that should have improved conditions for blacks in the counties. For example:

- School desegregation cases, which ordered Alabama school districts to desegregate their student bodies and faculties and take other affirmative steps to ensure equal educational opportunity, had been implemented.
- Federal funds for education, health care, and other areas had been made available to the region.
- Alabama had undertaken an intensive campaign to attract industry that was moving to the "Sunbelt."
- Health statistics showed that infant mortality rates had decreased significantly for blacks in the region.

With these changes, it was hoped that discriminatory barriers had been dismantled and that there had been improvements in the quality of life for blacks relative to whites in the 16 counties since the last Commission hearing.

Two types of information are presented to show whether and to what extent changes had occurred. Quantitative data for the 16 counties from the Bureau of the Census and the State of Alabama for 1968 or 1970 and 1980 in the areas of education, income and employment, and health were used, and qualitative data were collected in the form of field investigations in 6 counties. The selection of the counties that were visited was based on particular characteristics that were researched before the field trips were undertaken. The 6 counties visited, though similar in some ways to each other and to the other 10 counties, are not intended to be representative of the South, Alabama, or the 16-county area. The purpose of the study, therefore, was to examine changes in conditions for blacks relative to whites in the six counties. The end product is a multisite, qualitative case study of six counties in rural Alabama. Quantitative data from the Bureau of Census and the State are used to support the information gathered in the field investigations.

The six counties selected were Autauga, Clarke, Greene, Lowndes, Macon, and Sumter. These counties exhibit a number of features that warranted further examination:

- Autauga and Clarke are majority white, while the other four are majority black.
- Blacks had been elected (as of summer 1982) to the majority of seats on the county governing body in Greene, Lowndes, and Macon, but not in the other counties.
- The public schools in Autauga and Clarke were desegregated, while almost all white students were in private academies in Sumter, Greene, Lowndes, and Macon.
- Autauga had experienced industrial growth while the other counties had not. Lowndes, for example, is located near Montgomery, the State capital and an employment center in Alabama, yet it had not experienced industrial growth.

Based upon findings from the preliminary investigations in the counties, Commission staff developed a number of issues to be addressed during the field investigations, such as:

- Has the change in political structure from all-white to majority-black county government affected educational and employment opportunities and health care delivery for blacks?
- Despite the nearness of the State capital to part of the area, the existence of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project, and other seemingly favorable factors, why have industries not located in this area, the notable exception being Autauga County? Does the racial makeup of the counties affect where the industries will locate?
- What is the role of the Alabama Development Office and the regional commissions in encouraging industrial development in these six counties, particularly in the majority-black counties?
- How does the treatment of blacks in education, employment, and health care differ among majority-black counties with black control, a majority-black county with white control, and majority-white counties with white control?
- Do segregation and discrimination continue in the six counties and, if so, in what form?

To obtain answers to these questions, Commission staff interviewed a cross-section of individuals at the State and local level, including State education, employment, health, and industrial development and training officials; directors of regional planning and development commissions; county probate judges; county commissioners; local school board members and superintendents; county health officials; county and city industrial development board members; officials of civil rights organizations; recognized community leaders; and representatives of financial institutions and major employers. The report that follows was based upon these interviews, supplemented by data from the 1970 and 1980 censuses, and from materials provided by local and State officials. It is hoped that information gained through the analysis of these counties will give some indication of the general changes that have taken place since 1968 and the barriers to equal opportunity in education, employment, and health care delivery that still remain in parts of rural Alabama.

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1. Sixteen-County Overview

Sure, some companies have said that they don't want to locate in an area with a majority-black population or a black political structure. Anybody who tells you different is lying.

George Howard, director, Alabama Industrial Development Training Institute

To provide a context for the six counties that are the focus of the study and to understand more fully the implications of changes in employment; education, and health care for blacks within those six counties, it is helpful to examine data for a 16-county region that was investigated by the Commission in 1968. The region has a substantial percentage of blacks, and 10 of the 16 counties are over 50 percent black. (See table 1.) Between 1970 and 1980 the population of the entire region increased slightly, reversing a trend of several decades. The black population also increased slightly, and although the percentage of blacks in the population of the region has declined, they still represent over 50 percent of the total population. Between 1970 and 1980 the proportion of blacks increased in seven counties—Bullock, Dallas, Greene, Macon, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox.

Although blacks are a majority in the region as a whole, until recently, they have had little political success in 10 of the counties. Before 1965 blacks were excluded entirely from the political process. As a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965¹ and Federal implementation of the act, blacks were able

to register and vote for the first time.² Techniques used to keep blacks from voting or running for political office had included restricted registration hours, switching to forms of election that would virtually assure that no black could be elected, and outright intimidation.³ Although the Voting Rights Act has eliminated many of these abuses, voting problems still remain.⁴

Nevertheless, blacks have succeeded in gaining political office in several of the counties. In 1970 Greene County became the first one to elect a majority of blacks to its county commission. Since then blacks have gained a majority of the seats on several county commissions and have been elected as school superintendents and school board members, city council members, and to other positions in county and city government. Despite these political gains, blacks have not been successful in gaining political office in many of the counties in the 16-county study area. For example, as late as 1982, there was no black representation on the county commissions of 7 of the 16 counties; 4 of these 7 counties had majority-black populations.⁵

¹ 42 U.S.C. §§1971, 1973 to 1973bb-1 (1976).

² U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After* (1975).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Voting Rights Act: Unfulfilled Goals* (1981).

⁵ The seven counties were Sumter, Dallas, Marengo, Barbour, Monroe, Wilcox, and Butler. Sumter, Dallas, Marengo, and

2 **Table 1****Population by County and Race,
1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total population	24,460	32,070	22,543	24,664	11,824	10,591	22,007	21,652
Black	6,911	7,224	10,389	11,003	7,965	7,160	8,820	8,397
Black percent of total	28.3	23.0	46.1	45.0	67.4	68.0	40.1	39.0
	Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total population	16,589	16,824	26,724	27,591	55,296	54,474	10,650	11,021
Black	7,309	7,319	11,701	11,827	28,892	29,488	8,027	8,596
Black percent of total	44.1	44.0	44.0	43.0	52.2	54.1	75.4	78.0
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total population	15,888	15,557	12,897	13,246	24,814	26,658	23,819	25,027
Black	10,542	9,799	9,917	9,937	20,147	22,579	13,157	13,346
Black percent of total	66.4	63.0	77.0	75.0	81.1	85.0	55.2	53.3
	Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total population	20,883	22,521	15,388	14,988	16,974	16,831	16,303	14,731
Black	9,497	9,742	9,033	9,019	11,242	11,711	11,160	10,151
Black percent of total	46.0	43.2	58.7	60.1	66.2	70.0	68.5	69.0

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 35, pp. 2-109-2-125 and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, pp. 2-133-2-149.

Where blacks have gained a majority of positions on a county commission or county school board, they have been able to make decisions in terms of educational policies and other areas. Where blacks are underrepresented on policymaking bodies, these decisions continue to be made by whites, with little input from blacks.

Education

In 1968 blacks in the schools were almost totally segregated by race in the 16-county area. At that time only 1.7 percent of black students were in formerly all-white schools. Teaching staffs were also segregated: 2.7 percent of black teachers were in white schools, and 5.6 percent of white teachers were in black schools. Furthermore, whites attended schools in which the buildings and contents per pupil were valued at nearly four times that of schools attended by blacks. Black schools had significantly lower per pupil expenditures and were inferior to the white schools in every way. Curricular offerings were limited in black schools, and the number of library books per pupil in black schools was less than half the number per pupil in white schools.⁶ These conditions prevailed despite a Federal district court ruling in *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* that found Alabama schools illegally segregated and that required them to desegregate student bodies, facilities, and staffs.⁷ Specifically, the court found:

[Alabama] state officials have engaged in a wide range of activities to maintain segregated public education through-

Wilcox were majority black in 1980. Joint Center for Political Studies, *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* (1982), vol. 12, pp. 3-4. In November 1982 blacks were elected to fill all the positions on the Sumter County Commission.

⁶ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing*, Montgomery, Ala. (Apr. 27-May 2, 1968), transcript, exhibit no. 26, pp. 861-66 (hereafter cited as *Hearing Transcript*).

⁷ 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala.) (three-judge court), *aff'd sub nom.* Wallace v. United States, 389 U.S. 215 (1967) (per curiam). The district court held that because defendant State officials had engaged in a wide range of activities to maintain segregated public education throughout the State, the State was required to implement a statewide freedom of choice desegregation plan in all school districts that were not under another court order to desegregate.

The case was originally brought in 1963 by parents of black children against the Macon County Board of Education, seeking to desegregate the public schools there. The district court ordered the school officials in Macon County to begin desegregating the school by allowing student transfers during the 1963-64 school year. *Lee v. Macon County Bd. of Educ.*, 221 F. Supp. 297 (M.D. Ala., 1963). In a supplemental opinion in 1964, the court found that State officials had impeded the peaceful desegregation of schools in Macon County and issued a prelimi-

out the State of Alabama. These activities were concerned with and have controlled virtually every aspect of public education in the state, including site selection, construction, consolidation, assignment of teachers, allocation of funds, transportation, vocational education, and the assignment of students.⁸

The court declared:

[T]he State of Alabama and particularly the defendant State officials are under an affirmative constitutional duty to take whatever corrective action is necessary to disestablish such a system. Faculty members and staff members, facilities and activities, as well as student bodies, must be desegregated to such an extent that there no longer exists in the Alabama public school system discrimination of any sort or to any degree that is based upon race or color.⁹

To remedy the illegal segregation, the district court ordered each of the school systems under its order to adopt "freedom of choice" plans whereby students would be free to choose the school that they would attend.¹⁰

These plans, however, proved to be ineffective. Schools in the counties covered by this case and in the other counties as well continued to be segregated. For example, in 1968 a majority of schools in the 16 counties and 6 city districts in the region were 100 percent black: 110 of 178 schools were all black and 13 were all white. The remainder were overwhelmingly white, with only a handful of black students.¹¹

nary injunction against State officials for interfering with desegregation plans in Macon and elsewhere in the State. *Lee v. Macon County Bd. of Educ.*, 231 F. Supp. 743 (M.D. Ala., 1964). Although the court did not order statewide desegregation it indicated that further interference on the part of school officials would lead to a reassessment of this decision. *Id.* at 756. In 1967 the court found that the State had systematically interfered with school desegregation throughout the State and at that time ordered a statewide desegregation plan. *Lee v. Macon County Bd. of Educ.*, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala., 1967).

The court retains jurisdiction in the case, and continues to require annual reports to be submitted on the number of teachers and pupils by race, school, and grade as required in the 1967 court order. 267 F. Supp. at 485.

⁸ 267 F. Supp. at 478.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.* at 479. This decision predates the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Green v. School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U.S. 430, 439-441 (1968), declaring freedom of choice plans inadequate if they proved ineffective in immediately desegregating schools.

¹¹ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts, Fall 1968*, pp. 1-27.

In 1969 the Supreme Court of the United States in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*¹² barred the fifth circuit court of appeals from allowing further delays in the implementation of school desegregation orders. The Supreme Court ordered the court of appeals:

to issue its decree and order, effective immediately, declaring that each of the school districts [under the jurisdiction of the fifth circuit court of appeals] may no longer operate a dual system based on race or color, and directing that they begin immediately to operate as unitary school systems within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color.¹³

Shortly thereafter, the court of appeals issued a decision applying the Supreme Court order to “all other school cases now being or which are to be considered in this or the district courts of this circuit.”¹⁴ By the 1970–71 school year, the school systems in the 16-county area had begun to desegregate.¹⁵

When the school districts began to desegregate, however, private academies were established throughout the area and became the primary educational institutions for white students whose parents chose not to send their children to desegregated schools. By 1978 seven of the counties in the region—Bullock, Greene, Lowndes, Macon, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox—had public school populations that were over 90 percent black, as private academies enrolled most of the white students in those counties.

The director of the Alabama Private School Association, an organization whose members include a large number of the State’s private academies,¹⁶ justifies the existence of the academies on the basis of their academic quality: “The association

provides parents with an opportunity to send their children to a private school of quality, if they choose an alternative to public education and choose a member school.”¹⁷ He said that “few private academies were established during the freedom of choice era,” but that “many schools were formed during the forced desegregation era, as parents had a fear of lack of academic quality during the actual transition era.” He said that “so-called white flight might have been white pursuit [of quality education]. Parents did not want to speculate with their child’s academic life.”¹⁸ He added that the purpose of public schools and private schools differ: “Private schools are for educating the students enrolled there” (in other words, students who elect to go there), whereas “public schools have to educate the masses.”¹⁹ The director claimed that “the association has been tabbed with the stigmas of being a racist organization and an athletic organization. We have tried to eliminate both of these stigmas on an association level and felt that we have made great strides, but we are not home yet.” Still, the association has no official policy requiring open enrollment and does not require member schools to have such a written policy. The director stated: “It is hard to bring minorities in [to the schools]. They don’t seem to want to enter.”²⁰ Although private schools are eligible for Federal funds under Chapter 1 (formerly Title I) and Chapter 2 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981, none of the association-affiliated schools in the 16-county area receive such funds.²¹

It is clear that private schools have had a negative effect on public schools, particularly in the area of school finance. First, by siphoning off large numbers of students who would otherwise attend public schools, private schools consequently reduce aver-

¹² 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

¹³ *Id.* at 20.

¹⁴ *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District*, 419 F.2d 1211, 1216 (5th Cir. 1970).

¹⁵ See, U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Fall 1970*, pp. 1–26.

¹⁶ Most of the private academies in the six counties visited by Commission staff belong to the association. These include Autauga Academy in Autauga; Grove Hill Academy, Jackson Academy, and Thomasville Academy in Clarke County; Warrior Academy in Greene County; Lowndes Academy and Fort Deposit Academy in Lowndes County; Macon Academy in Macon County; and Sumter Academy in Sumter County. In addition, 17 other private schools in the other 11 counties are members of the organization.

¹⁷ John K. Faircloth, director, Alabama Private School Association, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982 (hereafter cited as Faircloth Interview).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* According to Mr. Faircloth, “efforts have been made by member schools to secure minorities in their programs, but with little success, primarily because of peer pressure from the minority communities and the cost factor.” Additionally, he said that “blacks did not seem to want to enter a predominately white private school, whereas many were enrolled in a predominately black private school.” John K. Faircloth, executive director, Alabama Private School Association, letter to Thomas R. Watson, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 19, 1983. For the complete response of Mr. Faircloth to these statements, see app. B.

²¹ Wayne Teague, Alabama State Superintendent of Education, letter to Thomas R. Watson, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 25, 1983.

age daily attendance figures on which State funding levels are based.²² Second, needed tax increases to support public schools are blocked by whites whose children by and large attend private schools.²³ A State association official stated that "white voters have resisted attempts to increase money going to support public schools. Citizens have an obligation to everyone. If people don't support public schools now, they may have to support [individuals without an adequate education] later," in terms of welfare programs.²⁴

The tax base in the counties generally is "nonexistent," according to one source.²⁵ Property tax revenues available for financing the schools locally are minuscule and districts have come to depend upon Federal or State funding. In all 16 counties, Federal and State funding accounted for more than 80 percent of public school revenues in school year 1980-81, and in 6 counties—including Clarke, Macon, and Sumter—the Federal and State share was greater than 90 percent.²⁶ (See table 2.)

Between 1970 and 1980 the percentage of the adult population (persons 25 years old or older) that graduated from high school increased substantially. (See table 3.) Macon was the only county in 1970 in which the percentage of black adults with a high school degree exceeded 20 percent.²⁷ By contrast, the percentage of white adults who had finished high school did not fall below 40 percent in any county. The white percentage was more than five times that for blacks in Greene, Hale, Lowndes, and Sumter Counties.²⁸ Between 1970 and 1980 the percentage of black adults with high school degrees more than doubled in 13 of the 16 counties.²⁹ This increase represents an even more substantial increase

in the percentage of students finishing high school during that period.³⁰

The percentage of black adults completing 4 or more years of college remains dismally low. In 1970 Macon was the only county in which the percentage of black college graduates exceeded 5 percent of the adult population. (See table 4.) In none of the 16 counties was the percentage of white adults who had completed 4 or more years of college lower than 5 percent, and in seven counties, it was lower than 10 percent.³¹ By 1980 the percentage of black adults who had completed 4 or more years of college was below 5 percent in nine counties; it was greater than 10 percent only in Macon County.³²

Employment

In 1970 the black unemployment rate was typically two to three times that of whites.³³ (See table 5.) Choctaw, Clarke, and Macon were the only counties with a ratio below 2 to 1, and in six counties the ratio exceeded 3 to 1. Between 1970 and 1980 unemployment rates increased significantly, and the ratio of black to white unemployment rates actually increased in seven counties—Butler, Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Macon, Monroe, and Sumter. By 1980 only Macon had a ratio of less than 2 to 1, and at least six counties had a ratio greater than 3 to 1.³⁴

White unemployment in 1980 averaged about 5 percent in the 13 counties for which it was reported, with the highest rate being 6.1 percent in Macon County.³⁵ By contrast the black unemployment rate ranged from 10.3 percent in Perry County to 19.8 percent in Greene County. Most counties were in the 15 percent range.³⁶ The biggest rate differential was 17 percentage points in Greene County, which

sample size, data for whites are not reported for Bullock, Lowndes, and Marengo Counties.

³⁰ Although the percentage of high school graduates in the adult (over age 25) population does not directly reflect the high school graduation rate, it can be assumed that it has increased significantly. For the 1980 census, only persons who were between the ages of 15 and 24 during the 1970 census were added to the pool of persons over 25. For the percentage of adult graduates to have increased significantly, the high school graduation rate for persons 15 to 24 in 1970 would have had to be much higher.

³¹ 1970 Census, table 120, pp. 2-350-2-355.

³² 1980 Census, chap. C, table 182, pp. 2-394-2-410. Data for whites are not reported for Bullock, Lowndes, and Marengo Counties.

³³ 1970 Census table 126, pp. 2-386-2-391.

³⁴ 1980 Census, chap. C, table 184, pp. 2-428-2-444. Data for whites are not reported for Bullock, Lowndes, and Marengo Counties.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

²² Kitty Terjen, "Close-up on Private Academies," *New South*, Fall 1972, p. 50.

²³ David Nevin and Robert Bills, *Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Book, Ltd., 1976), p. 87.

²⁴ Raymond Quinn, director, Alabama Association of School Boards, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982 (hereafter cited as Quinn interview).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ State of Alabama, Department of Education, *Annual Report 1981*.

²⁷ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 125, p. 2-383 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*).

²⁸ Ibid., table 120, pp. 2-350-2-355.

²⁹ Ibid., table 125, pp. 2-380-2-385 and U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 182, pp. 2-94-2-410 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C). Because of the small

9 **Table 2**

Educational Revenues for County School Districts, by Source, School Year 1980-81

	Autauga	Barbour	Bullock	Butler	Choctaw	Clarke	Dallas	Greene	
Source of Revenue									
County	6.5%	15.7%	10.6%	5.6%	6.8%	5.2%	8.3%	3.4%	
District	1.8	1.4	2.3	0.0	3.2	2.0	1.7	1.9	
State	72.0	52.8	54.2	76.1	72.1	64.0	68.8	50.7	
Federal	15.4	28.6	32.4	18.2	15.8	27.1	20.5	30.0	
Other	4.3	1.5	0.5	0.1	2.0	1.6	0.7	14.0	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Hale	Lowndes	Macon	Marengo	Monroe	Perry	Sumter	Wilcox	16 Counties
Source of Revenue									
County	6.5%	8.3%	3.6%	7.1%	11.3%	9.1%	3.1%	2.1%	7.1%
District	1.4	1.2	1.4	2.6	3.8	2.1	1.7	2.0	2.0
State	70.8	63.4	74.8	68.8	61.3	55.8	70.6	61.6	66.3
Federal	21.3	26.4	19.7	20.7	20.6	32.3	24.0	33.5	22.4
Other	0.1	0.7	0.6	0.8	5.0	0.7	0.2	1.2	2.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

1. This can be read as follows: Of revenues from county, district, State, Federal, and other sources, 6.5 percent were from the county during the 1980-81 school year in Autauga County.

Source: State of Alabama, Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1981: Statistical and Financial Data*, p. 44.

Table 3**Percent of Population Ages 25 or Older
who were High School Graduates,
by County and Race, 1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler		Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	54.3	66.3	43.9	56.8	52.1	(a)	38.0	51.5	43.3	54.8	49.2	62.5	61.4	68.2	62.1	68.2
Black	15.9	29.1	11.1	25.5	11.06	26.5	11.3	31.0	13.6	28.1	16.4	25.8	18.7	37.4	10.8	28.6
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo		Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	48.2	59.7	59.8	(a)	48.5	59.6	56.1	(a)	44.3	61.2	46.0	57.7	66.3	75.0	58.2	64.3
Black	9.4	20.7	10.3	27.7	36.0	52.7	12.4	29.4	12.6	30.8	13.8	30.8	12.4	29.6	12.1	26.8

(a) = Data not available.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, tables 120 and 125 pp. 2-350-2-355 and 2-380 and 2-385 and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, vol. 1, table 182, pp. 2-394-2-410.

Table 4

**Percent of Persons Ages 25 or Older
with Four or More Years of College,
by County and Race, 1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler		Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	7.7	14.1	9.7	13.0	11.3	(a)	5.3	9.6	5.6	9.0	6.7	12.1	12.6	14.9	11.6	16.1
Black	1.9	3.0	3.5	2.9	1.6	4.1	2.9	5.1	2.2	3.6	3.4	3.2	4.6	7.3	4.1	7.0
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo		Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	8.7	11.7	11.8	(a)	13.7	13.7	10.0	(a)	7.0	11.0	11.1	14.5	15.7	17.8	13.2	15.5
Black	2.3	2.6	1.7	3.3	15.1	19.0	2.7	4.0	3.5	4.6	3.6	5.7	2.5	5.0	1.7	5.4

(a) = Data Not Available.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, tables 120 and 125, pp. 2-350-2-355 and 2-380-2-385 and 1980 *Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 182, pp. 2-394-2-410.

Table 5
Unemployment Rates, by County and Race, 1970 and 1980

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	1.7	4.9	2.3	5.5	2.9	(a)	2.8	4.8
Black	5.8	15.5	5.4	12.9	8.3	13.4	5.9	11.3
Ratio of black to white unemployment rate	3.41	3.16	2.35	2.35	2.86	(b)	2.11	2.35
	Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	3.8	5.2	2.5	5.2	2.5	4.4	0.4	2.8
Black	6.2	12.3	4.5	13.0	7.2	15.6	7.4	19.8
Ratio of black to white unemployment rate	1.63	2.37	1.80	2.50	2.88	3.55	18.5	7.07
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	1.1	5.0	2.0	(a)	2.9	6.1	2.9	(a)
Black	4.9	16.3	6.4	16.2	5.4	12.0	7.5	11.6
Ratio of black to white unemployment rate	4.45	3.26	3.20	(b)	1.86	1.97	2.59	(b)
	Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	2.6	4.2	0.4	5.1	3.4	4.3	2.3	5.1
Black	6.9	15.0	8.1	10.3	8.2	15.5	8.9	13.5
Ratio of black to white unemployment rate	2.65	3.57	20.2	2.02	2.41	3.60	3.87	2.65

(a) = Data not available. (b) = Unable to compute.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, tables 121 and 126, pp. 2-356-2-361 and 2-386-2-391 and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 184, pp. 2-428-2-444.

had the highest black unemployment rate (19.8 percent) and the lowest white unemployment rate (2.8 percent).³⁷

Moreover, blacks who were employed generally had the lowest paying jobs, mainly in unskilled labor categories, and whites had most of the managerial, supervisory, professional, and technical positions.³⁸ The disparity in job status for blacks and whites is reflected by median family income figures in the 16 counties. (See table 6.) In 1970 the typical white family consistently earned more than double the amount earned by black families. The situation of blacks relative to whites did not change significantly between 1970 and 1980. Although the income disparity was reduced in 12 of the 13 counties for which data are available, in no county did black families earn more than 60 percent of the amount earned by white families in 1980. In Greene and Sumter Counties, the typical black family in 1980 earned less than 40 percent of the typical white family, and in seven other counties, between 40 and 50 percent.³⁹

Comparison of poverty status between blacks and whites in 1979 makes the disparities in income even more startling: between 40 and 60 percent of the blacks and fewer than 15 percent of the whites living in the 16 counties were in poverty. The black poverty rate ranged from 36.2 percent in Macon County to 60.1 percent in Wilcox County. In Greene County, the black rate of poverty was six times that of whites; in Autauga, Dallas, Hale, and Sumter the rate was between five and six times higher for blacks than for whites. In at least seven counties—Butler, Clarke, Greene, Hale, Macon, Monroe, and Sumter—the ratio of the black poverty rate to white

poverty rate actually increased between 1970 and 1980.⁴⁰ (See table 7.)

Since 1980 economic conditions have worsened, and the recent recession has had a significant impact on the 16 counties within the region. Between 1980 and 1982 the statewide unemployment rate nearly doubled, from 7.5 percent in 1980⁴¹ to 13.2 percent in 1982.⁴² By 1982 Alabama reportedly had the second-highest unemployment rate nationally.⁴³ In the 16-county area, the unemployment rate in May 1982 ranged from 11.4 percent in Perry County (compared with 7.6 percent in 1980) to 19 percent in Hale County (compared with 11.1 in 1980).⁴⁴ Although there are no statistics by race more current than 1980, respondents admitted that the black unemployment rate was still much higher than for whites,⁴⁵ particularly since large numbers of blacks in the 16-county area were employed by industries that were more sensitive to economic downturns (apparel manufacturing and wood-related industries).⁴⁶ One official described the situation in this manner: "The region is drying up. It has to have jobs. The area is wood products crazy, even though I have tried to preach diversifying."⁴⁷

To increase employment opportunities for residents in the State during the past decade, the Alabama Development Office (ADO) has undertaken to encourage industries to locate in Alabama. It does this by (1) finding leads on prospective industries and "soliciting companies through referrals, phone calls, and trade journals"; and (2) helping to find the kind of areas in Alabama that are desired by the companies.⁴⁸ Part of the effort to "sell" Alabama to prospective industries is the "Prepared Cities" program, which is a voluntary but costly effort on

³⁷ Ibid., table 184, p. 2-452.

³⁸ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs, 1981*. Many reasons exist for differences in unemployment rates and job status, for example, level of education. Controlling for these factors would indicate the degree to which differences are attributable to age, level of education, and so forth. In a nationwide study of statistical disparities, it was found that after controlling for these and other factors, a great deal of disparity in unemployment rates and job segregation was still unexplained. See, U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women* (1978), pp. 28-46. Data are not available either for the 16 counties individually nor as a group to demonstrate the degree of disparity unexplained by these factors. Nevertheless, the significant increase in the high school graduation rate for blacks has not been translated into reduced employment disparity.

³⁹ *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 186, pp. 2-462-2-478. Data for whites are not reported for Perry and Wilcox Counties. Data for blacks are not reported for Marengo County.

⁴⁰ Ibid., table 187, pp. 2-479-2-495. Poverty rates for whites are not reported for Bullock, Lowndes, and Marengo Counties.

⁴¹ Ibid., table 184, pp. 2-428-2-444.

⁴² State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, "Unemployment Statistics, May 1982 Preliminary" (hereafter cited as "May 1982 Unemployment Statistics").

⁴³ Clifford DePriest, director, Alabama State Employment Service; Bryan Hare, job bank coordinator; Robert Dunlap, supervisor, manpower resources section, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982 (hereafter cited as DePriest, et al. Interview).

⁴⁴ "May 1982 Unemployment Statistics."

⁴⁵ DePriest, et al. Interview.

⁴⁶ George F. Alford, Jr., executive director, Alabama Tombigbee Regional Commission, interview in Camden, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Fred Denton, Jr., industrial development director, Alabama Development Office, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982 (hereafter cited as Denton Interview).

Table 6**Median Family Income, by County and Race, 1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	8,624	20,451	7,360	16,176	7,664	17,056	6,773	15,241
Black	3,511	8,952	2,499	7,507	2,375	7,889	3,421	8,056
Black income as percent of white income	40.7	43.7	34.0	46.4	31.0	46.3	50.5	52.8
	Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	7,492	16,707	7,880	18,635	8,492	18,881	7,506	19,447
Black	2,771	(a)	3,511	9,098	3,066	7,893	2,280	7,765
Black income as percent of white income	37.0	(b)	44.6	48.8	36.1	42.2	30.4	39.9
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	7,166	16,201	8,454	18,350	6,949	17,500	8,617	21,449
Black	2,756	6,851	2,810	7,493	4,393	10,423	2,456	(a)
Black income as percent of white income	38.5	42.2	33.2	40.8	63.2	59.6	28.5	(b)
	Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	7,724	17,610	7,491	(a)	8,469	20,436	8,107	(a)
Black	3,173	9,172	2,938	7,098	2,734	8,095	2,472	7,084
Black income as percent of white income	41.1	52.0	39.2	(b)	32.3	39.6	30.5	(b)

(a) = Data not available. (b) = Not able to compute.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, tables 124 and 128, pp. 2-139-2-141, 2-151, and 2-153 and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 186, pp. 2-462-2-478.

Table 7**Percent of Persons Below Poverty Level,
by County and Race,
1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler		Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	10.9	8.8	17.8	15.1	20.2	(a)	21.0	13.9	16.6	19.6	16.8	12.0	10.9	9.1	14.0	9.1
Black	55.9	43.8	73.4	50.3	71.7	46.3	69.8	47.9	74.1	46.8	61.5	45.5	65.0	51.7	82.0	55.8
Ratio of black poverty rate to white poverty rate	5.1	5.0	4.1	3.3	3.5	(b)	3.3	3.4	4.5	2.4	3.7	3.8	6.0	5.7	5.9	6.1
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo		Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
White	18.8	10.5	14.0	(a)	20.7	13.4	14.5	(a)	18.9	11.2	14.5	25.2	15.3	8.1	14.3	12.5
Black	72.6	56.2	75.6	56.7	46.2	36.2	71.7	53.8	76.2	45.4	67.0	55.5	69.6	44.4	76.9	60.1
Ratio of black poverty rate to white poverty rate	3.9	5.4	5.4	(b)	2.2	2.7	4.9	(b)	4.0	4.1	4.6	2.2	4.5	5.5	5.4	4.8

(a) = Data not available.

(b) = Not able to compute.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, tables 124 and 128, pp. 2-374-2-379 and 2-398-2-403 and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics* part 2, *Alabama*, table 187, pp. 2-479-2-495.

the part of cities within the State to attract industry. To make the "List of Prepared Cities for Industrial Growth," a city must:

1. own a 25-acre or larger site ready for industrial development;
2. have a locally developed industrial development board;
3. have utilities such as water, sewage, and electricity available to the site;
4. develop promotional material; and
5. document and submit specifics concerning the site to the Community Development Office of the Alabama Development Office.⁴⁹

A county in which a prepared city is located may also be designated as a prepared county.

The community development section of ADO reportedly began a program "to help [black belt] cities and towns [in the 16-county region] get better prepared for industry."⁵⁰ The purpose of this initiative, according to the State's industrial development director, was "to help promote industrial growth in smaller, rural areas by acquainting the city and county leadership with those efforts that will help them be prepared and competitive for industry."⁵¹

Regional planning and development commissions were established to undertake a number of tasks related to the development of the respective regions in the State, including:

- comprehensive planning and assessment of needs
- preparation and publication of studies of the region's resources
- planning and technical assistance to local governments
- review of applications for Federal funds.⁵²

In their technical assistance capacity, the planning and development commissions work closely with local cities and counties to help them prepare necessary materials to encourage industry to locate there and to apply for the "Prepared Cities" status. The following cities and counties in the 16-county

area have been designated as prepared for industry: the cities of Eutaw, Demopolis, Marion, Eufaula, and Thomasville, and Greene and Clarke Counties. A number of other cities and counties are "working on it."⁵³

Whether the recruiting efforts of the Alabama Development Office, including the prepared cities program, have benefited the counties in the Commission study, and in particular the blacks in those counties, is questionable. State officials said that they cannot steer companies either toward or away from certain areas. The industrial development director said: "The company [moving into the State] tells ADO what it needs; then ADO takes the requirements and helps locate the company."⁵⁴ Furthermore, a number of State officials admitted that the "Prepared Cities" list had little to do with the decision by a company concerning where to locate,⁵⁵ but that other criteria, for example, the schools and the skills of the labor force, were much more important.⁵⁶

The Industrial Development Training Institute (IDT) a separate entity of the State government, recruits and trains potential employees in jobs required by a company that decides to locate in Alabama, at no charge to the company. The company is under no obligation to hire the trainees, although the director estimates that 95 percent are hired.⁵⁷

The IDT places an advertisement in the local newspaper to recruit trainees. In the past 2 or 3 years, the advertisement has carried the phrase, "Equal Opportunity Employer." Selections are made chiefly on the basis of "motivation" as reflected in applicants' past work history and "how they answer certain questions."⁵⁸ In terms of recruiting minorities, the IDT "goes by the request of the company."⁵⁹ IDT director George Howard said:

⁴⁹ Joe Sills, former community development program director, Alabama Development Office, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982.

⁵⁰ Denton Interview.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ala. Code §11-85-56 (1975).

⁵³ John Hawthorne, community development program director, Alabama Development Office, telephone interview, Apr. 21, 1983.

⁵⁴ Denton Interview.

⁵⁵ George Howard, director, Alabama Industrial Development Training Institute, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 12, 1982 (hereafter cited as Howard Interview); Robert Grasser, executive director, Central Alabama Regional Planning and Development Commission, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 12, 1982.

⁵⁶ Howard Interview.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The IDT also will train employees for expanding industries already in Alabama.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

I am not concerned about race unless companies ask, but IDT has put more minorities to work than any organization in the State of Alabama.⁶⁰

Although the IDT claims to have trained 43,413 persons for jobs in 334 companies,⁶¹ no figures are kept by race:

Figures are not important; people are important. The reason I don't keep figures is that someone would find something wrong with it.⁶²

Of approximately 381 companies for which IDT has trained employees, 39 have been in the 16-county Commission study region.⁶³ Mr. Howard said:

I have no control over where a company wants to locate. I make recommendations to companies as to where to locate, based on their requirements, for example, where is the best labor market based on the skills needed. I do what is best for the company; it is very important for it to be successful.⁶⁴

He admitted that this area is not particularly attractive to prospective industries:

Industrial growth is stifled in rural black belt counties. There is no viable work force, and the counties are not prepared for industry.⁶⁵

Companies look for a location that has "a good school system with high standards and land with utilities and someone to sell it." He said a company wants to know whether "high school graduates are functional in today's society. A company is not going to buy a bunch of social problems."⁶⁶ Perhaps the real reason the region is not experiencing better success in obtaining more industry is simply a matter of race:

Sure, some companies have said that they don't want to locate in an area with a majority-black population or a black political structure. Anybody who tells you differently is lying.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Ibid. However, the respondent indicated that he did not keep statistical data on the number of minorities who had gained employment under the program.

⁶¹ Alabama Industrial Development Training Institute, "Fact Sheet," n.d.

⁶² Howard Interview.

⁶³ Alabama Industrial Development Training Office, list of companies for which training has been completed or is in progress, Aug. 10, 1982.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Howard Interview.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ C.H. Erskine Smith, statement, *Hearing Transcript*, p. 17.

Health

The quality and availability of health care have changed dramatically in the 16-county area since 1968, when health services were largely unavailable to blacks. Alabama did not participate in the Federal medicaid program, and the Federal programs that were available were not being delivered to blacks. The chairman of the Alabama State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights testified at the Commission's 1968 hearing:

[f]or the most part, the Federal programs which are designed to help the poor have had little impact on the black poor of Alabama. These people. . . have had their hopes raised again and again as they were told of the many Federal programs which were supposedly written with them in mind; only to find that in reality they were empty promises and a cruel hoax.⁶⁸

The only medical services available to poor blacks were through county health department clinics. These clinics were basically preventive or educational in nature rather than "curative,"⁶⁹ providing such services as inoculations and immunizations. Although each county health department was required to have a physician who was the county health officer, less populated counties often shared medical personnel.⁷⁰

The amount of Federal funds for health and nutrition programs increased dramatically from 1970 to 1980. (See table 8.)⁷¹ As a result, the role of the public health clinics also increased as they became involved with Federal programs, such as screening medicaid patients and operating the maternal and child health program⁷² and the supplemental program for women, infants, and children.⁷³

In addition to the county public health clinics, five of the counties in the Commission study area have

⁶⁹ Ira L. Myers, M.D., State health officer, testimony, *Hearing Transcript*, p. 261.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Dr. Joyce Gadziwill, assistant state health officer, Area V; and Thomas Philips, area health administrator, Area V.

⁷² 42 U.S.C. §§701-716 (1976 & Supp. V 1981). Services offered under this program include basic prenatal care, intensive care for newborns, and immunizations for children.

⁷³ Child Nutrition Act of 1966, 42 U.S.C. §§1786-1787 (Supp. V 1981). The objective of this program is to provide high-protein foods, nutrition education, and access to health services for low-income pregnant women, nursing mothers, and children under 5 years of age.

Table 8**Federal Expenditures for Health and Nutrition by County, 1970 and 1980**

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Health and Nutrition								
Medicaid	352,397	1,630,000	532,285	2,538,000	337,239	1,611,000	535,560	1,280,000
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	141,010	599,000	312,368	682,000	95,148	322,000	158,807	527,000
Community Health Centers	0	142,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)	0	193,000	0	260,000	0	162,000	0	284,000
Food Stamps	0	1,723,000	0	2,368,000	0	1,273,000	0	1,687,000
National School Lunch Program	28,964	474,000	62,830	589,000	33,763	299,000	53,088	489,000
	Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Health and Nutrition								
Medicaid	393,372	2,046,000	447,050	2,368,000	1,064,973	5,502,000	375,343	1,858,000
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	248,708	612,000	112,032	576,000	585,490	2,032,000	141,466	632,000
Community Health Centers	0	0	0	0	0	166,000	0	943,000
Food for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)	0	147,000	0	383,000	0	532,000	0	211,000
Food Stamps	0	1,829,000	0	2,595,000	0	6,203,000	0	1,613,000
National School Lunch Program	52,816	440,000	68,965	629,000	137,980	1,637,000	43,823	417,000

	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Margengo	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Health and Nutrition								
Medicaid	469,998	2,803,000	307,322	1,911,000	460,981	2,705,000	559,734	1,175,000
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	154,243	526,000	242,319	892,000	243,461	1,069,000	220,872	857,000
Community Health Centers	0	0	0	283,000	0	475,000	0	0
Food for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)	0	281,000	0	392,000	0	191,000	0	280,000
Food Stamps	0	2,133,000	0	2,421,000	0	4,368,000	0	2,892,000
National School Lunch Program	54,213	493,000	53,192	534,000	57,928	838,000	65,551	662,000
	Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Health and Nutrition								
Medicaid	467,131	2,024,000	442,137	2,004,000	492,944	2,314,000	391,732	2,439,000
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	119,107	489,000	240,265	679,000	199,651	709,000	148,084	987,000
Community Health Centers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)	0	183,000	0	281,000	0	391,000	0	289,000
Food Stamps	0	2,212,000	0	2,403,000	0	2,093,000	0	2,627,000
National School Lunch Program	68,265	605,000	24,829	480,000	68,398	482,000	51,585	461,000

Source: Executive Office of the President, Community Services Administration, *Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds in Alabama*, 1970 and 1980.

federally funded and operated community health centers.⁷⁴ They are Autauga, Dallas, Greene, Lowndes, and Macon.⁷⁵ The centers offer much broader health care services than county clinics and, generally, have doctors, nutritionists, and other full-time medical personnel.⁷⁶ Clients are charged for services on a sliding scale, depending on their ability to pay.

Although there are no data on general health conditions, such as nutrition, by county by race, other indications demonstrate that certain aspects of health have improved for blacks.⁷⁷ For example, infant mortality rates have dropped significantly, although disparities between whites and blacks remain large. (See table 9.) In the 1969-71 period, the black infant mortality rates in the counties were generally more than double the white rates; in Bullock, Clarke, Monroe, Sumter, and Wilcox Counties the rate for blacks was more than three times that for whites.⁷⁸ By 1978-80 infant death rates had fallen considerably for both blacks and whites in most counties, but the rate for blacks remained significantly higher. In Autauga, Butler, Clarke, and Marengo Counties rates were more than three times greater for blacks than for whites. In all of these counties the ratio of black to white infant death rates increased between 1970-72 and 1979-81.⁷⁹

Summary

In the 16-county area of Alabama examined by Commission staff, current figures still show large disparities between whites and blacks in education, employment, and health care. Although blacks have gained political control of a number of county governments, they have had little success in others, even in some where they represent a majority of the population.

⁷⁴ Special Health Revenue Sharing Act of 1975 §330, 42 U.S.C. §254 (1976).

⁷⁵ U.S., Department of Health and Human Services, "Alabama Community Health Centers Grantees," October 1981.

⁷⁶ Peter Dortch, director, Lowndes County Community Health Service, interview in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982; Iris Sermon, administrative coordinator, West Alabama Health Services, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982; Thomas W. Simmons, former executive director, John A. Andrew Health Center, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982.

⁷⁷ Other data available were either unreliable or inconclusive in showing health status. No data are kept on the average age of death. Death rates themselves are not particularly helpful except when viewed in terms of cause-specific death. These, however,

Many of the counties with black majorities continue to have dual school systems, as whites have withdrawn their children and their support from public schools, opting to place them in private academies to escape desegregation. These private academies have had an adverse effect upon the funding of public schools and have contributed to the perpetuation of a segregated society.

A high degree of job segregation also continues. Blacks in the 16-county area tend to be employed in menial jobs and earn lower wages than whites. In general, black median family income is about half that of whites, and the percentage of blacks in poverty is often several times the percentage of whites in poverty. Black unemployment rates also remain about twice as high or more than those for whites.

The lack of jobs throughout Alabama has led the State to recruit industry more actively. In addition to special recruitment efforts, the State has a training program for prospective employees of any industry deciding to locate there. Despite these recruitment efforts, there has been little benefit to the 16-county area and particularly to blacks in those areas. According to State officials, industries are not interested in moving to these areas for a variety of reasons—the continued segregation of schools, the lack of preparedness on the part of the counties, the lack of immediately available land. The primary reason, however, appears to be that most of the counties in the region are majority black and many are politically controlled by blacks as well.

In terms of health care, the delivery of medical services to blacks in the 16-county area has improved dramatically since 1968, largely due to Federal efforts. However, available data show that black infant mortality still remains much higher than white and the disparity has actually increased in many instances since 1970.

are unreliable due to the process in Alabama by which death certificates are filed.

⁷⁸ Alabama Department of Public Health, *A Decade of Change: Alabama's Vital Events, 1970-79* (n.d.). The use of a 3-year rate for infant deaths reduces the chance of deviation of the "observed rate" for one particular year, from the "true rate," because of fluctuations from year to year, particularly in small areas, such as the 16 counties. See Joel C. Kleinman, "Infant Mortality," Statistical Notes for Health Planners; number 2 (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Health Statistics, July 1976).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, and Alabama Department of Public Health, *Alabama Vital Events for 1981* (n.d.), table 5-20, "Infant Mortality and Infant Mortality Rates by County and PHA," pp. 125-126.

Table 9
Infant Mortality, by County and Race, 1970-72 and 1979-81

	Autauga		Barbour		Bullock		Butler	
	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81
Infant Deaths per 1,000 live births								
Nonwhite	48.9	25.5	44.1	25.4	59.0	24.6	20.3	25.0
White	18.2	5.7	20.2	16.4	19.1	19.2	18.4	3.5
Ratio of nonwhite infant death rate to white infant death rate	2.69	4.47	2.18	1.55	3.09	1.28	1.10	7.14
	Choctaw		Clarke		Dallas		Greene	
	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births								
Nonwhite	51.1	20.9	37.8	20.9	39.1	20.5	29.8	13.2
White	29.9	14.3	10.7	2.8	16.3	10.1	0	0
Ratio of nonwhite infant death rate to white infant death rate	1.97	1.46	3.53	7.46	2.40	2.03	(a)	(b)
	Hale		Lowndes		Macon		Marengo	
	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births								
Nonwhite	36.9	27.5	36.4	20.4	39.5	14.5	33.7	26.5
White	33.2	0	0	7.7	16.5	0	13.2	2.2
Ratio of nonwhite infant death rate to white infant death rate	1.11	(a)	(a)	2.65	2.39	(a)	2.55	12.05
	Monroe		Perry		Sumter		Wilcox	
	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81	1970-72	1979-81
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births								
Nonwhite	43.6	20.3	31.2	22.3	38.0	18.1	35.4	17.4
White	13.9	13.0	12.1	0	7.7	9.8	7.8	16.7
Ratio of nonwhite infant death rate to white infant death rate	3.14	1.56	2.58	(a)	4.94	1.85	4.54	1.04

(a) = Unable to compute.

Source: Alabama Department of Public Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Alabama Vital Events 1970-1980*.

The following chapters will describe in depth each of six counties visited by Commission staff. In each county, education, employment and economic

development, and health care are examined to discover how blacks have fared since 1968 in relationship to whites.

2. Autauga County

Integration was hard for the South to go through. [We] did our best. Even if the court order had not occurred, Autauga would have eventually gotten around to upgrading its schools. We were caused to do it quicker. Integration made Autagua's school system move faster to upgrade all facilities. Desegregation was difficult to do, a way of life and thinking were being changed by the [Federal] Government, the courts, people outside the situation.

James T. Powell, chairman, Autauga County Board of Education

Introduction

Autauga County, an area of about 599 square miles, is located in central Alabama about 10 miles north of the State capital of Montgomery. In 1970, 28.3 percent of the 24,460 persons who lived in Autauga were black. By 1980 the population was 32,259, 22.4 percent black.¹ The county has three incorporated areas, Prattville, which is the county seat, Autaugaville, and Billingsley. Prattville is the urban area of the county where most of the community and industrial development has taken place. In 1980 more than 60 percent of the whites in Autauga lived in Prattville and over 60 percent of the blacks in the county lived in rural areas outside the county seat.²

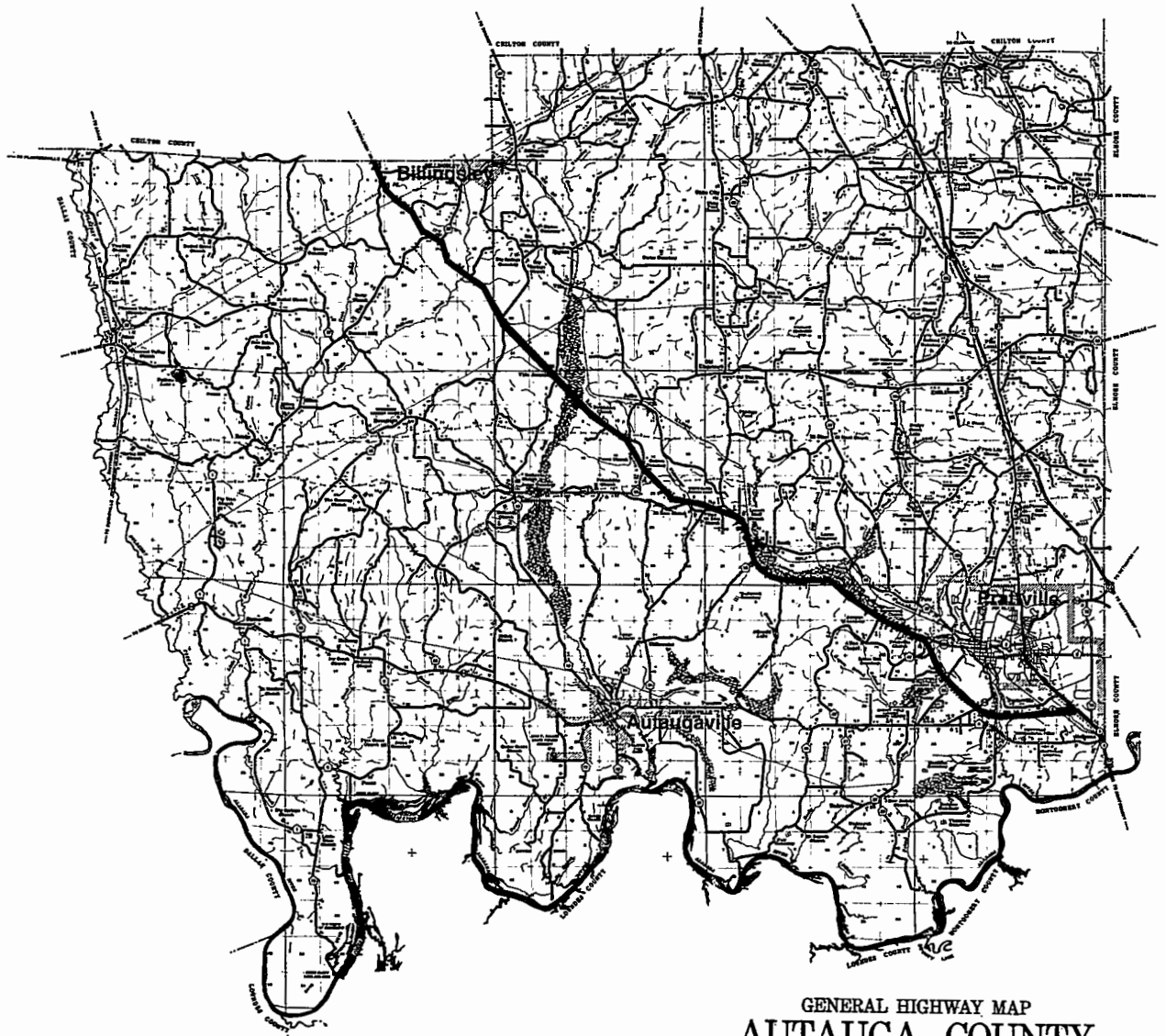
¹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population*, vol. 1, *Alabama*, part 2, table 35, p. 2-109 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*) and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p. 2-133

² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports*, vol. 2, *Alabama*, table 2, p. 18 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census of Population and Housing*).

Whites always have been the overwhelming majority in Autauga and have held all of the political offices in the county and municipal governments. They have had the administrative positions on the governing and industrial development boards and are the administrators within the public educational system. In addition, whites own all of the financial institutions and major industries in the county.

In 1982 all five county commissioners in Autauga were white. According to the chairman of the commission, "A black has never served on the county board of commissioners."³

³ James Corley, chairman, Autauga County Commission, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982 (hereafter cited as Corley Interview). The commission has representatives from four districts (including Prattville, Autaugaville, Billingsley, and the unincorporated areas) and the probate judge who is the chairman. The commissioners are elected every 4 years, and the probate judge serves as chairman for 6 years.



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
AUTAUGA COUNTY
ALABAMA

Although the county government is responsible for services such as building and repairing bridges and paving roads throughout the county,⁴ in 1982 the executive director of the Central Alabama Regional Planning and Development Commission explained that the major improvements in Autauga since 1968 have taken place in Prattville. For the most part, the other areas of the county, particularly those areas where the majority of the blacks live, do not have comparable services.⁵ According to the executive director:

The majority of blacks in Autauga have low incomes, and are concentrated outside Prattville. The several unincorporated areas of the county are predominantly black. The focus of the Central Alabama Regional Planning Commission in these areas has been on community development.⁶

Although Federal and State funds have been available for community development, the county government has done very little to improve the conditions in the rural areas. According to the chairman of the county commission, the rural areas are "sparsely settled and have dirt roads."⁷ One black community leader, who lives in an unincorporated area near Autaugaville and once considered running for the county commission, discussed the lack of services in his community: "Before the last election, roads were never fixed."⁸ The executive director of the Central Alabama Regional Planning Commission also added, "If Prattville were eliminated, only one-half of the rural people in Autauga County would be served by water."⁹ Since the majority of the blacks who live in Autauga reside in the rural areas, they are disproportionately affected

by the lack of adequate services in these parts of the county.

In 1980, 2,602 or 14.0 percent of the 18,647 people who lived in Prattville were black.¹⁰ The county seat is the urban, recreational, commercial, public service, and industrial center of the county.¹¹

In 1982 Prattville had an all-white city council of five members and a white mayor. A black person has never served as mayor or on the city council. Whites also are the majority on the governing boards in the city. Some of these boards are responsible for providing services and making policies that affect other parts of the county. Sixty people served on these boards in 1982, 56 whites and 4 blacks.¹²

Services such as sewage have been provided in Prattville. However, one respondent explained that although the city government has received funds to provide sewage services in different areas of the city, there were allegations that, in the past, allocations were used primarily to upgrade the white areas of Prattville:

Some black areas in Prattville did not have sewage facilities; however, the county received community development funds [for such services]. In Prattville, the city government got funds and put sewers in the white areas and stopped at the black areas. In 1982 the 10th Street area, which is a black community, did not have sewage. The installation of sewage facilities stopped at Northington Street which is a white area.¹³

Another incorporated area is Autaugaville. In 1980, 66.1 percent of the 3,163 people who lived there were black.¹⁴ In 1982 Autaugaville had a

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Robert Grasser, executive director, Central Alabama Regional Planning and Development Commission, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 12, 1982 (hereafter cited as Grasser Interview).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Corley Interview.

⁸ Joe L. De Bordelaben, community leader, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982 (hereafter cited as De Bordelaben Interview).

⁹ Grasser Interview. For the response of James Corley, chairman, Autauga County Commission, to these statements, see app. B.

¹⁰ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 18. Between 1970 and 1980 Prattville's population increased 41.3 percent. The black population decreased from 17 to 14 percent.

¹¹ Grasser Interview. In 1981-82, Prattville had over 100 businesses, 1 hospital, 35 recreational establishments, 6 public schools and 2 private schools, 2 newspapers, electricity and water services, 3 banks, and a city economic and industrial development board. See "Community Data: Prattville, Alabama," prepared by Alabama Electric Cooperative, Inc., Industrial Division, February 1981.

¹² C. Gray Price, mayor of Prattville, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 27, 1982 (hereafter cited as Price Interview). According to the mayor, members of the boards are appointed by the city council and serve for 6 years. The mayor can make recommendations for appointments. These boards are responsible for water, housing, and zoning ordinances.

¹³ Bobby G. Ziegler, principal, Prattville Junior High School, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 23, 1982 (hereafter cited as Ziegler Interview) and Bobby G. Ziegler, telephone interview, July 13, 1983 (hereafter cited as Ziegler Telephone Interview). According to the mayor of Prattville, in 1970 a suit in the U.S. district court was filed against the city of Prattville, charging discrimination in services. The court did not find discrimination in the delivery of services by the city of Prattville. The mayor of Prattville also reported that in 1983 there is a sewage improvement project in a predominantly black area. C. Gray Price, mayor of Prattville, letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 25, 1983. For the complete response of Mayor Price to these statements, see app. B.

¹⁴ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 15.

white mayor and one black and four white city councilmen.¹⁵ Autaugaville is a rural town where Federal assistance has been used to provide services.

Billingsley had 2,172 residents in 1980, 32.5 percent black.¹⁶ There were five white city councilmen and one black city councilwoman in 1980.¹⁷ The present mayor said that since he has been in office, the focus has been on community development.¹⁸

In Autauga, whites govern the county and all three municipalities. Most blacks live outside the county seat in areas where white officials have not provided adequate services. The urban center of the county is Prattville, and although services and conditions have improved in the county seat since 1968, services have not been provided in some of the black areas of the city. Most of the rural areas where the majority of blacks in Autauga live have not been provided with adequate services.¹⁹

Education

In Autauga County whites always have controlled the public educational system. They have served on the board of education and as superintendents, and have made all of the decisions regarding hiring, placement, promotion, and transfer of personnel, as well as the distribution of funds throughout the public school system.²⁰ According to the chairman of the school board, "There have never been any blacks to serve on the school board, although some blacks have run."²¹

In Autauga blacks attain a high school diploma far less often than do whites. For example, in 1970, 15.9 percent of the blacks and 54.3 percent of the whites

aged 25 and older had a high school education. In 1980, 29.1 percent of the blacks and 66.3 percent of the whites aged 25 and older had a high school education.²²

The county has two private schools, an academy and a church school. Whites who have refused to send their children to integrated schools support the academy. The county also has private kindergartens, mostly attended by whites who can afford them.²³

Public Education

Autauga is one of the 99 counties included in the 1967 school desegregation case, *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*.²⁴ In 1969 the U.S. district court required Autauga's school board to present its plan for the desegregation of the public school system of Autauga County "not later than the commencement of the 1970-71 school year."²⁵ In July 1970 the court approved Autauga's desegregation plan, which included attendance zones for student assignment and transfers, the desegregation of faculty and other staff, transportation, and school construction and site selection requirements.²⁶ In 1970 Autauga was required to maintain a 70-30 percent, black-white, pupil-teacher ratio within the schools.²⁷

Although the public school system has maintained the required ratio of teachers since desegregation,²⁸ blacks are underrepresented as administrative and support staff throughout the system. Since 1970 only one black has been appointed to an administrative position, as an assistant superintendent. There are 11 principals and 11 assistant principals in the Autauga public school system; 2 principals and 2 assistant

¹⁵ Charles Cooper, principal, Autaugaville Elementary School, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982 (hereafter cited as Cooper Interview).

¹⁶ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 15.

¹⁷ L.O. Goodwin, mayor of Billingsley, interview in Billingsley, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Grasser Interview.

²⁰ James T. Powell, chairman, Autauga County Board of Education, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 27, 1982 (hereafter cited as Powell Interview); W.J. Glaze, assistant superintendent of education, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 23, 1982 (hereafter cited as Glaze Interview).

²¹ Powell Interview.

²² *1970 Census*, tables 120 and 125, pp. 2-350 and 2-380 and U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alabama*, table 182, p. 2-394 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C).

²³ Powell Interview.

²⁴ 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala., 1967) (three-judge court), *aff'd. sub nom.*, *Wallace v. United States*, 389 U.S. 215 (1967).

²⁵ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, No. 604-E (M.D. Ala., Aug. 4, 1969).

²⁶ *Lee v. Autauga County Board of Education*, No. 3098-N (M.D. Ala., June 30, 1970) (formerly No. 604-E).

²⁷ *Id.* at 3. Although the court order mandated a 70-30 percent ratio of white and black teachers in each school, the student enrollment does not adhere to the ratio. In 1978 the six public schools in Prattville were majority white (ranging from 70 to 85 percent) and four of the five schools outside Prattville were majority black (ranging from 80 to 90 percent). U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts, and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1978-79*, vol. I.

²⁸ See U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial Ethnic Groups, Fall 1972-1978*; and State of Alabama, State Board of Education, *Annual Report: Statistical and Financial Data for 1980-81*.

principals are black. Since desegregation, however, there has never been a black high school principal.²⁹ In addition, no black has ever worked in the central office either in personnel or clerical positions.³⁰

Autauga has 11 public schools. In April 1983 the public school enrollment was 6,652 students: 4,587 whites (69 percent) and 2,065 nonwhites (31 percent).³¹ The public schools employed 536 people. The staff included 379 teachers: 263 whites (69.4 percent) and 116 nonwhites (30.6 percent); 6 counselors: 2 blacks and 4 whites; 9 head coaches: all white; and 21 clerical workers: 20 whites and 1 black. Other staff members included 17 maintenance and 53 cafeteria workers. Most of these workers are black.³² According to one respondent, "The school board hires blacks only as teachers, cafeteria workers, and janitors."³³

Twelve employees work in the central office; 1 is black. According to the chairman of the board of education, who was first elected to the school board in 1961:

There is only one black person [working] in the central office. [The black assistant superintendent] is a fine educator. We had one or two other fine black women [working in the office]. They have since left. One was a black female counselor who resigned, and a black female special education person who was transferred.³⁴

The black assistant superintendent, who has been in the central office since 1970, explained his appointment:

I have been with the system for about 25 years. I was brought into the superintendent's office to ease the racial tensions that occurred around 1970 because of school integration. I am in charge of instructional programs as a supervisor. I am the only black in the central office.³⁵

Although there have been very few nonteaching vacancies in the Autauga public school system since 1970, when one occurred in 1981, a white was hired

in the central office.³⁶ According to the black assistant superintendent:

There has been at last one vacancy in the central office since 1981. A white female was hired in a clerical position. Most of the people in this office were here before I came. There are three white bookkeepers and four white secretaries. There has not been much of an effort to hire minorities in this office.³⁷

Another respondent concurred that blacks have not been hired in the central office: "Recently, the office hired a new person. A black woman applied for a job, but was [not hired]. It was a secretarial position."³⁸ According to the chairman of the board of education, the board of education votes on all hirings and firings, and the superintendent can recommend persons to be hired or fired. Vacancies are not announced because "there are always enough applications on file."³⁹

Blacks also are underrepresented as staff in at least one of the schools where most of the students are black. At Autaugaville High School, the student enrollment is approximately 90 percent black.⁴⁰ Although the white-black teacher ratio at the school is 70-30, the principal, the secretary, and the head coach are white, and there are no black counselors.⁴¹

According to the black assistant superintendent, in 1983 only one of the six persons assigned to work with the federally funded special education programs is black.⁴² From 1976 to 1978, most of the students who participated in such programs were black.⁴³ Educational programs under Title I for economically disadvantaged students are assigned to a white male: 70 percent of the teachers in the program are white and 30 percent are black.⁴⁴ One respondent said that "blacks are not in any decision-making positions where money is being distributed."⁴⁵

²⁹ Glaze Interview.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Statistics on enrollment were provided by the Autauga County Board of Education, Apr. 14, 1983.

³² There were also 71 bus drivers (25 who were teachers), 13 teacher aides (5 blacks), and 7 mechanics. Statistics on employment were provided by the Autauga County Board of Education, Apr. 14, 1983, and W.J. Glaze, assistant superintendent of education, telephone interview, July 19, 1982 (hereafter cited as Glaze Telephone Interview).

³³ Ziegler Telephone Interview.

³⁴ Powell Interview.

³⁵ Glaze Interview.

³⁶ Glaze Telephone Interview.

³⁷ Glaze Interview and Glaze Telephone Interview.

³⁸ Ziegler Interview.

³⁹ Powell Interview.

⁴⁰ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Elementary and Secondary Districts and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1978-79*, vol. I.

⁴¹ Glaze Telephone Interview.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Secondary School Districts, and Schools in Selected School Districts: 1976-1977*, vol. I, and *1978-1979*, vol. I.

⁴⁴ Glaze Telephone Interview.

⁴⁵ Cooper Interview.

In addition to being underrepresented in non-teaching positions, blacks also said that they are not given equal opportunity in promotions. Since 1970, 29 professionals have been promoted (teacher to assistant principal and/or assistant principal to principal). The promotions included 24 whites and 5 blacks.⁴⁶ In one instance, a black principal died, and a white was promoted to fill the position. The chairman of the board of education explained the personnel action regarding the replacement of the deceased black principal:

The replacement of the deceased black principal with a white was consistent with the 70-30 percent white-black teacher ratio [requirement]. And there were no blacks ready to step up into a principal position.⁴⁷

However, according to one of the two black principals who is employed in the public school system, the procedure for selecting candidates has caused blacks to be overlooked for high-level positions:

Since integration, there has never been a black high school principal. I have more tenure than any other principal [white or black] in the Autauga [public] school system. Vacancies are never posted for positions, and there are no standard selection criteria. It really boils down to whom you know. I don't feel that the school board would hire a black high school principal. [A] white principal resigned, and the school board replaced the principal with a white who had not been in the Autauga [public school] system before. I was not aware of the vacancy until after the new person was put in.⁴⁸

Perhaps one reason that more blacks have not been promoted or appointed as assistant superintendents in the school system is that when desegregation occurred, some blacks were transferred or demoted in the Autauga public educational system. Despite the 1967 court order that prohibited the demotion of personnel because of race during the desegregation process,⁴⁹ some respondents who

were employed in the school system in 1970 described examples of black staff members who were transferred or demoted because of their race.⁵⁰ According to a black principal:

When integration first occurred the school board got rid of black principals, black coaches, and black school bands. Under segregation, I was a principal of a black school. Although I had a master's degree in supervision and administration, I was made an assistant principal under a white principal with a bachelor's degree in vocational agriculture. I was then appointed principal of Autaugaville Elementary School, replacing the black who is now the assistant superintendent.⁵¹

Another black principal concurred:

Prior to integration, Prattville Junior High had a black principal. After integration, the school got a white principal. The former black principal at the high school is now a principal at an elementary school.⁵²

It appears that in Autauga, compliance with *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* and the 1970 court order to desegregate the public educational system has been interpreted by the school officials as meeting the required 70-30 white-black ratio for teachers in the schools.⁵³ According to the chairman of the board of education:

Under the court order, each school is to maintain a 70-30 percent, white-black teacher ratio. But the ratio does not have to be maintained on a grade or classroom level. The board of education does not have to stick with the 70-30 percent [racial] ratio for support staff.⁵⁴

The black assistant superintendent added, "It is my understanding that all we have to do to comply with the court order is to meet the 70-30 ratio requirement for teachers."⁵⁵

Although the United States district court in *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* requested that public school teacher ratios by race be reported to the court,⁵⁶ the decision in the case did not limit the

⁴⁶ Glaze Telephone Interview.

⁴⁷ Powell Interview.

⁴⁸ Cooper Interview.

⁴⁹ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. at 489. The court ordered:

Teachers and other professional staff members will not be discriminatorily assigned, dismissed, demoted, or passed over for retention, promotion, or rehiring, on the ground of race or color. . . . If, as a result of desegregation, there is to be a reduction in the total professional staff. . . the qualifications of all staff members in the system will be evaluated in selecting the staff member to be released without consideration of race or color.

⁵⁰ Cooper Interview and Ziegler Interview.

⁵¹ Cooper Interview.

⁵² Ziegler Interview.

⁵³ Powell Interview and Glaze Interview.

⁵⁴ Powell Interview.

⁵⁵ Glaze Telephone Interview.

⁵⁶ The district court ordered the 99 school districts (through the State superintendent of education) to give to the clerk of the court: "(a) The number of students by race, in each grade of each school for the current school year; (b) The number of faculty members of each race, assigned to each school for the current school year, together with the number of faculty vacancies or new positions, by school, that have arisen or have been filled by the school board since the last report." Each school district must

responsibility for the desegregation of the Alabama public educational system to meeting teacher ratios in the schools. The court in *Lee* held:

In this area [staff desegregation], as in other areas, there is an affirmative duty on the part of these defendants, as well as on the part of other school officials throughout the State to desegregate staffs and faculties. This is . . . a constitutional duty apart from any [F]ederal regulatory scheme.⁵⁷

Except as teachers, blacks are underrepresented throughout the public school system in administrative, clerical, and other nonclassroom positions such as head coaches. Some respondents believe that more blacks could be hired and promoted to achieve effective school desegregation in Autauga's public educational system.⁵⁸

Private Education

Although whites control the public educational system in Autauga, many of the white residents send their children to the Autauga Private Academy, which offers grades 1 to 12. According to the chairman of the board of education, the private academies "sprung up" because of school desegregation:

Prior to the 1970 court order [to desegregate], under the freedom of choice plan, very few whites fled [from] the Autauga public schools. It was with the court-ordered geographic zones that the white flight occurred. When integration occurred, basically the white kids fled to private schools. There is a place for private schools, but not solely for segregation purposes.⁵⁹

The academy has become the primary educational institution for whites in Autauga who refuse to send their children to integrated schools.⁶⁰

The county also has "a host of private kindergartens."⁶¹ According to the chairman of the board of education, the State of Alabama has included kindergarten as part of the public school system. Under a 5-year plan, Autauga is to incorporate kindergarten

submit a report on or before June 15 of each year. *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. at 485. According to the black assistant superintendent, Autauga is required to report racial data on faculty and students only, and the officials have met this responsibility. Glaze Interview.

⁵⁷ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. at 473.

⁵⁸ Cooper Interview and Ziegler Interview.

⁵⁹ Powell Interview.

⁶⁰ Powell Interview. In 1979-80, 306 whites were enrolled at the Autauga Academy. There were 17 teachers, and 14 held valid Alabama certificates. State of Alabama, State Board of Education, *Annual Report 1980 Statistical and Financial Data for 1979-80*.

into its public educational system. During the 1981-82 school year, because of financial problems, the county had not provided public kindergarten classes for all eligible children.⁶² Since the school system was unable to provide kindergarten classes for all eligible children, Autauga operated a lottery system to determine who could attend public school kindergarten. According to the chairman, "I don't know of any other fair way to make public kindergarten available."⁶³ He explained that as a result of the lottery:

About 50 percent of the kids in Autauga attend [public] kindergarten. About one-third of the kids in Prattville attend public kindergarten, approximately 75 to 80 percent attend kindergarten in Marbury and Billingsley, and 100 percent in Autaugaville attend.⁶⁴

The lottery system did not appear to guarantee a fair representation of minority and white children in public kindergarten. One black educator was concerned about the lack of kindergarten opportunities for low-income persons, most of whom are black in Autauga. According to the respondent, such persons may not understand the lottery procedure or if they are unlucky in the lottery, are unable to send their children to a private kindergarten.⁶⁵ He noted:

The lottery system for kindergarten slots does not [automatically] cover all kindergarten-aged children. Parents must register their children for the lottery. I am not clear on how the system is set up to guarantee racial balance [among those who attend public kindergarten]. [The children of] families with limited financial resources miss out on [public school] kindergarten if they are not lucky in the lottery. [The parents] are unable to pay for private kindergarten. Children never seem to catch up [in school] if they miss out on kindergarten.⁶⁶

The black assistant superintendent confirmed that for the school year 1982-83 the lottery system had no provisions to ensure equal opportunity for all students to attend public kindergarten.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Malcolm Cain, assistant principal, Prattville High School, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 23, 1982.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Glaze Telephone Interview. The chairman of the school board reported that in the 1983-84 school year, all students who signed up for the lottery will be enrolled in public kindergarten. Beginning with the 1984-85 school year, all eligible children will attend public kindergarten, and the lottery system for public

Employment

Before 1960 Autauga County was mainly rural, with farming the principal industry. During the 1960s, industries began to locate in the Prattville area,⁶⁸ which became an important commercial and employment center for central Alabama.⁶⁹ In addition, the county seat began to emerge as a “bedroom community” for State and Federal employees who moved to Prattville and worked in Montgomery or at a nearby military installation.⁷⁰

However, the growth and industrial development of Prattville has not provided substantial employment opportunities for blacks in the county.⁷¹ According to the State of Alabama’s Department of Industrial Relations, in 1980, 2,850, or 25.1 percent, of the 12,630 persons in Autauga who were employed were black.⁷² The unemployment rate among blacks was 18.3 percent, more than triple the 5.8 percent rate for whites.⁷³

An analysis of occupational categories also indicates the depressed status of black employment in the county. In 1980 most of the whites in Autauga were employed in higher paying occupations, and blacks generally worked in lower paying jobs. For example, 90.2 percent of the professional and technical workers and 92.2 percent of the managers and administrators in Autauga were white. By contrast, 95.8 percent of the private household workers, 57.8 percent of the agricultural workers, and 52.3 percent of the laborers were black.⁷⁴ In 1980 the median family income in Autauga was \$20,451 for whites and \$8,952 for blacks.⁷⁵

kindergarten will no longer be used in Autauga. For the complete response of James T. Powell, chairman, Autauga County Board of Education, to these statements, see app. B.

⁶⁸ Prior to 1960 there were two companies in the county. By 1970 a total of nine major industries had located in Prattville. In 1981 five of the companies employed over 300 employees. The industries include cotton ginning machinery production companies, wood and paper mills, an agrichemical company, and sportswear and ladies’ apparel businesses. Alabama Electric Cooperative, Inc., Industrial Development Division, “Community Data: Prattville, Alabama,” February 1981; and Grasser Interview.

⁶⁹ Grasser Interview, Price Interview, and Phillip R. Acker, president, Autauga and Prattville Chamber of Commerce, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982 (hereafter cited as Acker Interview).

⁷⁰ Price Interview. In 1982, “about 50 percent” of the Prattville residents worked outside the city. Jim Striplin, chairman, Industrial Development Board of Prattville, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 24, 1982 (hereafter cited as Striplin Interview).

⁷¹ Grasser Interview. In 1979, 7.8 percent of the whites compared with 39.1 percent of the blacks in Autauga were below the poverty level. *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 187, p. 2-479.

Although blacks are employed at some of the larger companies, they are underrepresented in supervisory and managerial positions. For example, the Union Camp Corporation, one of the major paper manufacturing companies in the county, employed about 650 people in August 1982; approximately 190 were black. Although they were nearly 30 percent of the work force, of the 125 supervisors and managers, approximately 10 percent were black and 90 percent were white.⁷⁶ Thus, in terms of their total employment at the company, blacks were underrepresented as supervisors and managers. According to the industrial and public relations manager, “The company has an affirmative action plan. It has general goals for more black supervisors and top maintenance people.”⁷⁷ In 1982 the Gurney Manufacturing Company, which produces cotton apparel, employed approximately 400 persons; 60 percent were black. One of the company’s plants employed 132 blacks and 71 whites.⁷⁸ However, at that plant, all five managers were white and four of the six supervisors were white.⁷⁹ The Bush Hog Company, a ginning and textile company, employed approximately 400 people in 1982. Approximately 55 percent of the employees were white and 45 percent were black.⁸⁰ According to the one black among the seven supervisors at the company:

At Bush-Hog [Company], in 1968, there wasn’t a black supervisor at the plant. Since then, the plant has promoted three blacks to supervisory positions. Currently, there are

⁷² State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Autauga County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs*, 1981, table 2 (hereafter cited as *Autauga County Manpower Information*).

⁷³ *Ibid.* and *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 184, p. 2-428

⁷⁴ *Autauga County Manpower Information*, table 4.

⁷⁵ *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 186, p. 2-462.

⁷⁶ J.C. Foxworthy, manager, industrial and public relations, Union Camp Corporation, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982 (hereafter cited as Foxworthy Interview).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* For the complete response of J.C. Foxworthy, manager, industrial and public relations, Union Camp Corporation, to these statements, see app. B.

⁷⁸ R. Dean Mims, executive vice president, Gurney Manufacturing Company, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982 (hereafter cited as Mims Interview). The plant that is discussed is the Gloria Plant in Prattville.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* The Gloria Plant closed in September 1982. For the response of Larry W. Nobles, Gurney Industries, Inc., to these statements, see app. B.

⁸⁰ Corley Interview.

seven supervisors, but only one is black. A supervisor is the one who designates who will receive training.⁸¹

In addition to their limited employment opportunities in the county, blacks in Prattville have been denied equal opportunity within the city government. In 1981 the American Civil Liberties Union filed a charge of race discrimination, on behalf of three blacks, against all departments in the city of Prattville.⁸² In February 1981 the ACLU wrote the Civil Rights Division of the Office of Revenue Sharing requesting that the agency investigate discriminatory employment patterns in hirings and promotions in all the departments in the city of Prattville.⁸³

According to the ACLU letter to the Office of Revenue Sharing, 36 of the 200 city employees were black:

Upon close scrutiny, blacks have an equal opportunity only for dead-end jobs with a limited exception. The City of Prattville employs approximately two hundred employees, of this number, thirty-six are black. There is an alarming underrepresentation in the hiring of blacks in the Fire, Police and Executive Departments. All of the department heads [there are 11 departments in the city] are white with the exception of the Vehicle Maintenance Department. Of approximately ten employees in the Recreation Department, four are black, and they all are laborers [except one]. In the Sanitation Department, out of a total of thirty employees, only six are black and they all are laborers with the exception of a driver. In the Fire Department, out of a total of thirty-three employees, only one is black and he is employed as a fire medic. Of approximately forty-eight employees in the Police Department, only four are black; one is a corporal, two are patrolmen and one is a rookie.⁸⁴

In August 1982, 1½ years after the charge was filed, the number of blacks employed by the city had

not changed.⁸⁵ According to the Prattville mayor, who has served since 1980:

[I have] tried to hire blacks when openings occurred. [I have] tried to reach more blacks by advertising positions and by contacting [black] people to spread the word. However, there has not been turnover [in-city jobs]. The city does not have an affirmative action plan.⁸⁶

Although the mayor stated that a "turnover in city jobs" has not occurred since he has been in office, he said that he has had an opportunity to recommend or appoint 15 people for boards and other positions.⁸⁷ Yet, the number of blacks on boards or in city jobs has not changed since the case was filed.⁸⁸ At least one black community leader felt disappointed about the small number of blacks who work for the city government:

I campaigned for the [current] mayor of Prattville. He made promises to the black community during the election [and] has not lived up to them. There is [still] only one black in an office without a mop.⁸⁹

Economic Development

During the past decade most economic and industrial development in Autauga County has been in Prattville. The county seat has had an industrial development board since 1971, and all its members have been white.⁹⁰ In 1982 the industrial development board included eight white members who serve 6-year terms.⁹¹ During the past decade, the industrial board has been very active in the industrial development of the Prattville area.⁹²

In 1982, of the 170 companies that were members of the chamber of commerce, only 1 was black.⁹³ Two black businessmen do not feel that the Industrial Board of Prattville has encouraged or supported their participation in industrial development.⁹⁴ For

⁸¹ Willie L. Wood, Sr., community leader, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982 (hereafter cited as Wood Interview).

⁸² Reuben Harris, Jr., state coordinator, American Civil Liberties Union, letter to the U.S. Department of the Treasury, Office of Revenue Sharing, Civil Rights Division, Feb. 27, 1981, pp. 1-2 (hereafter cited as ACLU Letter).

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 1-2. According to Robert Clark, supervisor of Branch II, Office of Revenue Sharing, the Prattville case will be assigned to an investigator. Robert Clark, supervisor of Branch II, Office of Revenue Sharing, U.S. Department of the Treasury, telephone interview, Apr. 13, 1983. In July 1983 the Commission learned that the State of Alabama complaints had been assigned to another supervisor at the Office of Revenue Sharing. John Hanberry informed the Commission that the Prattville complaint had not been assigned to an investigator and that it probably would not be assigned before September 1983. John Hanberry, civil rights investigator and acting supervisor, Branch III, Office of Revenue Sharing, U.S. Department of the Treasury, telephone interview, July 13, 1983.

⁸⁴ ACLU Letter, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵ Price Interview.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Wood Interview. For the response of C. Gray Price, mayor of Prattville, to these statements, see app. B.

⁹⁰ Striplin Interview. The respondent said that there is a county industrial board, but it is not "functional."

⁹¹ Striplin Interview.

⁹² Ibid. and Acker Interview.

⁹³ Acker Interview.

⁹⁴ Alvin Thomas, general contractor, president of Thomas Construction Company, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982 (hereafter cited as Thomas Interview); and Reuben Gardner, contractor, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982 (hereafter

example, in 1982 one of the black businessmen who has been a contractor in Autauga for 18 years explained, "In the 18 years that I've been in the business, I have gotten two jobs from the city of Prattville."⁹⁵

The mayor of Prattville reported that bids for contracts are advertised at the city hall and through the mail, as is required by law. To be included on the bid mailing list, a request should be made to the city of Prattville.⁹⁶ At least one black businessman does not know about the procedure. He explained, "[I believe] bids for jobs are usually put through the probate judge's office in Prattville. Some jobs have been advertised and others were not."⁹⁷ This lack of knowledge may explain the difficulty that he has had in getting jobs and contracts from the city. One community leader concurred that it is difficult for blacks to get contracts in Prattville: "The city does not let black contractors know when jobs are up for bid. They usually must find work in other cities like Tuskegee or Montgomery."⁹⁸

Although Prattville has experienced industrial growth since 1968, the rest of the county has remained too underdeveloped for industry.⁹⁹ According to the executive director of the Central Alabama Planning Commission, "These areas need services and improved conditions; there is no capacity for industry. The [regional planning] commission has not done anything to prepare Autaugaville, for example, for industry."¹⁰⁰ He continued:

There is no sewer system in Autaugaville, and no real capacity for industry. Presently, Autaugaville is putting together a sewage package of its own. Our focus has been on raising the quality of life in Autaugaville. Employment opportunities are on a much smaller scale when compared to Prattville. Autaugaville has a broom and mop industry.¹⁰¹

Health Services

The medical services available in Autauga are primarily in Prattville. In 1982 Prattville had one

cited as Gardner Interview). In 1982 only 1 of the 170 companies that were members of the chamber of commerce was a black person or company. Acker Interview.

⁹⁵ In 1982 approximately 20 to 40 people worked for Thomas Construction Company; 85 percent were black. Thomas Interview.

⁹⁶ For the complete response of C. Gray Price, mayor of Prattville, to these statements, see app. B.

⁹⁷ Gardner Interview.

⁹⁸ Wood Interview.

⁹⁹ Grasser Interview.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

private hospital (the Autauga Medical Center), a county public health department, five white physicians, and eight white dentists.¹⁰² By 1982 Autaugaville and Billingsley each had a federally funded rural health clinic.¹⁰³ In August 1982 the clinic in Billingsley was temporarily closed. For the most part, the majority of whites go to the white physicians, and blacks have relied on the county public health department and the rural clinics for medical services.¹⁰⁴

The Autauga County Public Health Department offers such services as immunizations and family planning.¹⁰⁵ Since 1966 the staff at the public health department has increased from 4 to 22. Although 75 percent of the clients who used the health department in 1982 were black, the administrative and most of the professional staff were white. Only 3 of the 16 professional staff members were black—a part-time public health nurse and 2 full-time aides.¹⁰⁶

The Autaugaville Health Clinic, the only rural medical facility operating in Autauga in August 1982, opened in March 1981 with Federal funds and does not receive county financial assistance.¹⁰⁷ According to the nurse practitioner:

The clinic is separate from the county hospital and the public health department. Most of [our] cases involve respiratory problems and bronchitis. The clinic sees about 8 to 10 people a day. A physician comes to the clinic once a week. The clinic is for everyone. I estimate that about 50 percent of my patients are black and 50 percent are white. The only other places that residents [who live in this area] can go for medical services are Selma, Prattville, and Montgomery.¹⁰⁸

One respondent explained the importance of the Autaugaville Health Clinic, especially to blacks:

This is the only health facility [that is currently open] in the rural areas. I have used the medical clinic [in Autaugaville]. There would be serious health problems for blacks if the clinic ever closed.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Bobby Bryan, administrator, Autauga County Health Department, interview in Prattville, Ala., Aug. 24, 1982 (hereafter cited as Bryan Interview).

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. There was a black female physician who was hired through the National Service Corps. She left the clinic in March 1982.

¹⁰⁷ Carrie Barnes, nurse practitioner, Autaugaville Health Clinic, interview in Autaugaville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1982.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ De Borden Interview.

Federally supported medical programs and services may have helped to reduce the infant mortality rate for blacks in Autauga since 1970. From 1970 to 1972, before rural health services existed, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 18.3 for whites and 48.9 for nonwhites; from 1979 to 1981, the infant mortality rate was 5.7 for whites and 25.5 for nonwhites.¹¹⁰

Transportation to medical facilities is a problem for whites and blacks who live outside Prattville. With the closing of its health clinic, Billingsley residents must travel approximately 20 miles to the nearest hospital.¹¹¹ The county government is not currently involved in providing health services or transportation to health services in the county.¹¹² According to the chairman of the county commission, "The county commissioners do not have the knowledge to get involved in running a hospital."¹¹³

Summary

In Autauga, whites control all the political organizations of the county—the county commission, the municipal governments and governing boards, and the board of education. In addition, they own all the financial institutions and major businesses in the county, and control the major industrial development board in the county.

The county has been under a court order to desegregate its public school system since 1967.

¹¹⁰ Alabama Department of Public Health, Special Services Administration, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Alabama Vital Events for 1970*.

White officials have complied with the desegregation order by hiring the required percentage of black teachers, but blacks are underrepresented in all other positions.

Except for the county seat, Autauga has remained rural, underdeveloped, and without viable employment opportunities for the majority of blacks who live outside Prattville. The black unemployment rate is triple that of whites. Although industries offering different types of jobs have located in the county since the early 1960s, blacks are disproportionately represented in lower paying occupations, and whites are overrepresented in higher paying positions. In addition, blacks have been excluded from the planning of industrial efforts and are not benefiting from the economic growth that mainly has occurred in Prattville.

Health services are located chiefly in Prattville. In 1982 one rural health clinic was operating, and it is funded and operated by the Federal Government. Despite the need for more rural health services, the county government has not been active in providing health services or transportation for residents who live outside Prattville and need medical attention.

In summary, the concerns of blacks in Autauga have been neglected by whites who have political and economic control of the county. It does not appear that conditions will improve for blacks in Autauga in the near future.

¹¹¹ Corley Interview.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

3. Clarke County

Since blacks are not represented, they are never consulted or notified about decisions. They read about them in the newspaper. There is no real pressure to keep blacks back. It's done by just not thinking about blacks.

Jesse Robinson, Clarke County Commissioner

Introduction

Clarke County is in southwestern Alabama, approximately halfway between Montgomery, the State capital, and Mobile near the Gulf of Mexico. The county lies between two rivers, the Tombigbee on the west and the Alabama on the east. It is the fourth largest county in Alabama, encompassing 1,232 square miles. In 1980 its population was 27,702, 42.7 percent of which was black.¹ The number of persons in unincorporated areas of the county in 1980 was 14,276, or 51.5 percent of the county total.²

Blacks represented approximately 48 percent of the rural population in 1980.³

The urban population of Clarke County is centered chiefly in two cities, one at each end of the county. In 1980 Thomasville, in the north, had a population of 4,387, 42.8 percent black; Jackson, in the southern end of the county, had a population of 6,073, 34.2 percent black. The county seat, Grove Hill, halfway between Jackson and Thomasville, had a population of 1,912 (34.5 percent black). The other

two municipalities are Coffeerville, in the western end of the county near the Tombigbee River, with a 1980 population of 448 (35.5 percent black); and Fulton, with a population of 606 (32.2 percent black).⁴

Jackson, Thomasville, and Grove Hill are the major focal points of activity in the county. In many respects, they are both isolated from and in competition with each other. Each town has its own hospital and its own private academy. Thomasville has an independent public school system, separate from the rest of the county. Before the county industrial board was established, each of the five municipalities—Jackson, Thomasville, Grove Hill, Fulton, and Coffeerville—had its own voluntary industrial board. One source indicated that the county had failed to bring one particular company to the county

¹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p. 2-136 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. B).

² *Ibid.*

³ *1980 Census*, chap. B, table 53, p. 2-180.

⁴ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, Advance Reports, vol. 2, *Alabama*, table 1, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census of Population and Housing*).



because of the competition among the municipalities.⁵

From outward appearances, there have been significant changes for blacks in Clarke County in the past decade and a half in education, employment, and health care. Although the county has three private schools, the public schools are desegregated. Blacks are employed in apparel manufacturing and wood-related industries. Their health care needs are being met to a much greater extent than in the past. Moreover, in a county that is 50 percent white, blacks have begun to be elected to public office.

Despite these apparent gains, blacks have not achieved equal opportunity with whites. They are generally employed in lower status, lower paying occupations, and due to recent economic conditions, businesses employing a large number of blacks have laid off workers or even closed. According to the black county commissioner, "It is hard for blacks to move into new areas of employment."⁶ There are few black supervisors or managers. Although a few blacks have been elected to office, blacks have attained little political power. The few businesses they own are mostly very small operations that serve the needs of the black community. Blacks are generally ignored in decisions made concerning the county. The industrial development board and other policymaking bodies are controlled largely, if not wholly, by whites.

Clarke County is governed by a four-member county commission, elected by district, and a probate judge, elected at large, who serves as *ex officio* chairman of the commission.⁷ In 1971 Clarke County changed the method of election of county commissioners from district to at large. The change was not submitted to the Department of Justice for

clearance under section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, however, until 1978.⁸ The Department of Justice objected to the change,⁹ and Clarke County was required to hold district elections for county commission. In the 1981 elections a black was elected to the commission for the first time.¹⁰ The district he represents is about 67 percent black, but because the median age for blacks is much lower than for whites, the voting age population is closer to 50 percent black.¹¹

Clarke County and its municipalities are largely governed by whites. Since whites are a majority in the county and an even greater majority in the major municipalities, and since city elections are at large, blacks have had little success running for political office. Only two blacks—one in Thomasville¹² and one in Coffeetown¹³—serve on the city councils in the five municipalities. The scarcity of black elected officials also extends to the school boards, where one of four members on each school board is black.

Education

Clarke County has two public school systems—Clarke County Public Schools and the Thomasville City Schools. The Clarke County system, headquartered in Grove Hill, includes the entire county south of Thomasville. The Thomasville city system was established in 1962 to take advantage of Federal impact aid due to the location of a Federal military facility near the city. Apparently, Thomasville residents feared that the city schools would not receive their fair share of money if it were distributed by the Clarke County Public Schools.¹⁴ Although the military facility has since closed, Thomasville maintains a separate school system.

⁵ George F. Alford, Jr., executive director, Alabama Tombigbee Regional Commission, interview in Camden, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Alford Interview).

⁶ Jesse Robinson, member, Clarke County Commission, interview in Jackson, Ala., Sept. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Robinson Interview).

⁷ Robinson Interview; Fred L. Huggins, Clarke County probate judge, interview in Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Huggins Interview).

⁸ 42 U.S.C. §1973c (1976). Sec. 5 requires covered jurisdictions to submit proposed changes in voting rights laws to the U.S. Attorney General or to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia for preclearance. If the Attorney General objects to the proposed change, it cannot be put into effect. The burden of proof is on the jurisdiction to show that the change is not discriminatory in intent or in effect. A change to at-large elections, for example, would dilute the black vote in a county that has a voting age population less than 50 percent black, making it more difficult to elect blacks to political office.

⁹ Drew S. Days III, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, letter to Fred L. Huggins, Judge of Probate, Clarke County, Feb. 26, 1979.

¹⁰ Robinson Interview.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Charles Barron, council member, Thomasville City Council, interview in Thomasville, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Barron Interview).

¹³ Viola Pugh, secretary, Clarke County Alabama Democratic Conference, interview in Coffeetown, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Pugh Interview).

¹⁴ William Ricketts, superintendent, Clarke County Public Schools, interview, Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Ricketts Interview). In February 1983 Mr. Ricketts was replaced as superintendent by Melvin Joiner, former principal at Gilmore Elementary School in Jackson. Both Mr. Joiner and his replacement as principal at Gilmore are white.

Despite a 1967 district court order requiring schools to implement freedom of choice desegregation plans, the public schools in Clarke County in 1968 were virtually segregated.¹⁵ As a result of further desegregation orders, the public schools were desegregated by 1970. At the time of desegregation, many whites left the public schools to attend one of the county's three private academies. Despite the existence of these academies, in 1980 the public schools in Clarke County enrolled nearly three-quarters of the white students attending school in the county.¹⁶

Between 1970 and 1980, the percentage of blacks 25 years old or older who had completed high school increased by just over 50 percent, from 16.4 percent in 1970 to 25.8 percent in 1980. Whites are almost two-and-one-half times as likely as blacks to have completed high school. Clarke has not kept pace with the other counties in the study. In 1970 it was third among the 16 counties in the percentage of black high school graduates, but fell to number 14 by 1980.¹⁷

Public Education

In 1968 the public school enrollment in Clarke County schools was 43 percent white, with black students concentrated in 10 of the county's 15 schools. No whites attended any of these schools. Only 83 black students, or 2.4 percent of all black students, were enrolled in previously all-white schools.¹⁸ Between 1968 and 1970, when the schools were fully desegregated, there was a 48 percent loss in the number of white students attending Clarke County schools; 29.7 percent of the students in 1970 were white.¹⁹ According to the chairman of the Clarke County School Board, public officials either

supported school desegregation or remained neutral, but "there was not a whole lot of public support."²⁰

Many white parents took their children out of public schools when the desegregation order took effect, but later sent them back to the public schools, largely due to "economics," according to the former Clarke County school superintendent. In fact, between 1972 and 1975, the number of white students in the public schools increased by over 20 percent.²¹

Since that time, white enrollment has leveled off and now represents 32.1 percent of the total 4,340 students. Several of the small black schools have closed since 1968, and the county school system now has four elementary schools, two middle schools, and three high schools. Black enrollment at the schools ranges from 63 percent to 83 percent.²²

The percentage of black teachers in the county schools has decreased since 1968. Before desegregation, more than half the county's teachers (52.6 percent) were black.²³ After desegregation, the number of black teachers and white teachers decreased, but the decrease was much larger for blacks. Between 1968 and 1970 the number of white teachers decreased by 7.3 percent, and the number of black teachers fell by 23.8 percent.²⁴ Since 1970 the number of white teachers has increased by 15.7 percent, while the number of blacks has increased by 6.5 percent. During the 1982-83 school year, 45.6 percent of the teachers in the system were black.²⁵

Although two-thirds of the students and nearly half of the teachers in the school system are black, only two of the nine employees in the central

¹⁵ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala., 1967).

¹⁶ In the 1980-81 school year, 2,632 white students were enrolled in public schools in Clarke County. State of Alabama, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1981: *Statistical and Financial Data*, Enrollment 1980-81, pp. 31, 33 (hereafter cited as *Annual Report*, 1981). At the same time a total of 936 students (all white) were enrolled at the county's three private academies.

¹⁷ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 125, p. 2-381 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*); U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 182, p. 2-396 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C).

¹⁸ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary*

Schools in Selected Districts: Fall 1968, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *1968 OCR Data*).

¹⁹ Melvin W. Joiner, superintendent, Clarke County Department of Education, letter to Commission staff, Mar. 16, 1983 (hereafter cited as Joiner Letter).

²⁰ Robert F. Adams, chairman, Clarke County School Board, interview in Thomasville, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Adams Interview).

²¹ The enrollment data for 1972 are from U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Fall 1972*, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *1972 OCR Data*); 1975 enrollment data are from Joiner Letter.

²² Joiner Letter.

²³ *1968 OCR Data*.

²⁴ *1972 OCR Data*; Joiner Letter.

²⁵ Joiner Letter.

administrative office of the Clarke County Department of Education are black.²⁶ During the 1982–83 school year, there was only one black on the administrative staff.²⁷ In June 1983 the white supervisor of special education resigned and was replaced by a black man.²⁸ There are currently six white principals and three black principals; there were four black principals in 1970.²⁹ None of the black principals is at the high school level.³⁰

Until recently, blacks have not been represented on the county school board. Five school board members are elected by district. Although Thomasville has its own school system, it also has representation on the county school board. The Clarke County School Board chairman is from Thomasville, and his children attended public school there. He formerly represented Thomasville on the county board and when he was appointed to be chairman, a black man was appointed to fill the vacancy. The appointee later lost his bid for election to a white.³¹ In 1982 a black man ran unopposed both in the primary and general election for a seat on the school board to represent the Jackson district and is now the only black school board member. He explained: "I ran because there are a number of blacks in the schools and no black representation on the board. I hoped that blacks would feel less uncomfortable about appearing before the school board if a black were on the board."³²

The other school system in Clarke County—Thomasville city schools—is approximately 38 percent black. In 1968 the city had two schools—one white and one black—and the system was 42.8 percent black. From 1968 to 1970 the system operated under a "freedom of choice" plan, according to the superintendent.³³ In 1970 black students initiated a school boycott aimed at desegregating the schools. Although the schools became desegregated, blacks who participated in the boycott lost a year of

school.³⁴ At the time of desegregation, the school system closed the black school, made the white school an elementary school, and constructed a new junior-senior high school.³⁵

When the schools desegregated, many white students left the Thomasville city schools to attend Thomasville Academy.³⁶ Although no attendance figures are available for the academy, the Thomasville public school system has actually had an increase in both the number and percentage of whites. The number of white students increased from 923 in 1968³⁷ to 977 in 1980,³⁸ an increase of 5.9 percent. The percentage of white students in the schools during this period increased from 57.2 percent to 62.0 percent. By comparison, the population of the city of Thomasville went from 58 percent white in 1970³⁹ to 57.2 percent white in 1980.⁴⁰ Whites of school age (5–19) represented 51.7 percent of the total school-age population in 1981.⁴¹

Thus, not only has white enrollment increased, it is higher than before desegregation and exceeds the white proportion of school-age population by 10 percentage points. One possible explanation is that white students from neighboring Wilcox County may be attending Thomasville schools to escape the almost all-black Wilcox County public schools and to avoid the cost of tuition at private academies.⁴² While the Thomasville superintendent admitted that white students from Wilcox County "flooded the Thomasville schools" when the schools in Wilcox were integrated, he said that most of them had left Thomasville, presumably returning to Wilcox private academies. He said that Wilcox County residents cannot get bus transportation to Thomasville schools, but that "they may be coming with their own transportation." He said some Wilcox County residents also may have rented land or trailers on

²⁶ Melvin Joiner, superintendent of schools, Clarke County Department of Education, telephone interview, July 27, 1983 (hereafter cited as Joiner Interview).

²⁷ Joiner Letter.

²⁸ Joiner Interview.

²⁹ Joiner Letter.

³⁰ Ricketts Interview.

³¹ Adams Interview.

³² J.W. Andrews, school board member, interview in Jackson, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Andrews Interview).

³³ Robert T. Short, superintendent, Thomasville Public Schools, interview in Thomasville, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Short Interview).

³⁴ James Bell, chairman, Thomasville Alabama Democratic Conference, interview in Thomasville, Ala., Sept., 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Bell Interview).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Short Interview.

³⁷ 1968 OCR Data.

³⁸ Annual Report, 1981, p. 31.

³⁹ 1970 Census, table 31, p. 2–99.

⁴⁰ 1980 Census, chap. B, table 14, p. 2–10.

⁴¹ Ibid., table 39, p. 2–121.

⁴² Southern Regional Council, *A Decade of Frustrations: Black Belt Schools of Georgia and Alabama in the 1970's*, p. 3. Wilcox County borders Clarke County. Its schools are virtually 100 percent black, the white students opting for education at private academies or perhaps attending school in Thomasville, where the schools are majority white.

“this side of the county line” in order to send their children to Thomasville schools.⁴³

Not only has the proportion of black students in the schools declined since desegregation, the proportion of black teachers has declined to an even greater degree. Immediately following desegregation, the percentage of black teachers fell from 40.9 percent in 1968⁴⁴ to 34 percent in 1972.⁴⁵ The number and percentage of black teachers has continued to decrease since 1972, while the number of white teachers has increased significantly. Between 1972 and 1982, the number of black teachers in the system decreased by 18 percent.⁴⁶ By contrast, the number of white teachers increased 70 percent. Blacks now are only 20 percent of the teaching staff.

The school board in Thomasville consists of five members appointed by the city council. One black is currently on the board, the second one to serve in that capacity.⁴⁷

Private Education

Clarke County has three private academies, each offering kindergarten and grades 1 through 12. They are: Thomasville Academy, with a 1980 enrollment of 236; Grove Hill Academy, with a 1980 enrollment of 284, and Jackson Academy with a 1980 enrollment of 416.⁴⁸ Originally, the schools enrolled larger numbers of white students, but enrollments have declined as white students returned to the desegregated public schools.⁴⁹ The recently appointed superintendent of Clarke County schools believes that the public schools offer a more extensive program than the private schools. He said that private school students have higher average test scores because they are mostly from middle- and upper middle-income families. He said, “Our top students do just as well as their top students, and the public school students who go to college do just as well as their students who go to college.”⁵⁰

The superintendent indicated that the public schools are struggling to preserve integration and hopes that they do not become all black. Burdened by “limited financial help locally,” he says that he is

“doing everything possible to keep public support for the schools.”⁵¹

The school board chairman said that the private schools are not growing and that many students came back to the public schools “because of economics.” He said that the county “would not hire teachers who sent their children to private schools.” The chairman also stated that children of school board members were all enrolled in public schools.⁵²

The Thomasville school superintendent said that once students leave to go to private academies, they usually do not come back. He said, “If they leave, I don’t want them back.”⁵³ He estimated that 12 students per year might change from public to private school and vice versa. He believes that the Thomasville public schools compare favorably with the private academies in terms of faculty and curriculum.⁵⁴

With a student population of 6,500, Clarke County has two desegregated public school systems and three private academies. Although the city school system was apparently not set up to avoid desegregation, the white percentage of enrollment is much higher than in the county schools and exceeds by 5 percentage points the white percentage of population and by 10 percentage points the white percentage of school-age population. The city school system is 38 percent black, while the city’s population is 43 percent black. The county schools are 68 percent black compared to a 42 percent black population. The percentage of black teachers has decreased in both systems, but more dramatically in the city schools where the number of black teachers has fallen by nearly half since 1968. Blacks have not been able to obtain a significant number of administrative positions in either system (one in Thomasville, two in Clarke County). Blacks have also had only limited success in getting positions on the school board (one in each system).

The three private academies have had some effect on public schools, particularly in the Clarke County system. There is a fear that the Clarke County public schools will become increasingly black. Respondents familiar with the public schools believe that

⁴³ Short Interview.

⁴⁴ 1968 OCR Data, p. 5.

⁴⁵ 1972 OCR Data, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Barbara Mosley, Central Administrative Office, Thomasville School District, interview in Thomasville, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982.

⁴⁷ Short Interview.

⁴⁸ The Industrial Development Board of Clarke County, *Clarke County, Alabama*, “General Information” (n.d.).

⁴⁹ Ricketts Interview and Adams Interview.

⁵⁰ Joiner Interview.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Adams Interview.

⁵³ Short Interview.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the public schools compare favorably with the private academies in terms of staffing, facilities, and curriculum. They also believe that the public schools are often better off without students whose parents oppose school desegregation.

Employment

Employment in Clarke County, particularly for blacks, centers around the wood and apparel industries. In 1981, 37.0 percent of all workers and 75.6 percent of all manufacturing workers were employed in these two industries.⁵⁵ Very few blacks hold supervisory or management positions. According to the chairman of the Thomasville branch of the Alabama Democratic Conference, "Administrative positions are generally closed to blacks. The black percentage of supervisors is also very low."⁵⁶ Other types of jobs appear to be closed to blacks as well. Data collected by the Alabama Department of Industrial Relations for 1980 show that whites accounted for 67 percent of the labor force and held over 90 percent of all managerial and administrative jobs, sales jobs, clerical jobs, and professional and technical jobs (with the exception of teaching positions). Blacks predominated in durable manufacturing jobs (68 percent) and as nonfarm laborers (70 percent) and private household workers (97 percent).⁵⁷

Blacks appear to have been excluded entirely or hired infrequently for certain jobs. According to persons interviewed, blacks are seldom hired for jobs in city offices. Generally, banks often have one black teller at most, supermarkets tend to hire only one black cashier, and many stores hire only one black sales person.⁵⁸ Of 59 employees at the four branches of the Thomasville Bank, there were three black professionals and three black maids, as of September 1982. The bank formerly employed two black tellers. One resigned and the other was

promoted to computer operator.⁵⁹ The vacancy was subsequently filled by a black, so that there is currently one black teller.⁶⁰ The First Bank of Grove Hill has 2 black employees—a bookkeeper and a maid—out of a staff of 23.⁶¹

A large percentage of blacks have been unable to locate jobs in Clarke County. In 1970 the black unemployment rate was 4.5 percent, compared with 2.5 percent for whites.⁶² By 1980 the black unemployment rate was 13.1 percent compared to 7.7 percent for whites.⁶³ In May 1982 the unemployment rate had climbed to 14.8 percent overall, but it was reportedly much higher for blacks. Since then the situation has deteriorated even further. Two major manufacturers in Thomasville closed during 1982—the American Can Company which had between 50 and 75 employees, about half of whom were black males, and the Eagle Shirt Company with approximately 400 employees, about 65 percent of whom were black females.⁶⁴ By April 1983 the overall unemployment rate for Clarke County was 15.5 percent.

Income levels remain low for employed blacks. Median family incomes and poverty rates indicate clearly that blacks have gained little ground compared with whites in recent years. In 1970 median family income for blacks was \$3,511, 44.6 percent of the white median income of \$7,880.⁶⁵ By 1980 black median family income had risen to \$9,098, but this was still only 48.8 percent of the white median family income, which had risen to \$18,635.⁶⁶ Fully 55.2 percent of black families in Clarke County were in poverty in 1970⁶⁷ compared with 15.8 percent of white families.⁶⁸ In 1980 the percentage of persons in poverty for both groups had decreased, but for blacks the percentage remained almost four times that of whites: 45.5 percent for blacks and 12.0 percent for whites.⁶⁹

⁵⁵ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County Business Patterns, 1981* (1983), p. 34.

⁵⁶ Bell Interview.

⁵⁷ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Clarke County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs, 1981* (hereafter cited as *Clarke County Manpower Information*).

⁵⁸ Robinson Interview. Shirley Williams, meeting with community residents in Barlow Bend, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Williams, meeting in Barlow Bend).

⁵⁹ Adams Interview. In addition to being chairman of the Clarke County School Board, Mr. Adams is also president of the Thomasville Bank.

⁶⁰ Robert F. Adams, president, Bank of Thomasville, letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 25, 1983. For the complete response of Mr. Adams to those statements, see app. B.

⁶¹ John H. Becton, chairman, Industrial Development Board of Clarke County, and executive vice president, The First Bank of Grove Hill, interview in Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Becton Interview). For the response of Mr. Becton to these statements, see app. B.

⁶² *1970 Census*, table 121, p. 2-357, and table 126, p. 2-387.

⁶³ *Clarke County Manpower Information*.

⁶⁴ Bell Interview and Barron Interview.

⁶⁵ *1970 Census*, table 124, p. 2-375, and table 128, p. 2-399.

⁶⁶ *1980 Census*, table 186, p. 2-464.

⁶⁷ *1970 Census*, table 124, p. 2-375, and table 128, p. 2-399.

⁶⁸ *1970 Census*, table 128, p. 2-399.

⁶⁹ *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 187, p. 2-481.

Clarke County has a number of large employers, including Scotch Lumber Company in Fulton, Allied Paper in Jackson, and Vanity Fair in Jackson.⁷⁰ In addition, companies in nearby counties, such as MacMillan-Bloedell in Wilcox County, employ significant numbers of Clarke County residents.⁷¹

Although jobs are available in Clarke County, many blacks believe that a black applicant must know someone working in a particular company or must receive a recommendation from a white official.⁷² Jobs are seldom advertised, and the average black would not hear of most job openings. According to the black city councilman in Thomasville, “you have to have a sharp ear” to learn of job vacancies.⁷³ Another respondent said that employers “never touch base with black organizations” concerning job vacancies, but that most vacancies are filled by word-of-mouth advertising.⁷⁴ A black school board member said, “Employers never ask the black community about recommending employees” and often to get a job, “You have to know someone on the inside.”⁷⁵ One large employer told Commission staff that when hiring, it would first “look at rehires” who had previously worked for the company, and then would rely on current employees to recommend applicants: “Current employees know how difficult the job is, and have an idea of whether the people they know can do the job.”⁷⁶

Obtaining a job with a particular company may also depend upon receiving a recommendation from a white official. In one instance, a woman who applied for a job with Vanity Fair Mills in Jackson told Commission staff that she listed three respected black leaders as references. Rather than contact the persons listed, the company’s personnel officer apparently requested a recommendation from the

mayor of Coffeeville, where the applicant lives. Although the mayor did not know her, he sent a letter of recommendation to the applicant to be submitted to the company.⁷⁷ According to a company spokesman, five references—two black and three white—were listed on the original application, and the company sent reference forms to “two reputable citizens in the Coffeeville area, one black and one white.”⁷⁸

Another employment barrier cited by county residents is the State employment service in Jackson. A number of residents recounted their experiences of registering with the employment service and never hearing from them or of being sent only to menial or low-paying jobs, along with other blacks.⁷⁹

During the last 15 years, black employment in the county government increased substantially. In 1968 only three blacks—all janitors—were employed in the county government.⁸⁰ Blacks are still employed at a rate much lower than their percentage in the county, however. Approximately one-fourth of the 82 employees in the county government are black.⁸¹ Most of the black employees hold low-paying, low-status jobs such as laborer, truck driver, equipment operator, or custodian.⁸² The median biweekly income for blacks in the county government is approximately \$390, and for whites it is about \$427. Only one black earns more than \$500 biweekly, while nine whites earn more than \$500. Eight whites earn more than the highest paid black, and of the 15 highest paid staff members, only 1 is black.⁸³ Three of the six employees in the probate judge’s office are black.⁸⁴

The situation in the city governments is similar. Blacks generally have low-paying, low-status jobs

⁷⁰ Richard M. Kinne, *An Economic Profile of Clarke County, Alabama* (Camden, Ala.: Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission, December 1980), pp. 11–12.

⁷¹ Bell Interview.

⁷² Pugh Interview; Williams, meeting in Barlow Bend.

⁷³ Barron Interview.

⁷⁴ Bell Interview.

⁷⁵ Andrews Interview.

⁷⁶ Joseph R. Nichols, personnel manager, Vanity Fair Mills, Inc., interview in Jackson, Ala., Sept. 16, 1982.

⁷⁷ Pugh Interview.

⁷⁸ Roy H. Ezell, Jr., plant manager, Vanity Fair Mills, Inc., letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 23, 1983. For the complete response of Mr. Ezell to these statements, see app. B.

⁷⁹ Williams, meeting in Barlow Bend; Edna Jackson, meeting with community residents in Barlow Bend, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982. Vera Burroughs, meeting with community residents in Grove

Hill, Ala., Sept. 16, 1982. The State employment service indicated that, because of the recent recession, most job referrals through that office were “minimum wage or slightly above wage.” Charles M. Rotch, manager, employment security office, Alabama State Employment Service, letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 1, 1983. For the complete response of Mr. Rotch to these statements, see app. B.

⁸⁰ Fred L. Huggins, judge of probate and chairman, Clarke County Commission, letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 23, 1983 (hereafter cited as Huggins Letter).

⁸¹ List of county employees and salaries, untitled, undated, supplied by Jesse Robinson, county commissioner.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Huggins Letter. For the complete response of Mr. Huggins to these statements, see app. B.

and are seldom hired to work in city offices where they would be more visible. All three women working as clerks in the administrative department at city hall in Jackson, as well as the municipal court clerk, are white.⁸⁵ A school board member said that blacks can get jobs with the city government as laborers, but not as office workers.⁸⁶

Since 1968 the socioeconomic status of blacks has improved slightly, but there has been little change relative to whites. Unemployment rates remain substantially higher for blacks than for whites. Blacks who work in private industry are relegated to low-paying jobs and are seldom in supervisory positions. Blacks are largely excluded from city employment as well, particularly from office work. The lack of well-paying employment opportunities, the high unemployment rate, and the dependence upon industries that are basically declining have combined to make Clarke County and blacks in Clarke County look to expanding job opportunities through industrial development.

Economic Development

Efforts by the county to encourage more industry, particularly more diversified industries, have not been particularly successful. Furthermore, most of those efforts have excluded blacks entirely. Until recently, attempts to encourage industry to move to Clarke County were made primarily through voluntary industrial development boards within each of the five incorporated towns in the county: Thomasville, Jackson, Grove Hill, Coffeeville, and Fulton.⁸⁷

The lack of a countywide effort made it extremely difficult to attract industry⁸⁸ and, in at least one instance, resulted in a firm's decision to locate in another county.⁸⁹

In 1980 a countywide board was established with a paid director to recruit new industry.⁹⁰ The Clarke County Industrial Board has nine members,

⁸⁵ Robinson Interview.

⁸⁶ Andrews Interview. For the response of James E. Arrington, mayor, Jackson, Ala., to these statements, see app. B.

⁸⁷ Huggins Interview.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Alford Interview.

⁹⁰ Huggins Interview.

⁹¹ Mae Carol Hill, executive director, Industrial Development Board of Clarke County, interview in Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Hill Interview). John H. Becton, chairman, Industrial Development Board of Clarke County, letter to John Hope III, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 22, 1983. For the complete response of Mr. Becton to these statements, see app. B.

⁹² The Rev. Herman Steele, pastor, Union Baptist Church,

including a chairman. One member is appointed by each county commissioner and one by each of the five town councils. All current members are white—seven males and two females—and the executive director is a white woman.⁹¹ There have never been any blacks on the board.⁹²

On the surface, Clarke County appears ripe for economic development and attractive to many industries desiring to relocate. According to the chairman of the industrial development board, "There are no real drawbacks" for industries contemplating such a move. The county has "people who are willing to work," a favorable climate, and low taxes.⁹³ The industrial development board worked with the city of Thomasville in its attempt to be included on the State's "List of Prepared Cities for Industrial Development."⁹⁴ To be put on the list, a city or county must take a number of steps to demonstrate that it is prepared for industrial growth, including having an available site with adequate infrastructure.⁹⁵ Both the city of Thomasville and Clarke County recently made the list.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Hobson State Technical College in Thomasville offers vocational training in a number of areas, including welding, diesel mechanics, accounting, cabinetmaking, and nursing. Nevertheless, according to the executive director of the industrial development board, while people in the county have "marketable skills, there is no job market."⁹⁷ An official at Hobson State agreed with that assessment: "Jobs are not now available in Clarke County. There is an out-migration of trained people to other areas of the State and the country."⁹⁸

County officials admitted that there were certain problems in attempting to attract industries. Chief among these is the lack of industrial sites that have the requisite infrastructure for most industry. The county currently has only one such site available, and it has been attempting to market that site. The

Coffeeville, Ala., community meeting in Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 16, 1982 (hereafter cited as Steele, meeting in Grove Hill).

⁹³ Becton Interview.

⁹⁴ Hill Interview.

⁹⁵ Joe Sills, former community development program director, Alabama Development Office, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982.

⁹⁶ John Hawthorne, community development program director, Alabama Development Office, telephone interview, Apr. 21, 1983.

⁹⁷ Hill Interview.

⁹⁸ Jack Kirby, dean of instruction, Hobson State Technical College, telephone interview, May 16, 1983.

former owner of the company located there had defaulted on a loan from the Economic Development Administration (EDA), which now owns the property since the owner went bankrupt about 5 years ago. The county has received a verbal commitment from EDA to sell the site to the county for \$414,000. The county has thus far received \$350,000 in the form of community development block grant discretionary funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for that purpose.⁹⁹

All the county lacks is an industry willing to move there. The chairman of the industrial development board commented that one of the most limiting factors to industrial development is the county's "not having the money to get options on land sites."¹⁰⁰

Other negative factors cited in attempting to attract industry were that the county lacks "cultural activities and certain amenities,"¹⁰¹ and that the county is halfway between but distant from either of the two major business centers, Montgomery and Mobile.¹⁰²

Presumably because they lack both political and economic power, blacks have been given little opportunity to work on the problem of economic development, even though they hope to gain from any job expansion. They are not represented on the board and are ignored in the policymaking process. One of the most frequent complaints from blacks in Clarke County is that they are not considered when decisions are to be made. One black minister said that the "black community is completely left out. Blacks never know what is going on."¹⁰³

Black economic development is almost nonexistent in the county. The few black businesses, according to white and black respondents, generally employ fewer than three employees. These businesses are basically those that serve the needs of the black community, such as small grocery stores, dry cleaning establishments, a drug store, an insurance company, and funeral homes.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Huggins Interview.

¹⁰⁰ Becton Interview.

¹⁰¹ Hill Interview.

¹⁰² Becton Interview.

¹⁰³ Steele, meeting in Grove Hill.

¹⁰⁴ Huggins Interview and Bell Interview.

¹⁰⁵ Figures come from U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, *Federal Outlays in Alabama: A Report of the Federal Government's Impact by State, County and Large City*, Fiscal Year 1970 (Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Service, 1971), p. 38; and U.S., Community Services Administration, *Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds in Alabama*, Fiscal Year 1980

Health Services

The availability of health care for blacks in Clarke County has improved considerably since 1968. At that time, Alabama refused most Federal funds, such as medicaid, that would have provided services to black residents. Clarke County residents who were unable to pay for health services, particularly blacks who were disproportionately in poverty, had few or no health services available to them. The only free services were programs such as immunizations and inoculations carried out by the county public health service. Today, the public health service carries out a number of functions funded by the Federal Government, including screening of medicaid applicants to determine eligibility, the supplemental food program for women, infants, and children (WIC), and the maternal and child health program.

The amount of Federal money available for these services and for a variety of other programs aimed at improving nutrition has increased dramatically since 1970. For example, in 1980, the county received \$2.4 million in medicaid funds compared with less than \$0.5 million in 1970; school lunch program funds increased from \$69,000 to \$629,000; the school breakfast program from 0 to \$139,000; and food stamp payouts from 0 to \$2.6 million.¹⁰⁵ Although these figures do not necessarily mean that health care has improved for blacks, it does mean that health and nutritional services are available, where very few or none were available in 1968.

Other indicators of the availability of health care are the ratio of doctors and hospital beds to the population. On both of these measures, the county is below the statewide average. In 1980 the county had 15 doctors, 1 for every 1,847 residents.¹⁰⁶ The State rate is 1 doctor for every 845 residents.¹⁰⁷ The county had 126 hospital beds, or 4.5 for every 1,000 persons. The State average is 5.3.¹⁰⁸ The county also has 7 dentists and 66 registered nurses.¹⁰⁹ Another indicator of the quality of health care is the infant mortality rate. Although the number of infant deaths

(Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Service, n.d.), "Federal Information Exchange System, County Summaries—Agency Operations," p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Figures compiled from State of Alabama, Office of State Planning and Federal Programs, *Alabama County Data Book: 1981* (August 1981), p. 50 (hereafter cited as *Alabama County Data Book*) and *1980 Census*, chap. B, table 14, p. 2-11.

¹⁰⁷ *Alabama County Data Book*, p. 50; and *1980 Census*, chap. B, table 14, p. 2-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Alabama County Data Book*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

per 1,000 live births has fallen considerably, it is still over seven times as high for blacks as for whites. During 1970–72, the rate was 10.7 for whites and 37.8 for blacks. For 1979–1981, the rates had fallen to 2.8 for whites and 20.5 for blacks.¹¹⁰

Clarke County has three hospitals, one in each of the three major municipalities—Thomasville, Grove Hill, and Jackson. Until recently, all three hospitals were obligated under the Federal Hill-Burton Act to provide free services to indigent community residents.¹¹¹ Two of the hospitals have been sold to private concerns, thus releasing them from this obligation, so that Grove Hill is the only hospital now required to provide free care.¹¹²

Other than the operation of Federal programs, the public health clinic does not provide primary health care. The main office is in Grove Hill (open daily) with subclinics in Jackson, open one day a week, and in Thomasville, which is open twice a month. The staff has no doctors and, as of September 1982, no full-time nurses. Although Hobson State in Thomasville has a program for training licensed practical nurses, the health department requires its nurses to be registered nurses.¹¹³

Despite improved medical services and the apparent proliferation of available services, the lack of transportation makes it difficult to deliver those services to the people, particularly to rural blacks. Clarke County is the fourth largest county in the State in area, containing 1,232 square miles, and is as much as 50 miles from north to south and 40 miles east to west. Nevertheless, the public health service does not provide any transportation to and from the clinics nor are there any mobile units providing medical service. The county provides a van for older persons who have scheduled appointments. Emergency transportation is provided by a private ambulance service because there is no rescue squad in the county.¹¹⁴

Summary

Clarke County is unique among the counties visited by Commission staff. The population is

¹¹⁰ Alabama Department of Public Health, *Alabama's Vital Events for 1981* (n.d.), table 5-20, "Infant Mortality and Infant Mortality Rates by County and PHA, Alabama, 1981," p. 126.

¹¹¹ The Hill-Burton Act requires any hospital that receives Federal construction funds to provide a "reasonable volume of services" free of charge to those unable to afford the cost of hospital care. 42 U.S.C. §§291c(e), 291e(b)(3) (1976); 42 U.S.C.A. §300s (Supp. V 1981); 42 C.F.R. 53.111(a).

¹¹² William J. Coleman, health services administrator, Clarke

majority (57 percent) white and the schools are desegregated, despite the existence of three private schools. Clarke County offers a large number of employment opportunities, and other major employers are within commuting distance in neighboring counties. The county also appears to be in a good position for stimulating and handling economic and industrial growth.

The situation is not all positive, however. Great disparities still exist between blacks and whites in income, employment, and health status. Many blacks are still unable to find jobs, since most jobs are filled by word of mouth. Most blacks work in the most menial and lowest paying occupations. It is difficult, if not impossible, for blacks to gain access to certain types of occupations. There appears to be a "quota" or maximum on certain professional occupations or jobs with high visibility. The attitude still seems to prevail that too many blacks in relationship to whites in some occupations would be undesirable.

Furthermore, the types of industry in Clarke County that employ the largest proportion of blacks are not growth industries and have been hard hit during the recent recession. Despite the county's efforts to attract industry, it has been largely unsuccessful in bringing in an industry that could hire currently unemployed workers. In addition, economic development efforts have excluded blacks almost entirely.

In terms of health, federally funded health and nutrition services have made better health care available to blacks in the county. Nevertheless, vast improvements need to be made. For example, the ratio of medical personnel and hospital beds to the population remains far below the statewide average. Infant mortality rates have been reduced dramatically, but the rate for blacks is still significantly higher than that for whites. Lack of transportation has made it difficult for many rural blacks to take advantage of improved health care services.

On balance, then, blacks in Clarke County appear to be better off than they were when the Commission visited the area in 1968. Appearances may be

County Health Department, interview in Grove Hill, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Coleman Interview); Sara Boykin and Mary Ann Corbett, Legal Services Corporation, interview in Jackson, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982. According to legal services staff, the application to buy the Thomasville Hospital was turned down by the State of Alabama. Mary Ann Corbett, staff attorney, Legal Services Corporation, letter to Commission staff, Oct. 19, 1982.

¹¹³ Coleman Interview.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

deceiving, however: on almost every indicator of well-being—in income and employment, in education, in health care—blacks remain far behind whites and have gained little ground in the last 15 years. Discrimination, while not practiced as openly as it once was, still appears to play a role, particularly in the area of employment. Furthermore, blacks have had difficulty establishing a political base to elect more than a few blacks to public office. The belief

prevails among blacks that whites are in charge and have the political and economic power to determine for the most part how educational resources and employment opportunities are to be distributed. Evidence gathered by Commission staff and others clearly demonstrates that much remains to be done to bring about an equitable distribution of opportunities for all Clarke County residents.

4. Greene County

Blacks in Greene have had political control in the county for approximately 12 years, and there has been progress in the areas the Commission is studying. However, this political control is somewhat a false impression because whites control Eutaw, the county seat. Whites also control the economic power base of the county.

John Zippert, Greene County Economic and Industrial Board

Introduction

Greene County, an area of about 627 square miles, is in central-west Alabama about 45 miles south of Tuscaloosa. In 1970, 75.4 percent of the 10,650 persons who lived in Greene were black. By 1980, 78 percent of the 11,121 persons who lived in Greene were black.¹ Although the county is rural, it has four incorporated towns—Eutaw, the county seat, Boligee, Forkland, and Union. The majority of blacks live in the unincorporated areas of the county. In 1980, 7,626 or 69.2 percent of Greene's residents lived in unincorporated areas, and 6,588 or 86.4 percent of them were black.²

With the advent of the Voting Rights Act of 1965,³ blacks in Greene County exercised their right to vote, and since 1970, they have held positions on

the county commission and the board of education.⁴ In 1982 all five county commissioners in Greene were black. Before 1970, when whites controlled the county government, housing for many blacks was substandard, and there were no county health services, transportation, or water systems in Greene.⁵ Since blacks have had political power, the county government has provided standard housing for displaced tenant farmers, helped to establish a health clinic for residents, and developed plans for countywide transportation and sewage systems. Many of these services in Greene were made possible with Federal financial assistance.⁶

The five black county commissioners are responsible for governing and providing services to the majority-black, unincorporated areas of Greene.

¹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population, Alabama*, table 35, p. 2-116 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*) and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p. 2-140.

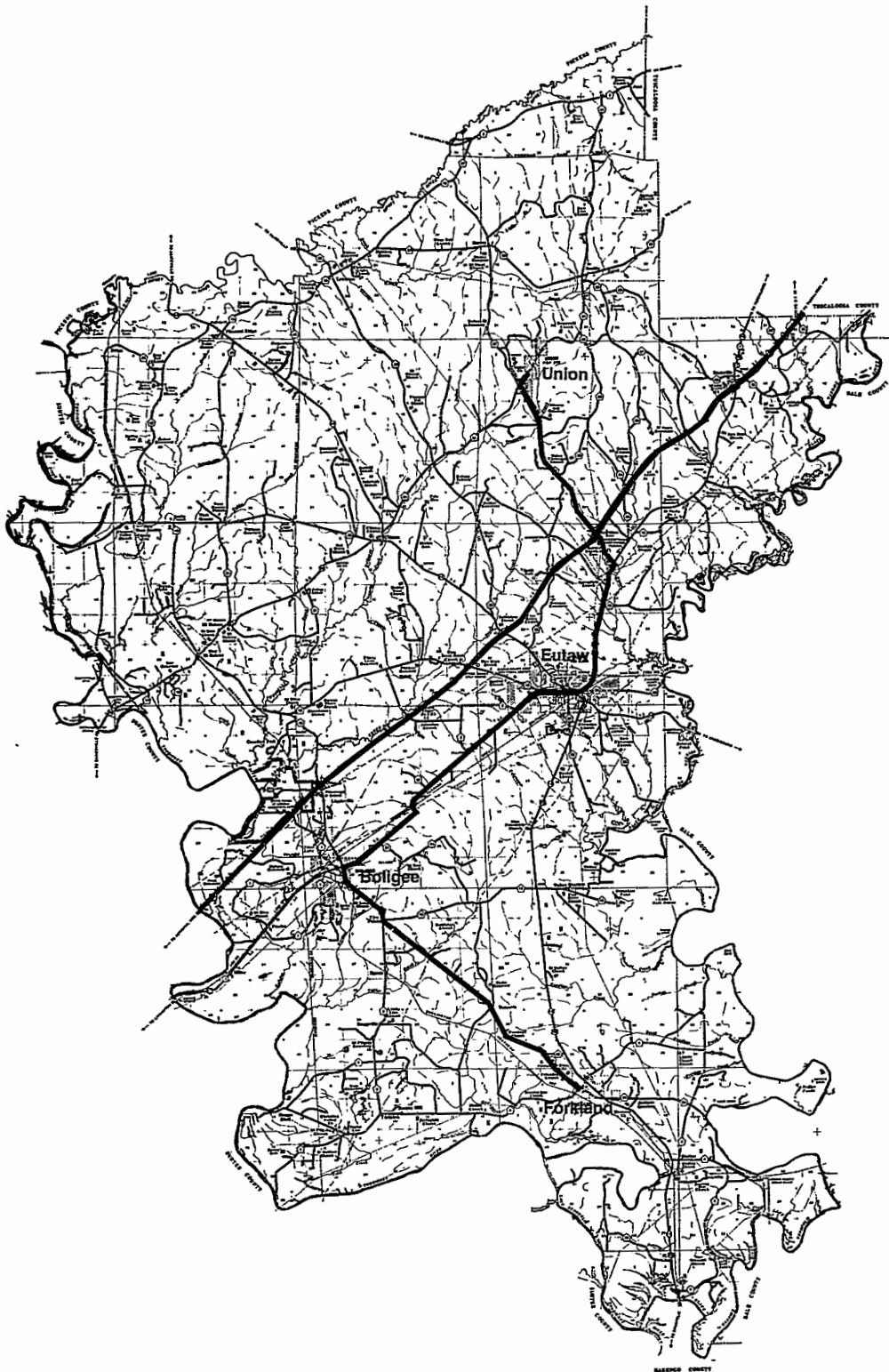
² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, Advance Reports, vol. 2, *Alabama*, table 2, pp. 15, 16 and 19 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census of Population and Housing*).

³ 42 U.S.C. §1971-1973 (1976 & Supp. V 1981).

⁴ William Branch, probate judge and chairman, Greene County Commission, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Branch Interview).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* L.H. Rodgers, home agent, cooperative extension program, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Rodgers Interview); and Booker T. Cooke, Jr., executive director, Greene County Planning and Development Council, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Cooke Interview).



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
GREENE COUNTY
ALABAMA

Whites do not participate in the county government, but they govern Eutaw, the county seat. Whites also own most of the land and the county's bank, which is the only lending institution in the county. Thus, while blacks have made political gains in Greene since the Commission last studied the area, they do not have economic power in Greene nor do they have a political voice in the county seat, which is also the industrial center of the county.

Greene County has a segregated school system whereby whites send their children to the county's private academy, and blacks attend the public schools. Blacks use the health services in the county, but whites prefer white private physicians or medical services outside Greene.

Although services such as sanitation have been provided in the unincorporated areas since blacks made political gains, blacks in the county remain poor and are isolated from the mainstream of the rest of the county.⁷ In these areas, most of the land is owned by whites, and blacks either own small farms or are tenant farmers. Most blacks are unskilled workers and do not have the transportation to go outside the county to work.⁸ According to the chairman of the county commission:

Currently, the burden is on the county government to provide services that affect the majority of blacks. If the city governments had more initiative to work with the county, then more could be done. Whites own the land and control the only bank in Greene which is in Eutaw. We could do so much more if blacks and whites worked together in Greene.⁹

Eutaw is the largest incorporated town in Greene and is the industrial center of the county. In 1980, 2,444 people lived in the county seat. Although blacks constituted 52.2 percent of the town's popula-

tion in 1980, Eutaw was governed by a white mayor and an all-white city council in 1982.¹⁰ Blacks have not had a voice in the political or economic activities in the county seat. According to the chairman of the county commission, "Blacks have run for city offices, but have not been successful."¹¹

Some black respondents believed that whites want to keep the county seat under white control.¹² For example, approximately 5 years ago, residents in two predominately black communities—Branch Heights and Martin Luther King Village—requested annexation to Eutaw, but the request was denied.¹³ According to one black businessman, these communities are less than 1 mile outside Eutaw and receive some of the city's services.¹⁴ Another respondent said that the annexation of the two predominately black communities would have made blacks the majority of the voting age population in the county seat.¹⁵ The current mayor of Eutaw said that the request for the annexation was denied because of legal reasons.¹⁶

The focus of Greene's economic and industrial development efforts has been in Eutaw. The county seat has an industrial site, a sewage system, and an infrastructure that is necessary for the location of an industry.¹⁷

The other three municipalities in Greene are Boligee, Union, and Forkland. In 1980 Boligee had a population of 164 people, 49.4 percent black.¹⁸ Boligee has a white mayor and five white city councilmembers.¹⁹ The mayor of Boligee said, "No black in Boligee has ever run for any office."²⁰ Boligee is an agricultural and aquacultural (fish farming) community. According to the mayor:

More blacks in Boligee are unemployed than whites. There is no industry now. Farming is the main occupation.

⁷ Wilma Womack, home agent, cooperative extension program, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Womack Interview).

⁸ Branch Interview.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 16.

¹¹ Branch Interview.

¹² Louis Barnett, general manager, Elocin Apparel Company, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Barnett Interview); John Zippert, secretary, Greene County Economic and Industrial Board, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as John Zippert Interview); Spiver Gordon, president, Greene County chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 17, 1982 (hereafter cited as Gordon Interview); Branch Interview; Barnett Interview; Cooke Interview; and Rodgers Interview.

¹³ Gordon Interview, Barnett Interview, and Joe L. Sanders, mayor of Eutaw, telephone interview, July 27, 1983 (hereafter cited as Sanders Telephone Interview).

¹⁴ Barnett Interview.

¹⁵ Gordon Interview.

¹⁶ Mayor Sanders said that he was not in office when the residents requested annexation. However, he believed that the request was denied because "it wasn't legal for them [the communities] to be incorporated into Eutaw." Sanders Telephone Interview.

¹⁷ Branch Interview. Luther Howell, executive director, the Greene County Economic Industrial Board, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 13, 1982 (hereafter cited as Howell Interview). In August 1982, Eutaw was placed on Alabama's "List of Prepared Cities for Industrial Growth."

¹⁸ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 15.

¹⁹ A.L. Lavender, mayor, telephone interview, Sept. 23, 1982 (hereafter cited as Lavender Interview).

²⁰ Ibid.

Whites own their land, but blacks own the homes, and not the land. I would say that whites own 500 to 2,000 acres of land compared with 40 to 500 acres owned by blacks. Forty acres are not enough to farm. A farmer needs at least 1,000 acres to live comfortably.²¹

The town of Forkland had a population of 429 persons in 1980, 73.6 percent black.²² Forkland has a black mayor, four black city councilmen, and one white city councilman.²³ In 1980 Union had a population of 358 people, approximately 84 percent black.²⁴ It has a black mayor, four black city councilmen, and one white city councilman.²⁵ Union has no industry, and many of the residents either farm or work in Tuscaloosa.²⁶

Education

Before integration, whites controlled the public educational system in Greene. Some blacks in the county felt that when whites administered school policies, the educational needs of blacks were often ignored, and they were "shortchanged" in opportunities and funds under the dual system of education.²⁷ The disparate treatment of blacks under the dual system was reflected in the low percentage of blacks with a high school education. In 1970, for example, 62.1 percent of the whites aged 25 and older had a high school education, but only 10.8 percent of the blacks had a high school education.²⁸ After school desegregation, blacks became the overwhelming majority in the public school system, and since their election to the school board, the percentage of blacks with high school diplomas has increased. For example, in 1980, 28.6 percent of the blacks and 68.2 percent of the whites aged 25 and older had a high school education.²⁹

After the *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* decision, which ordered school desegregation in 99

Alabama school systems,³⁰ whites left the public schools, and the majority of the white children have been attending Warrior Private Academy.³¹ Blacks have been elected to the public school board in Greene County since 1966,³² and in 1982, there were five blacks on the board of education and a black superintendent of public schools.³³

Public Education

Since the white flight to the academy, Greene's public school enrollment has ranged from 95 to 99 percent black, and the faculty has been 80 percent or more black.³⁴ In September 1982, 99 percent of the 2,545 students enrolled in Greene's public schools were black.³⁵

During segregation, whites administered public school funds, and two black respondents who worked in the dual school system felt that blacks did not get "a fair share."³⁶ Black school officials have used Federal funds to provide educational programs and improve facilities. According to a former school board member:

There have been improvements in facilities, structure, and quality of the schools since blacks have controlled the public school system. There has been more use of Federal programs and monies to improve public education for blacks than were available under white school officials.³⁷

One black high school principal agreed:

I have witnessed positive improvements in our school system, especially during the years 1970 to 1979, because of supportive educational programs, improved construction of schools, preschool and nutritional programs, and the construction of a vocational high school that were made possible with Federal funds.³⁸

During the 1980-81 school term, the public educational system received over \$2 million in Federal

²¹ Ibid.

²² *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 16.

²³ Branch Interview.

²⁴ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 2, p. 19.

²⁵ Branch Interview.

²⁶ Amanda Burton, community leader, interview in Union, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982.

²⁷ Branch Interview. O.B. Harris, former chairman, Greene County Board of Education, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Harris Interview).

²⁸ *1970 Census*, tables 120 and 125, pp. 2-352 and 2-382.

²⁹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alabama*, table 182, p. 2-401 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C).

³⁰ 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala., 1967) (three-judge court), *aff'd sub nom.*, *Wallace v. United States*, 389 U.S. 215 (1967).

³¹ Branch Interview.

³² The first black school board member in Greene was elected in 1966. Harris Interview.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Harris Interview, and see U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial Ethnic Groups, Fall 1970-1978*.

³⁵ Inez P. Singleton, Federal program coordinator and assistant to the superintendent of public schools, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Singleton Interview).

³⁶ Harris Interview. Eunice Outland, principal, Eutaw High School, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 17, 1982 (hereafter cited as Outland Interview). In 1967 the principal became the first black teacher assigned to a previously all-white school in Greene.

³⁷ Harris Interview.

³⁸ Outland Interview.

funds, which provided for impact aid, Head Start, manpower training, and vocational educational programs.³⁹ School officials expressed concern about the Federal reductions in programs and funds in public education that have taken place.⁴⁰ In the 1981-82 school year, for example, the public schools faced financial cuts of nearly 50 percent from the previous year in Federal allocations.⁴¹

According to the public schools' Federal program coordinator, the revenue from the Greene County Greyhound Park has enabled the public school system to keep the programs intact,⁴² despite reductions in Federal funds. However, she also added that continued reductions in Federal aid will cause the elimination of some educational services:

We haven't had to cut out any of our programs this year [1982]. However, with increased Federal cuts, things will get much tighter. Because of the Federal cutbacks in funds, we are writing foundations. If we don't get State or private assistance, we may have to cut out some of our extended services in the future.⁴³

Improving the quality of public education of Greene's children has been a priority of the black county government. The Federal program coordinator said:

The public schools get a lot of support. We realized the importance of education, not only to blacks but to the county as well. We have spent these years trying to improve public school education, and more recently, to encourage whites in Greene to support public education.⁴⁴

Private Education

Despite the county officials' efforts to upgrade the quality of public education, the majority of whites send their children to the all-white private Warrior Academy in Greene County.⁴⁵ The academy was

³⁹ Singleton Interview and *The Notebook: A Spotlight on Education, the Greene County School District*, vol. 5, no. 5, Fall 1980, p. 1; *Federal Programs Fact Sheet*, Greene County Public Schools, 1981-82.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ *Federal Programs Fact Sheet*, Greene County Public Schools, 1981-82. The Federal allotment for the Greene County public schools was approximately \$1 million during the 1981-82 year, almost a 50 percent reduction in Federal funds from 1980-81.

⁴² Singleton Interview. In 1982 the county's dog track provided at least 30 percent of the public schools' revenue.

⁴³ Ibid. A black high school principal also added that the Federal reduction in funds for scholarships to higher education institutions will affect the educational opportunities for Greene's high school graduates. As she explained, "Scholarships are scarce. Now with the Federal cuts in higher education, I don't know what a lot of these students are going to do. In the past years, students in Greene who wanted to go to college could get Federal financial assistance, but in the last year [1982], there were some who could not get the money to go." Outland Interview.

established about 1967, when Greene's public schools began to desegregate.⁴⁶ A former black school board member explained that the academy was established to keep whites from going to integrated public schools.⁴⁷ The Federal program coordinator added, "At the time of school desegregation, whites in Greene began to withdraw support from the public school system. There was an exodus of whites from the public schools, even though whites remained in the county."⁴⁸

Although the academy does not have to report enrollment or expenditure information to the county, one black high school principal was informed that, in 1982, "There were approximately 230 white students enrolled in the academy, which covers grades kindergarten through 12. The cost to attend Warrior Academy is \$1,700 a year for a child in the kindergarten."⁴⁹

For the past 4 years, black public school officials have initiated efforts to attract whites back into the public schools.⁵⁰ The officials implemented Project Comeback, a program to familiarize the white community with positive aspects of the Greene County public schools and to encourage desegregation of public education.⁵¹ According to a black high school principal:

Project Comeback publicized to the white community that the education offered in Greene's public schools is superior to the academy. For example, there is no special help at the academy for students who are not [performing] at their [grade] level. That's why one white parent transferred her child from Warrior to Eutaw High. For the five whites who transferred from Warrior, the adjustment and socialization [at the public school] have been very good. One

⁴⁴ Singleton Interview.

⁴⁵ Branch Interview and Singleton Interview.

⁴⁶ Harris Interview. According to the SCLC president, "At the time, Eutaw officials tried to deed land to the academy, but blacks stopped it." Gordon Interview.

⁴⁷ Harris Interview.

⁴⁸ Singleton Interview.

⁴⁹ Outland Interview.

⁵⁰ Singleton Interview.

⁵¹ Ibid. In 1981 the Greene County superintendent of public schools submitted a grant application for Federal funds under the civil rights technical assistance and training program. The purpose of the grant was to fund Project Comeback a 12-month program to encourage the desegregation of public education through community activities. See U.S., Department of Education, Project Comeback, Grant Application 63-6000909, Greene County Board of Education, Mar. 1, 1981.

child adjusted so well that the boy's parents decided to transfer his sister from Warrior to the public school.⁵²

Black respondents believe that there has been progress in public school education in Greene since 1968, despite the exodus of whites from the public school system.⁵³ As the president of the local chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) explained, "Although the majority of whites in Greene send their children to the private academy, the public schools have moved right along. Education is where most of the progress in Greene has been since 1968."⁵⁴

Black leaders in Greene have stressed the necessity and importance of total support and commitment from all of Greene's residents to make the public school system work.⁵⁵ They think that their initiatives to upgrade their public school system and attract whites back to the public schools may influence the county's future progress in other areas, such as employment and economic development.⁵⁶ As the Federal program coordinator explained, "Public schools are an attraction to industry. They are a factor in the industrial growth in Greene."⁵⁷

Employment

In 1970, of the 67 counties in the State of Alabama, Greene had the lowest median family income and the highest percentage of families below the poverty level.⁵⁸ The problem was more acute for blacks. The median family income for the county population was \$3,034, and 53.6 percent of all families were below the poverty level. In 1970 the median family income for blacks was \$2,280, and 72.2 percent of black families were below the poverty level. The median family income for blacks has improved since 1970, but it lags far behind

⁵² Outland Interview. At Eutaw High School, six white children were enrolled in 1982. Five of the six were transfers from Warrior.

⁵³ Branch Interview, Outland Interview, and Singleton Interview.

⁵⁴ Gordon Interview.

⁵⁵ Branch Interview, Outland Interview, and Singleton Interview.

⁵⁶ Singleton Interview and Branch Interview.

⁵⁷ Singleton Interview.

⁵⁸ 1970 Census, table 124, pp. 2-374-2-379.

⁵⁹ Ibid., table 124, p. 2-376 and 1980 Census, chap. C, table 186, p. 2-469.

⁶⁰ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Greene County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs*, 1981, table 2.

⁶¹ Ibid., table 4.

⁶² Lavender Interview.

whites. In 1980 the median family income was \$19,447 for whites and \$7,765 for blacks.⁵⁹

According to the Alabama Department of Industrial Relations, 3,650 persons in Greene were employed in 1980; 62 percent were black. However, nearly 92 percent of the unskilled laborers were black.⁶⁰ The unemployment rate in Greene was 11.3 percent in 1980, 0.7 percent for whites and 16.9 percent for blacks.⁶¹

The mayor of Boligee explained that in his town, "The unemployment rate is well above 20 percent, and those that do not farm have to go to surrounding communities [to find work]."⁶² He explained that the unemployment situation for blacks is worse than for whites.⁶³ Some of the other respondents agreed that the county needs a large industry that can train and hire Greene residents for jobs.⁶⁴

Currently, the county has two major local businesses, one of which is a "home-grown" company.⁶⁵ In 1982 the two businesses together employed a total of 331 persons, and, as the Greene County Commission chairman explained, "The two small businesses cannot be expected to provide jobs for everyone in Greene."⁶⁶

In 1976 the Greene County Greyhound Park opened. However, while it has increased the county's revenue and provided funds for services, the park has not created the number of full-time high-paying jobs that would help alleviate the unemployment problem, especially for many blacks in Greene.⁶⁷

The majority of the employees at the track are part-time, evening workers, and many of them are teachers who "moonlight" by working at the track.⁶⁸ According to a public relations employee at the track, "We don't count employees by race and

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ John Zippert Interview and Branch Interview.

⁶⁵ A "home-grown" company in Greene is one that was established by residents in the county and supported by the community and the county government. The "home-grown" company, Elocin Apparel, is a black-owned business that has received financial support from the county. The other company is Winchester Carton Corporation, an independent company that produces cardboard boxes for fast food chains. Its headquarters are in Northcross, Georgia.

⁶⁶ Branch Interview.

⁶⁷ Barnett Interview, Branch Interview, and Singleton Interview.

⁶⁸ Delbert Reed, public relations director, Greene County Greyhound Park, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982 (hereafter cited as Reed Interview). The track employs 300 people, and 80 percent of the workers are from Greene. Occupations at the track include restaurant workers, betting

occupation. We have more blacks [workers] than whites, but I don't know what kind of work people do by race."⁶⁹ However, one black businessman complained that "while the black vote got Greene the dog track, whites obtained most of the higher paying jobs at the track."⁷⁰ A member of the school board added, "The track is controlled by whites. The sales pitch to blacks for supporting and voting for the track was more jobs, but blacks do not have the better positions. Some [blacks] sell tickets."⁷¹

The track's public relations director explained that the revenue from the track is divided among the county, the municipalities, the stockholders, and the contracting company.⁷² Although the dog track has provided the county with additional revenue, at last one respondent felt that the track had not given blacks in Greene economic influence or made the county prosperous. According to an educational administrator, the track has "merely sustained" the county and allowed black leaders to continue some of the services for residents in Greene despite Federal and State reductions in funds and white economic control of the county.⁷³

Since Greene has no large employers, county and municipal government officials have been active in promoting economic and industrial development to improve the employment opportunities in Greene. In the past, whites have led most of the initiatives for economic development in Eutaw.

Economic Development

In 1982 the county and municipal governments initiated joint efforts to promote economic and industrial development in Greene.⁷⁴ However, the secretary of the Greene County Economic and

machine handlers, groundkeepers, parking lot attendants, and administrative workers.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Barnett Interview.

⁷¹ Carol Zippert, member, Greene County Board of Education, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Carol Zippert Interview).

⁷² Reed Interview. In 1977, after 12 weeks of operation, the track made \$2.3 million, but only \$513,000 went to the county. In addition, the racing commission and inspector are paid from the revenue that goes to the county, which totals approximately \$10,000 a year. According to the public relations director, the distribution of funds from the track is covered under Alabama State law. The racing commission, which is responsible for distributing the funds, consists of two whites and one black. The 12 stockholders include 2 blacks.

⁷³ Singleton Interview. For the response of Paul W. Bryant, Jr., president, Greene County Greyhound Park, Inc., to these statements, see app. B.

Industrial Development Board said that, in the past, whites in Eutaw controlled Greene's industrial initiatives, which were centered within the county seat. He explained that even with the recent cooperation between whites and blacks in industrial development:

[In 1982] whites are still running and promoting industrial growth in Greene. For example, while the county's industrial board includes four blacks and five whites, planning has been done without consulting black members. Meetings have been held, and blacks weren't present. Three white members on the board have inside information and are always consulted.⁷⁵

Although the county commission chairman wants blacks to have a larger role in industrial development, some respondents believe that blacks will continue to be excluded from participating in the industrial development of the county because of the bank's hiring and lending policies for blacks.⁷⁶ They argue that if the only financial institution in the county will not hire or make loans to blacks, then they cannot establish businesses that could help remedy the employment situation and improve the economic development of the county. The local SCLC president explained:

There have been complaints with the bank, and its impact on blacks has been devastating. The bank had to be forced to hire blacks. It finally hired a black after SCLC marched on the bank a few years ago. The bank now employs 2 black tellers out of 35 employees. The bank is selective when it comes to loaning money. Blacks are forced to apply for high-risk, high-interest loans.⁷⁷

The county commission chairman expounded, "I would prefer small, home-grown industries in Greene, rather than an outside industry, which

⁷⁴ Branch Interview. The Greene County Greyhound Park has been a black and white business venture. In addition, the county and municipal governments together purchased land in the county that will be used for an industrial site. They are also building a port near Boligee.

⁷⁵ John Zippert Interview. In 1983 Mr. Zippert reported that since the Commission's visit to Greene, black participation has improved on the economic and industrial board, and the board has become more responsive to the issues and concerns that he raised in 1982. For the complete response of John Zippert, director of program operations, Greene County, and the response of George N. Clark, attorney, Green County Economic and Industrial Board, to these statements, see app. B.

⁷⁶ Gordon Interview, John Zippert Interview, and Rodgers Interview. On Aug. 23, 1982, the Commission contacted the president of the Merchants-Farmers Bank in Eutaw to make an appointment for a face-to-face interview. The president of the bank refused to meet with the Commission.

⁷⁷ Gordon Interview.

would give blacks an opportunity to participate in Greene's industrial development. But blacks cannot get local financing."⁷⁸ The local SCLC president added, "There would be more black businesses in Greene, if it were not for the discriminatory practices of the one bank in Greene."⁷⁹

According to one black businessman, "Elocin Apparel has stayed away from the bank. We do most of our business with a bank in Selma. We don't need the hassle that we get from the bank in Eutaw."⁸⁰ Another community leader added:

Blacks have gone [to the bank] for a loan, and are turned down. You can go to Marengo County and get the same loan. People know that there is a pattern. Officers in the bank know who you are. They have already made up their minds if you will get the loan.⁸¹

One respondent explained that "Even small loans are discouraged. For a \$200 loan, blacks need collateral and a cosigner."⁸² Another respondent added, "Blacks have to sign away their life to borrow \$100 from the bank."⁸³

However, the secretary of the industrial board explained that while blacks are dissatisfied with the bank's policies, "most blacks are forced to use that bank. It is difficult for most of them to go outside Greene to another bank."⁸⁴ The local SCLC president added, "Efforts have been made to bring in another bank, but [the effort] was stifled because of opposition from the local bank."⁸⁵

One economic incentive for Greene County has been the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.⁸⁶ Both county and city officials have been optimistic that industrial development along the waterway will provide jobs and revenue for the entire area.⁸⁷ However, the employment opportunities that were

to be generated by the project have not been realized, especially for blacks in the area.⁸⁸ According to the secretary of the Greene County Economic and Industrial Development Board, who also serves as the director of research of the Minority Peoples' Council of the Tombigbee Project, "The Tombigbee Project was utilizing \$2 million in Federal and State money. Our major concern was whether or not minorities in the region were getting their fair share."⁸⁹

The executive director of the West Alabama Planning and Development Council did not think that the leaders in Greene should expect their industrial efforts or the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway to bring large industries to Greene. He explained:

I am disheartened at the idea that people think General Motors will come to Greene and hire 5,000 people. It is not going to [locate in Greene]. There's no reason to. Furthermore, the Tombigbee [project] will not create jobs. It will help America to move raw materials at competitive prices, but there will not be much profit for the counties or the region.⁹⁰

The secretary of the industrial board said:

Getting industry is not all we have to do in Greene. If we get the industry, we may have to pay for job training so that Greene residents can get the jobs. The emphasis in Greene should be on developing home-grown industries. We have lumber. We can expand Greene's home-grown business initiatives. We have a prime site, and I think that we can get industry here. But we need to expand and develop companies in Greene, rather than meet the demands of some outside industry.⁹¹

Although the black county and white municipal governments are beginning to work together in the area of industrial development, one respondent said:

and Tennessee. According to one report, "The Waterway will stimulate increased industrial, agricultural and recreational growth in Southwest Alabama and Northeast Mississippi, an area which includes some of the poorest counties in the South with the highest percentage of blacks in the nation." See *The Tennessee-Tombigbee Water Project: A White Paper*, a report prepared by John Zippert, director of Research, Minority Peoples' Council on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, and Robert Valder, director, Southeast Regional Office, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., n.d., pp. 1, 17.

⁷⁸ Branch Interview.

⁷⁹ Gordon Interview.

⁸⁰ Barnett Interview.

⁸¹ Florence Kirksey, community leader, interview in Dollar-Hide Community, Ala., Sept. 15, 1982.

⁸² Womack Interview.

⁸³ Carol Zippert Interview.

⁸⁴ John Zippert Interview.

⁸⁵ Gordon Interview. According to the president of the bank, the "State Banking Commission has not felt that our county of only ten thousand plus residents is financially strong enough to support two banks." For the complete response of W.W. Humphries, president, Merchants and Farmers Bank of Greene County, to these statements, see app. B.

⁸⁶ The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, which began in 1966, is the largest public works project now under construction in the country. The waterway is a 253-mile inland barge canal that involves five States—Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi,

⁸⁷ Branch Interview and Lavender Interview.

⁸⁸ John Zippert Interview.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Lewis McCray, executive director, West Alabama Planning and Development Council, interview in Northport, Ala., Sept. 16, 1982.

⁹¹ John Zippert Interview.

Whites have had the economic power to improve conditions, but it is a struggle to work with whites in Greene. The white people work with us [blacks] when it is to their advantage, when it is something in it for them.⁹²

Health Services

Before 1970 health services were not available for most county residents. By 1982 there were two black and three white physicians and one black and two white dentists in the county, a county hospital, and a health clinic for county residents.⁹³

Black and white leaders agree that one of the most positive efforts in health delivery services for rural blacks in Greene County has been the establishment of the West Alabama Health Services Clinic, which was funded in 1973 with a Federal grant, to serve residents in the west Alabama region.⁹⁴ The services most frequently sought by patients have included treatment for hypertension and diabetes. The clinic also offers family planning and maternity care.⁹⁵ Federal and county funds have been used to help provide transportation for rural residents who need medical attention and to employ outreach workers who make home visits to educate rural residents about services available at the clinic.⁹⁶ The rural outreach in health services may have helped to decrease the infant mortality rate for blacks in the county. For example, from 1970 to 1972, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 0 for whites and 29.8 for blacks; from 1979 to 1981, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 0 for whites and 13.2 for blacks.⁹⁷

The clinic's services have been used primarily by blacks. According to the administrative coordinator at the clinic, "The clinic sees an average of about 60 patients a day, 90 percent of whom are black. Most of the whites go to the white private physicians in Greene, or go to Tuscaloosa for medical attention."⁹⁸ The assistant State health officer for the West Alabama District added:

The State public health office relies heavily on the clinic's services in Greene. We refer many people to the clinic.

⁹² Carol Zippert Interview.

⁹³ Cooke Interview.

⁹⁴ Branch Interview and Gordon Interview. Ralph Banks, former circuit court judge, interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 17, 1982. There are also branches of the clinic in Hale, Sumter, and Choctaw Counties.

⁹⁵ Iris Sermon, administrative coordinator, West Alabama Health Services, Inc., interview in Eutaw, Ala., Sept. 14, 1982 (hereafter cited as Sermon Interview).

⁹⁶ Sermon Interview and Branch Interview. Because of Federal cutbacks, there was one outreach worker for the entire county in August 1982.

However whites go to the white physicians, and white women come to Tuscaloosa for prenatal care. Whites are more affluent than blacks. They can afford private physicians and have the transportation to get to them. I would say that the clinic has really helped blacks.⁹⁹

The majority of the staff at the clinic are black, including one black female physician.

The Greene County Hospital is the other medical facility in the county. In 1982 the hospital's board of directors had nine members, five of whom were black.¹⁰⁰ The chairman of the board of directors is black. Since blacks have been involved in the administration of the hospital, the chairman of the board said that services for blacks have improved.¹⁰¹

Summary

For the past 12 years, Greene County has had a black county government which is primarily responsible for governing residents who live in the unincorporated areas of the county. Whites have not participated in county politics, but have governed Eutaw, the county seat.

Under black leadership, the county government has been able to provide services for rural blacks in Greene since 1968, mainly because of financial assistance from the Federal Government and the Greene County dog track. With these funds, the county commissioners have improved educational and health services for blacks in the county and the quality of life for residents.

After whites abandoned the county's public educational system, blacks were elected to the school board and served as superintendents. Although the private academy has remained the primary educational institution for the vast majority of white children in Greene, efforts by black leaders to enhance public education are beginning to attract whites back to the public schools.

A major problem in Greene is unemployment. Although the dog track has increased the county

⁹⁷ Alabama Department of Public Health, Special Services Administration, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Alabama Vital Events for 1970-72, and 1979 to 1981*.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Dr. Kenneth Aycock, assistant State health officer, West Alabama Public Health Area, West Alabama District Health Department, interview in Tuscaloosa, Ala., Sept. 16, 1982.

¹⁰⁰ Gordon Interview.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

revenue, it has not provided the number of jobs that are needed in Greene.

In the past, whites in Eutaw made the decisions regarding the industrial thrust of the county; however, county and municipal leaders are beginning to initiate joint efforts to promote industrial development in Greene. Some blacks advocate "home-grown" businesses, whereby Greene residents can take an active part in the economic development of Greene. But the feeling among blacks is that until there is support from the whites who have economic power in the county, their efforts to participate in the economic growth of Greene will be futile.

Greene has been able to sustain itself, increase its county tax revenue, and improve services since 1968. Since there was a heavy reliance on Federal support in the 1970s, the reductions in Federal assistance should affect the services and conditions of the county. In addition, although the dog track has made an important contribution to the county revenue, respondents feel that without racial cooperation in public education, employment, and economic endeavors, as well as continued Federal support, the county government cannot continue to improve or deliver services in the future.

5. Lowndes County

I wouldn't like to think about what would happen [if a black applied to attend a private academy]. The child would probably be turned down and he probably would be glad he was turned down.

Elder Fletcher Fountain, chairman, Lowndes County Board of Education

Introduction

Lowndes County is a sparsely populated and totally rural area in south-central Alabama. Historically, it has been one of the poorest counties in the State, and it remains so today. It is also a county where blacks consistently have lagged far behind whites in every measure of socioeconomic status—this too, has changed very little.

In 1980 the population of Lowndes County was 13,253. Blacks represented 75.0 percent of the population, compared to 76.9 percent in 1970. Whites accounted for 25.0 percent of the population in 1980, compared to 23.1 percent in 1970.¹

The county has six incorporated municipalities that account for approximately 30 percent of the total population. The oldest of these areas is the town of Lowndesboro, incorporated in 1830. The towns of Mosses and White Hall, incorporated in 1979, are the newest municipalities in the county.

Since the 1968 Commission study, blacks in Lowndes have made substantial political progress. The first black was elected to the county commis-

sion in 1972, and they currently constitute a majority of the commission. Blacks also have gained control of the county board of education.

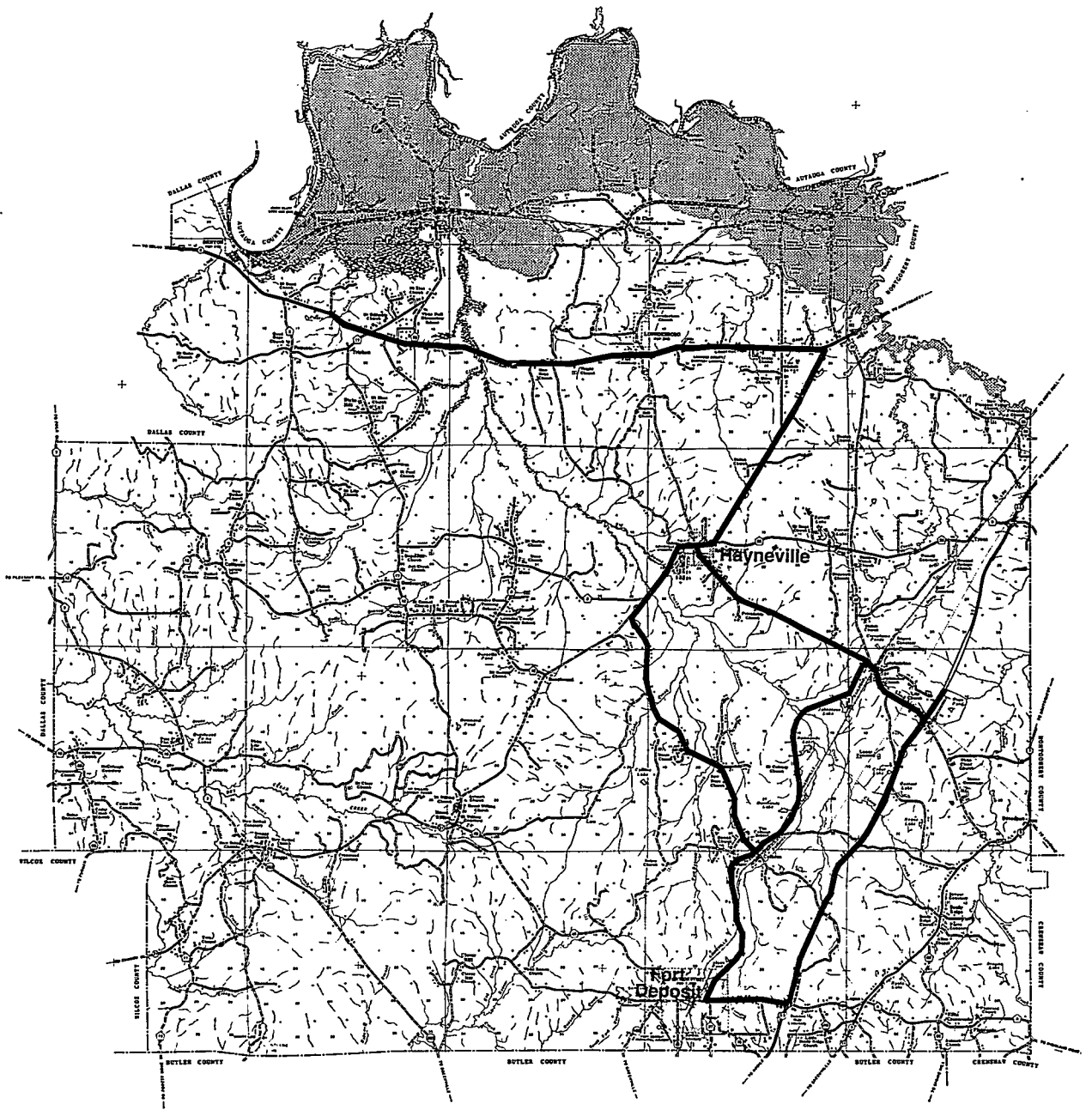
There have also been notable improvements in health care for blacks in the county. Health care is currently available, although transportation to health care facilities remains a problem for some.

Lowndes County still generally maintains a segregated society. The public school system in the county serves an almost totally black student body because most whites have abandoned the public schools for the all-white private academies. Further, most of the higher paying jobs are dominated by whites, and those paying the lowest wages are virtually reserved for blacks. Nearly all of the users of the public health facilities are black, while whites have opted for obtaining treatment from either a private physician in the county or one of several private hospitals in Montgomery.

The residents of Lowndes, both black and white, appear to have accepted the segregation of their society. For example, both blacks and whites hold

¹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1 *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p.

143; and *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 35, p. 119 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*).



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
LOWNDES COUNTY
ALABAMA

various administrative positions on the county board of education. These persons work from day to day in the same offices; the white workers, however, some of whom are charged with direct responsibility for a particular program within the public school system, refuse to send their own children to public schools.

The only major bank in the county has practiced discriminatory policies against blacks. It has never offered a single job to a black person. Nonetheless, during an interview with Commission staff, the president of this bank inquired: "Why are you here? It seems like everytime there's some sort of civil rights investigation in Alabama, Lowndes County gets picked."²

In Lowndes County, the large-scale political mobilization of blacks ensuing from the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has resulted in blacks' having attained control of the same county government that they were totally excluded from 20 years ago.

Lowndes is governed by a five-member county commission. The commissioners, who must comply with district residency requirements, are elected at large and serve 4-year terms. In 1972 a black was elected to the commission for the first time. Currently, blacks hold four of the five commission seats. In 1980 blacks won all five positions; however, one of the winners died before he took office.³ According to State law, the Governor appoints persons to fill vacancies on county commissions. In this case, the Governor appointed the white candidate who had been defeated by the deceased.⁴

The county seat is the small town of Hayneville. In 1980 the population of Hayneville was 592, with blacks representing 60.3 percent of this total.⁵ The town is governed by a mayor and five council members, all elected at large. No blacks serve on the governing body of the town.

The town of Fort Deposit has the largest population in the county, with 1,519 residents in 1980.

² Mac Golson, president of Fort Deposit Bank and chairman, Fort Deposit Industrial Development Board, interview in Fort Deposit, Ala., Aug. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Golson Interview).

³ John Hulett, sheriff of Lowndes County, interview in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 2, 1982 (hereafter cited as Hulett Interview).

⁴ Ala. Code §11-3-6 (1977).

⁵ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, vol. 2, Alabama*, table 1, p. 10.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Uralee Haynes, superintendent, Lowndes County Board of

Blacks were 62.7 percent of the population.⁶ Fort Deposit is governed by a mayor and five council members. The entire governing body is elected at large, with residency requirements for council members. As in Hayneville, no blacks serve on the town's governing body. According to local respondents, only a few blacks have sought positions in the Hayneville government, and even fewer have made such attempts in Fort Deposit.⁷

The position of probate judge in Lowndes has been held by the same white man for over 30 years. He was appointed to the position by Governor James Folsom in 1950. The judge and his wife, who has been a school board member since 1972, are the only whites in Lowndes who consistently win countywide elections.⁸ According to local respondents, the judge wields substantial influence among numerous county residents, especially over poor blacks.⁹ The judge is responsible for collecting county and State permit fees. As the judge explained, often people cannot afford to pay the fee for a permit at the time the permit is needed. In his official capacity, he does not have the authority to arrange for deferred or partial payment of these fees. He stated, however, that quite often he will pay the fee for someone and they, in turn, will repay him.¹⁰

Education

A substantial number of the residents of Lowndes, both black and white, do not have a high school education. Blacks, however, are far less likely to attain a high school diploma than whites. For example, in 1970 only 10.3 percent of the black population aged 25 and older had a high school education while 59.8 percent of the white population aged 25 and older had completed high school.¹¹ By 1980, 27.7 percent of all blacks 25 years and older had earned a high school diploma, nearly three times the number that had completed high school in 1970.¹²

Education, interview in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 2, 1982 (hereafter cited as Haynes Interview). Charles Smith, county commissioner, interview in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 2, 1982 (hereafter cited as Smith Interview).

⁸ Hulett Interview.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Harrell Hammonds, probate judge of Lowndes County, telephone interview, Jan. 8, 1982.

¹¹ *1970 Census*, tables 120, 125, pp. 353, 383.

¹² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population*; chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alabama*, table

There are two education systems operating in Lowndes County: a public system and a private system. The private academies largely resulted from white reaction to Federal desegregation efforts. Hence, the two systems can readily be distinguished by the race of their respective student bodies: the student body of the private system is 100 percent white, and the student body of the public school system is 99 percent black.¹³

Public Education

In the 1966 case *United States v. Lowndes County Board of Education*, the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of Alabama ordered the Lowndes County Board of Education to "cease to maintain. . . a dual public school system based upon race and color."¹⁴ As many as 10 years after this order, however, the schools in Lowndes were still partially segregated. In reaction to the freedom-of-choice plan mandated by the case, whites freely chose to make Lowndes County High School as close to being the white public school as they could. It was not until a consent order was issued in 1976 that whites were compelled to totally desegregate the schools.¹⁵ In this instance, the court ordered the desegregation of the Lowndes County school system's faculty. At the time, whites accounted for 73 percent of the faculty and 43 percent of the student body at Lowndes County High School, but they were conspicuously absent in either capacity among other schools in the county.¹⁶ The consent order required the transfer of five white teachers from Lowndes County High School to other district schools and for those whites to be replaced with black teachers from other district schools. This process was to occur in the 1976-77 school year and again in the 1977-78 school year. In reaction to this teacher desegregation order, whites abandoned Lowndes County High and, in effect, the entire public school system.¹⁷ The percentage of whites attending public schools has decreased from 9.0 percent in 1970 to 0.6 percent in 1982. Legally, the

182, p. 404 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C). Information on the percentage of white graduates in 1980 was not available at the time of this report.

¹³ Haynes Interview.

¹⁴ *United States v. Lowndes County Board of Education*, No. 2328-N (M.D. Ala., Feb. 10, 1966) (order).

¹⁵ *United States v. Lowndes County Board of Education*, No. 2328-N (M.D. Ala., July 16, 1976) (consent order).

¹⁶ *Id.* at 1.

¹⁷ Attendance at Lowndes County High School for selected

public school system in Lowndes is no longer considered segregated, despite the fact that it serves blacks almost exclusively. Similarly, the two private academies, because they maintain open admission policies, are not considered segregated, despite the fact that no black students have ever attended them.

The public school system is administered by a superintendent and a five-member school board. The superintendent is elected every 4 years, and the school board members are elected at large and serve staggered 6-year terms. The superintendent and four of the board members are black, a relatively recent development. In fact, whites maintained control of the school system for a number of years after their retreat to the private academies had begun. Blacks won the majority of school board seats for the first time in 1978. A black woman was appointed superintendent in 1975. Her predecessor, a white woman who had held the position for 36 years, resigned in that year. According to local respondents, the former superintendent had grown accustomed to her decisions being supported by board members without question. When blacks were elected to the board and began offering ideas of their own, she was taken aback. At the conclusion of a board meeting on August 25, 1975, she tendered her resignation before her term expired.¹⁸

The policies of the administrators have changed since the sudden resignation of the white superintendent in 1975 and the subsequent transformation to a majority-black school board in 1978. According to the school board chairman, the board now takes an active role in the decisionmaking process.¹⁹ Under the former superintendent, the board met only three times a year, and it now meets monthly. Board members also make regular visits to the schools.²⁰

The problems now articulated by the education administrators are of both a political and educational nature. The school board chairman complained of the severely limited powers of the school board. He indicated that the State education board leaves too few policies to the discretion of local boards. He

years was as follows: 1970—385 whites, 26 blacks; 1975—204 whites, 262 blacks; and 1980—22 whites, 476 blacks. In 1982 there were five whites enrolled in the school.

¹⁸ Fletcher Fountain, chairman, Lowndes County School Board, interview in Fort Deposit, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982 (hereafter cited as Fountain Interview) and Haynes Interview. For response of Hulda Coleman, former superintendent, Lowndes County Board of Education, to these statements, see app. B.

¹⁹ Fountain Interview

²⁰ *Ibid.*

contends that most of the State funds received must be used for a purpose predetermined at the State level when they often could be diverted towards more pressing needs. He also believes that State qualifications for school board members are "too low, in fact, nearly nonexistent."²¹

The current superintendent contends that "the main problem confronting the school system is funding." In Alabama, school systems are funded according to the average number of students attending daily, a figure that has declined steadily over the years.²² The problem is made more acute by the fact that a significant decline in attendance resulted from the flight of whites from the public schools in the early seventies. The subsequent decline in black students exacerbates the decline in funding that was created by white flight.

The public system has also been adversely affected by recent reductions in Federal funds. Over the years, the school system has relied heavily on Federal funding to provide nutrition and education programs that would be unavailable otherwise. Title I funds have been reduced by nearly \$100,000 over the past 3 school years, necessitating the dismissal of 36 teachers' aides prior to the 1982-83 school year. CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) workers were also employed as aides but are no longer available because of reduced Federal spending.²³

Despite the current financial strain, a new school opened in Lowndes County in the fall of 1982. The Area Vocational School was constructed and furnished with funds supplied by the Federal Government and a State bond issue. This school offers courses in commercial sewing, home health care, business, electronics, and brick masonry. Initially, the school will be limited to high school students

who will be bussed from their regular school for one-half day's study at the vocational school. Later, however, the board of education plans to expand the program to include night adult education classes.²⁴

Despite their efforts to improve the education system, the black board members are not without local criticism. The white mayor of Fort Deposit contends that the majority-black school board is more interested in "the number of blacks in the schools and the number of teachers they can make black." He argued that the condition of the education system of Lowndes had worsened since "we [whites] lost the board of education."²⁵ Further, the General Electric representative involved in the location of the new plant in Lowndes County says that he "wishes the schools weren't the way they are." When commenting on what part the schools played in his company's decision to move into the county he said that "they [the schools] would have had a more negative impact if the site were not so close to Montgomery."²⁶

Private Education

It is difficult to draw a firm conclusion regarding the quality of the public education system compared to the private education system. Throughout interviews with local respondents of both races there was only one area of clear agreement regarding the two systems: that the private schools were for whites and the public schools were for blacks. Additionally, most of those interviewed knew little about the private academies. This was especially true for blacks.²⁷

The few respondents who offered information on the academies were somewhat guarded in their remarks. For example, the superintendent of schools doubts that the curriculum of the academies is as

²¹ Ibid.

²² According to census data, the number of school-age blacks in Lowndes has decreased by 632 (from 4,406 to 3,774) over the past 10 years. School enrollment in Lowndes for selected school years was as follows: 1970-71—4,253 students; 1975-76—3,639 students; 1980-81—3,229 students; and 1982-83—3,005 students.

²³ Carol Scrusby, director, Chapter 1 Program, Lowndes County Department of Education, interview in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 10, 1982.

²⁴ The new school is also receiving some support from the local business community. The General Electric Foundation awarded the school a \$25,000 grant with no restrictions on how it is used. Arrangements have also been made with F.T.D. Apparel to assist in the commercial sewing program. The company will donate a commercial sewing machine and train the sewing instructor on how to use it. Richard A. Harmon, owner, F.T.D. Apparel, interview in Fort Deposit, Ala., Aug. 10, 1982 (hereafter cited as Harmon Interview).

²⁵ Ralph Norman, mayor, Fort Deposit, interview in Fort Deposit, Ala., Aug. 6, 1982. According to the current superintendent, the faculty assignments were in response to a consent decree in the case, *U.S. v. Lowndes County Board of Education*, Civil No. 2328-N (M.D. Ala., July 16, 1976) (consent order). For complete response of Uralee Haynes, superintendent, Lowndes County Board of Education, to these statements, see app. B.

²⁶ Dick Minert, General Electric Corporation, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 9, 1982.

²⁷ Although Alabama does not require private schools to report annual enrollment figures, Fort Deposit Academy did report its in 1980. The total student population was 174, and the school employed 13 teachers—a ratio of approximately 13 to 1. Enrollment data for Lowndes Academy are not available. The student-teacher ratio in the public school system was 22 to 1 in 1980.

varied as that in the public schools because the academies have limited funds.²⁸ Additionally, in the opinion of the white school board member, because the academies were all white, the students attending them would not be prepared to interact with blacks later on in life. She stated, "Wherever they go, they will have to work with colored people."²⁹

Employment

Lowndes County has an acute shortage of jobs. In 1980 the unemployment rate for the county was 12.1 percent—15.8 percent for blacks and 5.1 percent for whites.³⁰ Blacks accounted for 64.7 percent of the labor force and 84.9 percent of the unemployed. They were nearly in the same position 10 years before when they accounted for 63.3 percent of the labor force and 84.9 percent of the unemployed.³¹ In 1970 the unemployment rate for the county was only 4.7 percent, compared to a 12.1 percent rate in 1980.³² Yet, the disproportionate share of black unemployment remained constant throughout the period.

According to local respondents, the single largest employer in the county is the board of education, which is also the single largest employer of blacks in the county. The 350-person work force of the board is composed of 323 blacks and 27 whites.³³ The single largest private employer of black persons in the county is F.T.D. Apparel. The company, which makes pieces for military clothing, primarily employs commercial sewers. The work force consists of 225 persons, 196 black. There are 5 supervisors, 2 of whom are black, and 20 quality control specialists, 19 of whom are black.³⁴

The scarcity of employers within the county and the relatively small size of most of those that do exist force many residents of Lowndes to seek work elsewhere. Consequently, many Lowndes residents who work commute to another county. According to local respondents, most commuters work in

Montgomery and Dallas Counties in the manufacturing and construction industries.³⁵

The majority of those persons in Lowndes who are able to find work must usually settle for low-paying positions. This is especially true for blacks. In 1970 the median family income in Lowndes County was \$8,454 for whites and \$2,810 for blacks.³⁶ By 1980 the median family income for whites had increased to \$18,350.³⁷ The figure for blacks, however, remained considerably lower at \$7,493.³⁸

One reason for the income disparity between black and white workers in the county is that blacks tend to be concentrated in the low-paying occupational categories while whites dominate the higher paying occupational categories. For example, in 1970 whites accounted for 71.3 percent of all professional and technical workers and 84.2 percent of all nonfarm managers and administrators.³⁹ At the same time, the highest concentration of black workers was found in menial occupations. Blacks represented 91.8 percent of all nonfarm laborers, 84.0 percent of all farm laborers, and 100.0 percent of all private household workers.⁴⁰ These figures changed little over the decade. In 1980 whites still accounted for 71.3 percent of all professional and technical workers and 84.2 of all managers and administrators. Blacks continue to account for 100 percent of all private household workers. In two categories, laborers and cleaning and food service workers, blacks constitute 91.8 percent and 91.5 percent of all workers, respectively.⁴¹

Economic Development

The primary industries in Lowndes are construction, manufacturing, and agriculture. The manufacturing sector is devoted almost entirely to either the apparel industry or the lumber industry. According to local respondents, the construction and manufacturing industries have experienced declines in busi-

²⁸ Haynes Interview.

²⁹ Mary Hammonds, member, Lowndes County School Board, interview in Mt. Willing, Ala., Aug. 5, 1982.

³⁰ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Lowndes County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs*, 1981, table 2 (hereafter cited as *Lowndes County Manpower Information*).

³¹ *1970 Census*, table 126, p. 389.

³² *Ibid.*, table 121, p. 359; and *Lowndes County Manpower Information*, table 2.

³³ Lowndes County Board of Education, staffing table, 1982–83.

³⁴ The women who work there (only 15 men are employed), earn an average of \$5.45 per hour; they work on a piece rate, however, so some make as much as \$8.00 and some make only the minimum of \$3.35. The work force at F.T.D. is not unionized.

³⁵ Smith Interview and Hulett Interview.

³⁶ *1970 Census*, tables 124, 128, pp. 377, 401.

³⁷ *1980 Census*, chap. C, table 186, p. 472.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *1970 Census*, tables 122, 127, pp. 365, 395.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Lowndes County Manpower Information*, table 4.

ness due to low demand in the national home building market.⁴²

Despite a consensus held among local leaders with regard to the need for new types of industry in the county, there is no person or group officially designated by the county to engage in industrial development activities. In fact, the only discernible evidence of an ongoing coordinated effort to attract new firms was the presence of an industrial development board in the town of Fort Deposit. The board, which is authorized to issue bonds for industrial development projects, has no black members.

The fact that no blacks are on the board reflects their exclusion from the economic planning function in the county. Additionally, the chairman of the industrial development board has another significant role in the county: he is the president of the local bank. Thus, two local resources of primary value to those in the county who might desire to establish their own businesses—the financial assistance of the bank and the business expertise of the industrial development board—are both administered by the same person. This situation is of crucial importance to blacks in the county, most of whom are not apt to have either the capital or the business knowledge to start a firm without assistance.

According to local respondents, Lowndes Wood Products is the only substantial black-owned business in the county. The firm is owned by the mayor of the small town of Mosses (pop. 649). He began his firm in 1971 with the financial backing of a church in Philadelphia and currently has 22 employees.⁴³

The mayor stated that before dealing with the church, he had unsuccessfully attempted to secure a loan from the local bank to start his firm. He said that the bank is “totally white-oriented” and only makes loans to blacks that are “200 percent secure.”⁴⁴ These allegations were also supported by other blacks in the county. In fact, both the county board of education and the county commission have closed their accounts with the bank. According to one commissioner, before coming under black control, both of these bodies had favorable dealings with the bank. He said that the school board chose

to discontinue its account after the bank refused to meet the same interest rate that numerous banks outside of the county were offering for a desired loan.⁴⁵ The county commission was subjected to similar treatment. In their case, however, the bank refused to give them a loan they requested, and there was no discussion of interest rates.⁴⁶ When questioned on the subject, the president of the bank said that he had no idea why the two groups had closed their accounts. He also admitted that he does not hire blacks and never has. When questioned as to whether blacks had applied for employment, he replied, “Sure we’ve had applicants; I just don’t hire them.”⁴⁷

The county commissioner believes that the limited amount of business the bank currently does with the black community is attributable to the establishment of a county credit union as a competing entity. He stated that only after the county-run credit union was established did the bank begin to grant small loans to local blacks. Nonetheless, blacks are still unable to secure small business loans.⁴⁸

Although there was no county industrial development board in 1982, Lowndes will be the home of two new firms in the near future. One of these, called Benco, has relocated to Lowndes largely as a result of the efforts of the Fort Deposit Industrial Development Board. The other firm, General Electric, chose Lowndes County as a relocation site on its own initiative.⁴⁹

Benco began operations in January 1983.⁵⁰ The firm manufactures plastic products, mostly for commercial use, and expects to employ about 300 people when fully operational. The firm, which is in Fort Deposit, expects to hire a substantial number of its workers from the surrounding area.⁵¹

Benco is forecasting the creation of at least 95 permanent new jobs. In a sparsely populated county like Lowndes, where the total number of unemployed in 1980 was 570 persons, the creation of even 95 new jobs could have substantial impact on the jobless rate in the county, if those jobs go to county residents. The use of Federal funds in this endeavor

⁴² Smith Interview and Norman Interview.

⁴³ Joe Bell, mayor, town of Mosses, interview in Mosses, Ala., Aug. 5, 1982.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Smith Interview.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Interview. The bank employs 23 persons, all white.

⁴⁸ Smith Interview.

⁴⁹ Minert Interview.

⁵⁰ The plant began limited production in January 1983, reaching full production a few months later. Employment information is being kept confidential at this time. Ron McSpadden, Benco Industries Inc., telephone interview, July 28, 1983.

⁵¹ Norman Interview.

restricts Benco from exercising discriminatory hiring practices.⁵²

General Electric will build a very large plastics manufacturing plant. At the time Commission staff was in the county, construction was scheduled to begin in 1983; however, the firm has since decided to postpone construction until some time in 1985.⁵³ The plant will convert raw materials into high-technology plastics for sale to commercial and industrial users. According to a representative of the firm, the construction of the plant alone will require 800–1,000 workers, most of whom will be hired locally.⁵⁴ The firm estimates 200 employees will be needed once the plant is completed and about 1,000 more when it is fully operational.

The plant will be built on a 6,000 acre site bordering Montgomery, at a cost of \$1.5 billion. Many local respondents were concerned over whether the plant will draw most of its workers from Lowndes County or from neighboring Montgomery. Their concerns may be well-founded: the General Electric representative told us that the upper management of the plant will “undoubtedly live in Montgomery.”⁵⁵ The representative expressed dissatisfaction with various aspects of Lowndes County, including the schools and the housing conditions. The firm’s decision to locate in Lowndes was substantially influenced by the proximity of the site to Montgomery.⁵⁶

Tax incentives offered by the county also helped to make Lowndes an ideal site to locate a plant. General Electric will receive State and county tax exemptions and access to free job training for employees through the Alabama Industrial Training Program.⁵⁷

The question still remains, however, as to how much the residents of Lowndes, especially blacks,

will benefit from these new industries. Although blacks hold the majority of positions on the county commission, they were not involved in the activities leading to the location of these industries. The General Electric representative stated that all hiring and contracting related to the construction and operation of the plant will be conducted according to an affirmative action plan, though the specifics of the plan have yet to be formulated.⁵⁸

Perhaps through the efforts of the Alabama Industrial Training Program and the new Area Vocational School, the black residents of Lowndes will be prepared to undertake some of the new jobs that will be available in the near future. Considering the major tax breaks given General Electric and, to a lesser extent, Benco, the provision of gainful employment for some county residents may be the only tangible benefit these firms can bestow upon the county.

Health Services

Health services in Lowndes County are provided mainly by two clinics—the Lowndes County Public Health Department (hereafter referred to as the “county clinic”) and the Lowndes County Health Services Association.⁵⁹ The county has no hospital. Both clinics serve blacks almost exclusively: 95 percent of the patients visiting the county clinic⁶⁰ and 98 percent of those visiting the Health Services Association clinic are black.⁶¹

Both of the clinics are located in Hayneville, which centralizes the availability of health care in this 720 square mile county. Consequently, transportation to the facilities is a problem for many county residents. According to one staff person at the county clinic, many of those most in need of medical attention are poverty-stricken blacks who live in the

potential for environmental problems; (6) minimum earthquake, wind, and flood hazards; and (7) isolation from sensitive neighbors.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The tax exemptions include a total property tax exemption and a State sales tax exemption on all expenses related to plant construction and equipment.

⁵⁸ Minert Interview.

⁵⁹ The public health clinic operates under the auspices of the State board of health. The Health Services Association clinic is funded through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

⁶⁰ Judy Bevis, secretary, Lowndes County Public Health Clinic, telephone interview, Oct. 26, 1982 (hereafter cited as Bevis Interview).

⁶¹ Peter Dortch, director, Lowndes County Health Association Clinic, interview, in Hayneville, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982 (hereafter cited as Dortch Interview).

⁵² 24 C.F.R. §570.458 (1982). Federal aid was obtained from an urban development action grant for \$950,000. The State of Alabama provided an additional \$32,000 for initial site improvements. Finally, the town of Fort Deposit accepted an annual payment of \$5,000 from Benco in lieu of taxes (excepting education taxes required by State law). Leading the entire effort was the industrial development board, which established the basis for all of the additional funds received by issuing \$1.5 million in industrial bonds.

⁵³ Russell Rose, manager, Montgomery Resources, General Electric Corporation, telephone interview, Aug. 11, 1983.

⁵⁴ Minert Interview.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. According to a G.E. status report on the project the primary criteria for the site were: (1) a U.S. location; (2) 1,000 acres buildable, 1,500–2,000 acres buffer; (3) proximate rail and power; (4) major river accessible for water supply; (5) minimum

outer parts of the county. Transportation to the clinic and back costs \$15 to \$20, and most blacks who reside in these areas simply cannot afford these rates. Consequently, they often have to postpone needed visits.⁶² The Health Services Association has a van to pick up patients; however, it is not always able to serve all of the patients who require transportation.⁶³ The county clinic has no transportation available.

The two clinics offer a variety of services that sometimes overlap. Both clinics offer immunization programs, family planning programs, and medicaid screening. At the county clinic all services are free, with the exception of family planning. At the Health Services Association clinic all services are provided for a fee. In both cases, charges are computed on a sliding scale according to the financial situation of the patient.

The staff at the county clinic consists of two nurses, two home-health aides, one part-time environmentalist, one secretary, and a part-time administrator. The administrator is in charge of the public health clinic in Monroe County, in addition to Lowndes. She spends 2 days a week in Lowndes and 3 in Monroe. The environmentalist works at the public health clinic in Crenshaw County, in addition to Lowndes, and spends 10 consecutive work days at each location. Additionally, there is an OB-GYN nurse practitioner who visits the clinic every Tuesday as part of the family planning program, and a physician from Fairview Medical Center in Montgomery visits twice a month to examine pregnant women. These women are usually admitted to Fairview when it is time for them to have their children.

The two home-health aides at the county clinic are responsible for visiting all the homebound medicaid and medicare patients in the county. Most of these are diabetes, cancer, or stroke victims. The number of visits required per week varies, however; on the average each patient requires at least two visits per week, with some of the diabetics only requiring monthly visits.⁶⁴

The staff of the Health Services Association clinic is considerably larger than that of the county clinic.

It consists of 27 people: 14 medical professionals and 11 clerical and administrative and 2 support persons.⁶⁵ There are three physicians at the clinic, all black.

The three physicians have different specialties: general practice, pediatrics, and internal medicine. According to the director of the clinic, at times the doctors must practice outside their specialty due to patient load. For instance, the pediatrician sees patients up to 25 years of age. Additionally, the physicians will perform a one-time prenatal checkup before referring the women to the county clinic or to a doctor in Montgomery.⁶⁶

The director of the clinic says that in 1981 approximately 4,600 persons made between 18,000–20,000 visits to receive treatment at the clinic. Moreover, 50 percent of those using the clinic are on the sliding fee scale. Those patients on the sliding scale must pay either 25, 50, 75, or 100 percent of the actual cost of treatment according to their ability to pay. Most of the sliding fee scale patients are concentrated in the 25 percent bracket. For example, in September 1982, 41.7 percent of the sliding fee patients visiting the clinic were in the 25 percent bracket.⁶⁷

The health care network in Lowndes County has its shortcomings. For example, the shortage of transportation for those unable to transport themselves limits the effectiveness of the treatment provided by the clinics. Secondly, the absence of an obstetrician and gynecologist in the county causes not only expectant mothers, but also women in general, a great deal of inconvenience and expense.

Despite its shortcomings, the health system in Lowndes is considered adequate by most of those interviewed by Commission staff. A positive trend related to health care in Lowndes is the decline in the infant mortality rate for blacks. At the beginning of the decade, the infant mortality rate for blacks was 36.4 per 1,000 live births while whites experienced no infant deaths for the same period.⁶⁸ More recent figures reveal that the black infant mortality

⁶² Bevis Interview.

⁶³ Dortch Interview.

⁶⁴ Bevis Interview.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Dortch Interview.

⁶⁷ Peter Dortch, director, Lowndes County Health Association Clinic, telephone interview, Sept. 7, 1982.

⁶⁸ Alabama Department of Public Health, Special Services Administration, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Alabama Vital Events 1980, 1981, and Decade at a Glance (1970–79)*. Rates were computed in 3-year groupings (i.e., 1970–71 compared to 1979–81).

rate had declined to 20.4 per 1,000 births, and the white rate had increased to 7.7 per 1,000 births.⁶⁹

Summary

Numerous changes have occurred in Lowndes County since the last Commission study. Largely due to the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, blacks in the county have increased their participation in politics. In 1970 no black held a position on the county governing body. Currently, blacks hold the majority of positions on both the board of education and the county commission. However, the county has remained segregated. Whites do not use the public health facilities or the public schools. Further, blacks have been excluded from participating in the industrial development activities in the county.

Additional changes have occurred within the economic structure of the county. The county continues to move further away from the agrarian orientation of its past. At one time, the rolling farmlands of the county provided work for a large part of the population. Many of these farms no longer require such manpower due to the nature of their operations. Manufacturers have become the primary employer in the county. The relocation of Benco and General Electric to Lowndes is evidence of this continuing trend.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Such a change in the nature of work within the county will require compatible skill development among local residents. Consequently, the board of education faces a formidable challenge: to overcome the effects of past discrimination in education in the midst of rapidly changing skill requirements and extreme poverty.

What has not changed in Lowndes is the extremely low socioeconomic status of blacks compared to whites. In 1980 blacks accounted for 85.0 percent of the unemployed in the county but represented only 65.0 percent of the labor force. The political gains made by the blacks of Lowndes have yet to translate to any substantial economic gains.

Blacks in Lowndes seem to have little reason for optimism. Control of the county government has not resulted in any major improvements for blacks. Moreover, blacks are excluded from the mainstream of economic activity in the county and must rely on Federal funding to sustain various programs from which they have benefited. With the purse strings of Federal money being drawn tighter, the black leaders in the county may find extensively used Federal funds no longer available or significantly reduced, and even further reductions in education and other federally supported programs in the county will be required. It is not difficult to imagine what is already a very unfavorable situation for blacks becoming even worse.

6. Macon County

Since 1968, blacks have gotten the vote, and the political positions in Macon County, but whites did not lose economic control.

Phillip W. Brown, administrator, Cooperative Extension Program

Introduction

Macon County, an area of about 616 square miles in south-central Alabama, is approximately 45 miles east of Montgomery and 40 miles south of Auburn. In 1970, 81.1 percent of the 24,841 people who lived in Macon were black. By 1980, 84 percent of the 26,829 people who lived in Macon were black.¹ There are three municipalities in Macon County: Tuskegee, which is the county seat, Notasulga, and Franklin. The unincorporated areas of the county are predominantly black and poor,² with limited educational and employment opportunities and minimal health services.³ In 1980, 50.3 percent of the population lived in these unincorporated areas of Macon.⁴ Of the 22,579 blacks in Macon, 19,234, or 89 percent, lived in these areas of the county.⁵

Since 1968 Macon County has undergone a complete shift in political structure. Blacks, who are

the majority in the county, have been elected to the county commission, school board, and the city government of Tuskegee since the early 1970s. Black county officials have provided public educational programs, rural health care, and some rural transportation for residents. Most of these services were made available with Federal and State funds. In Tuskegee, black officials also have used Federal funds to help prepare the area for industrial development.

Macon has had two major employers, Tuskegee Institute, a traditionally black higher education institution, and the Veterans Administration Medical Center. They have provided employment, educational, and health services for blacks and whites throughout the Nation for nearly a century.

Whites and blacks in Macon have maintained two separate, segregated societies. For the most part,

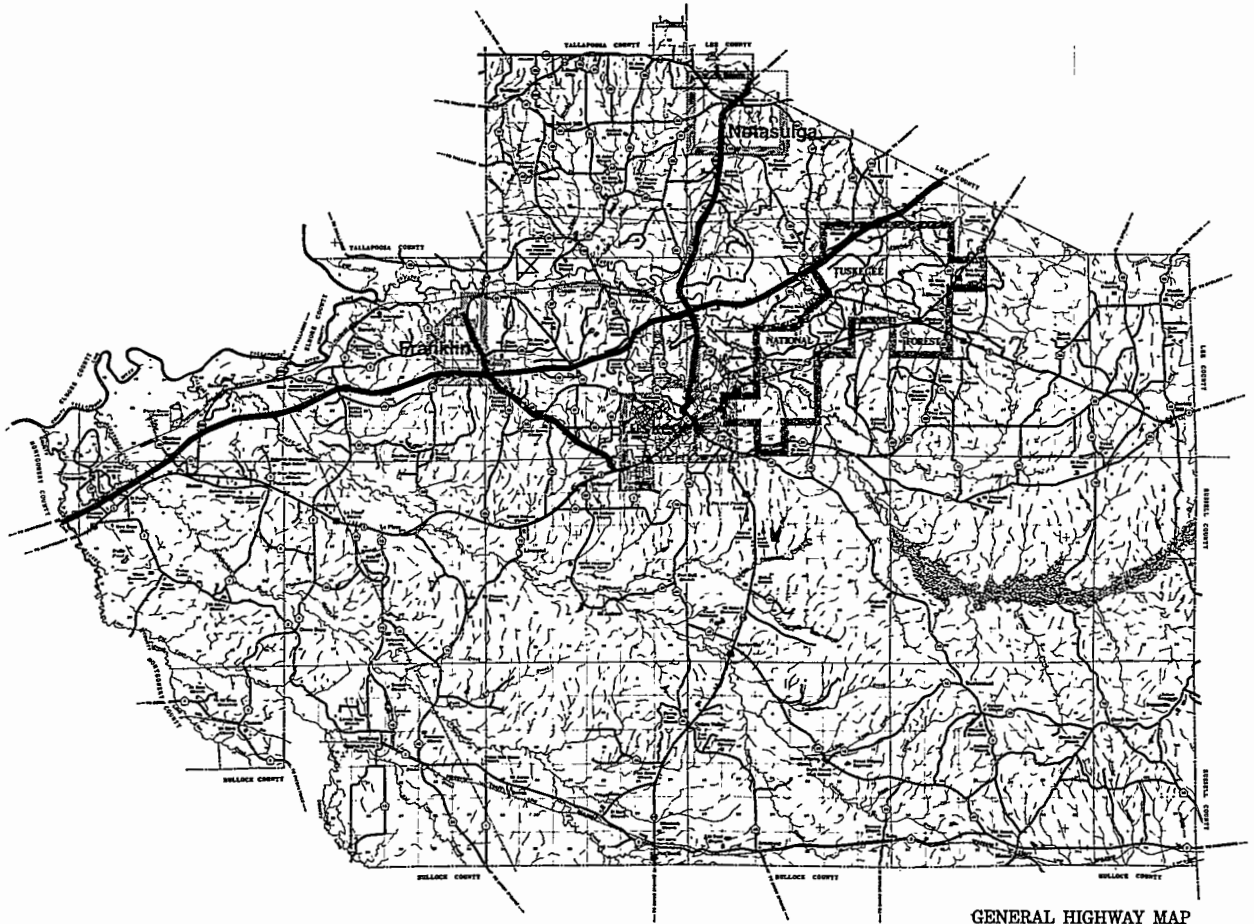
¹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 35, p. 2-119 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*) and *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p. 2-143.

² South Central Alabama Development Commission, *Macon County, Alabama Community Development Target Area Study: Macon County, Alabama-Macon County Community Development Target Analysis*, June 1980, p. 4 (hereafter cited as *Macon County Community Development*).

³ South Central Alabama Development Commission, *Tuskegee, Alabama Comprehensive Plan*, June 1980, p. 43 (hereafter cited as *Tuskegee Comprehensive Plan*).

⁴ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports*, vol. 2, *Alabama*, table 1, p. 10 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census of Population and Housing*).

⁵ *Ibid.*



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
MACON COUNTY
ALABAMA

whites have segregated themselves from all educational, medical, and social institutions in the county. Most whites send their children to the all-white private academy, work outside the county, go to other counties for health and other services, and do not support or participate in the economic development and expansion of the county.

Blacks have policymaking roles in all community and industrial development efforts. They are the owners of some of the commercial establishments and are the administrators or directors of the educational and medical institutions within the county. However, the political and administrative positions that blacks have in the county may be misleading. Although blacks have made political gains, whites own most of the land that could be used for industrial development and control the financial institutions in Macon. Thus, while blacks in the county have secured political positions, whites have retained economic control of the county.

In 1982 all five of the county commissioners in Macon were black. Since blacks have been elected to the county government, Federal and State funds have been used to provide services in the rural parts of the county.⁶ For example, the county government has used Federal and State funds to provide a countywide water system.⁷

Although there are some services in the rural areas of Macon, according to the former executive director of the John A. Andrew Health Center, "There is a distinct difference between the municipalities and the unincorporated communities in Macon."⁸ According to another respondent, the predominantly black unincorporated areas are isolated from the mainstream of the county and residents are dependent on Tuskegee "for just about everything."⁹

Although the county government provides funds for a rural transportation program for senior citizens who live near Tuskegee, most of the unincorporated

communities do not receive the transportation services offered by the county. According to an employee of the cooperative extension program:

Most residents have to come to Tuskegee for everything, and many people live 15 to 20 miles away from Tuskegee. For many of these residents, transportation is not available to get them to Tuskegee for services.¹⁰

One of the community leaders in an unincorporated area concurred:

We have to go to Tuskegee or Auburn for everything. If you don't have a car, you have to pay a neighbor \$6 or even \$15, depending on where you live. This is very hard, especially for blacks who don't have the transportation or the money.¹¹

In assessing change in Macon since 1968, the cooperative extension program agent said:

I have noticed change over the years. As far as progress is concerned, however, I have seen it in Tuskegee but not in the rural areas. There is also a distinct difference in the lifestyles of blacks and whites in these unincorporated areas. The whites are large landowners and own what businesses that exist. Blacks are tenant farmers and own no more than the house on the lot. Whites can afford to go to other places for services or to shop, but most blacks do not have the transportation or the money to get to Tuskegee.¹²

Tuskegee is the political, educational, economic, and health center of the county. Since 1972 it has experienced continuous growth in population, land, and resources.¹³ Tuskegee provides services to the rest of the county and has undertaken efforts to enhance economic development for the area.¹⁴ According to its mayor:

We did our homework well. Tuskegee is a city of history and hope. The first decade we built the foundation; now Tuskegee has tourism, entertainment, and commerce. Tuskegee has developed. The city sells water and electricity to the rest of the county. We also are developing sewage treatment for the county. We are in the process of completing our industrial park, which has electricity and

Wilson Interview). The primary purpose of the cooperative extension program is to provide onsite assistance to residents in such areas as farming, home economics, and community development. Phillip W. Brown, administrator, cooperative extension program, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982.

¹¹ Mamie Moore, community leader, interview in Brownhill community, Aug. 6, 1982 (hereafter cited as Moore Interview).

¹² Wilson Interview.

¹³ *Tuskegee Comprehensive Plan*, pp. 43, 45.

¹⁴ Johnny L. Ford, mayor of Tuskegee, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982 (hereafter cited as Ford Interview). Lewis Duckworth, executive director, South Central Alabama Development Commission, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 12, 1982.

⁶ Macon County Commission, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 5, 1982 (hereafter cited as Macon County Commission Interview). The commissioners included Ronald Green, who is the chairman, L.M. Randolph, Lee A. Ivery, Robert Knight, and Otis Pinkard.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Thomas W. Simmons, former executive director, John A. Andrew Health Center, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982 (hereafter cited as Simmons Interview).

⁹ Jeanette Penny, director of consumer education, Macon County Community Action Committee, Inc., interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 6, 1982 (hereafter cited as Penny Interview).

¹⁰ Bernice Wilson, home agent, cooperative extension program, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 6, 1982 (hereafter cited as

running water. The sewage facilities for the entire city will be completed by next year.¹⁵

However, the mayor conceded that many of Tuskegee's projects could not have been undertaken or completed without Federal assistance. He added, "In the past, the Federal agencies have been responsive. But the new thrust is self-independence. We don't want to continue to rely on Federal resources."¹⁶ For the past 10 years, the mayor's goals have been to prepare the city and county for economic and industrial development, and to attract a major industry to the area.¹⁷

Another municipality is Notasulga where most of the whites in Macon live.¹⁸ In 1980, 645 whites, 230 blacks, and 1 Asian American lived in Notasulga.¹⁹ The city government is all white. There is a white mayor, five white city councilmen, and one white town clerk, who is appointed. The town clerk reported that there are 320 whites and 65 blacks registered to vote, and this is the "only racial breakdown on the city's record."²⁰ In Notasulga, the town clerk explained that "there is low voting registration, especially among blacks. You have to go to Tuskegee to register, and many blacks don't have the transportation."²¹

The blacks and whites in Notasulga maintain separate, segregated societies. According to the town clerk, "Most of the white residents in Notasulga work in Auburn and Tallassee. There is one desegregated public school in the city, but most of the white children attend the private academy in Macon. Most whites go outside the county for health services while blacks use the facilities in Tuskegee."²²

Franklin was incorporated in 1976 and covers "about five miles of land."²³ In 1980, 133 people lived in Franklin, 98 whites and 35 blacks.²⁴ Franklin has a black mayor and an all-white city council. There is no public or private school in Franklin. The white children attend the private academy in Tuskegee, and the blacks attend Tuske-

gee public schools.²⁵ For medical and other services, whites travel outside Macon to Montgomery or Tallapoosa Counties, while blacks go to Tuskegee for services. According to the city clerk, "transportation to nearby services is more of a problem for blacks than for whites."²⁶

Since 1968 blacks have been elected to political positions in Macon and have used Federal resources to provide educational and health programs and improve conditions in the county. However, whites have maintained economic control and have segregated themselves from blacks. The segregation and reliance on Federal funds and programs are most apparent in Macon in the public educational system.

Education

In 1963 Macon was ordered to desegregate its public educational system.²⁷ Whites began to send their children to the private academy in Macon to avoid the desegregated schools. By 1967 whites in Macon had abandoned the public educational system. Before desegregation, the difference between the percentages of whites and blacks in the county aged 25 and older with a high school education was substantial. For example, in 1970, 48.5 percent of the whites and 36.0 percent of the blacks aged 25 and older had a high school education.²⁸ After blacks were elected to the school board, the difference between the percentages of whites and blacks with a high school diploma decreased. For example, by 1980, 59.6 percent of the whites and 52.7 percent of the blacks 25 years and older had a high school education.²⁹

Since the white flight from public schools, blacks have been the majority on the school board (in 1982 four of the five members were black). In addition, blacks have been superintendents and administrators for all school programs. In 1982 approximately 5,000 students were enrolled in the Macon public school

¹⁵ Ford Interview.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 1, p. 10, and Tennie Ramsey, town clerk, interview in Notasulga, Aug. 5, 1982 (hereafter cited as Ramsey Interview).

¹⁹ *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 1, p. 10.

²⁰ Ramsey Interview.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Linda Carroll, city clerk and treasurer, interview in Franklin, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982 (hereafter cited as Carroll Interview).

²⁴ Ibid. *1980 Census of Population and Housing*, table 1, p. 10.

²⁵ Carroll Interview.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 221 F. Supp. 297 (M.D. Ala., 1963).

²⁸ *1970 Census*, tables 120 and 125, pp. 2-353 and 2-383.

²⁹ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alabama*, table 182, p. 2-404 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C).

system, which had a 98 percent black student enrollment.³⁰ The public school enrollment has been at least 90 percent black, and the faculty has been at least 80 percent black since 1970.³¹

Public Education

Before desegregation, there were no vocational schools in Macon and no special educational programs to assist students in their education or to prepare them for high-level jobs or higher education.³² Since blacks were elected to the school board in 1972, public school officials have relied heavily on Federal funds to provide programs for students in public education in Macon.³³ In 1980, for example, Macon County received over \$3 million in Federal funds for public education. These funds provided for programs such as Title I, Head Start, school breakfast programs, and other programs for economically deprived children.³⁴ Despite the use of Federal funds and programs for public education in Macon, whites have remained at the private academy. Only one of the eight public schools, located in Notasulga, was desegregated with an approximately 50 percent white and 50 percent black student enrollment in 1982.³⁵ The one white school board member in 1982 represented the Notasulga area. The superintendent noted that most of the white faculty in the Macon public school system are assigned to the Notasulga school. He acknowledged that they try to keep a "good racial" balance among the staff at Notasulga to encourage whites to continue to send their children there.³⁶

To help facilitate desegregation and support for public schools, in 1981 the superintendent conducted a "comprehensive review" of Macon's public school

system and developed six goals to enhance quality education within the public school system.³⁷ According to the superintendent, the accomplishment of these goals and the overall improvement in the public school system in Macon should attract whites back to the public schools:

Public education is the priority in the county. We need additional resources to bring the schools up to the State and national levels. We have to gain credibility of public education in Macon. As educators in the public school system, we have to demonstrate that we have something better to offer. I believe that children in the academy and the parochial school will come back to the public schools.³⁸

The superintendent expressed concern that with the Federal reduction in educational funds, the public educational system in Macon will not have the necessary resources to provide quality education for black or white students.³⁹

Private Education

There are two private educational institutions in Macon, a private academy with an all-white enrollment and an integrated parochial school. Both are in Tuskegee.

In 1963, when Alabama was ordered to desegregate its public schools, the majority of whites enrolled at Macon Private Academy.⁴⁰ The Franklin city clerk, who has children enrolled in the academy, said, "The academy runs from kindergarten to high school, and has a completely academic curriculum. Most of the academy's all-white faculty live in other counties, and the faculty is not up to par."⁴¹ Although the city clerk was "not satisfied with the education at the academy," and suggested

implementation of a staff development program, development of a budget evaluation system, and improvement in discipline and human relations. See *A Comprehensive Plan for Educational Improvement in the Macon County Public Schools, Phase I, 1981-85*, prepared by the Macon County Board of Education, Dr. Reginald L. Green, superintendent, Feb. 15, 1982.

³⁰ Green Interview.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Clay Interview.

³³ Carroll Interview. In the 1979-80 school year, 24 of the 28 teachers at Macon Academy had valid Alabama teaching certificates. State of Alabama, State Board of Education, *Annual Report 1980 Statistical and Financial Data*. pp. 188-89. On Aug. 2, 1982, the Macon County Private Academy was contacted concerning a possible face-to-face interview. However, the spokesperson, Dot Robinson, the academy's treasurer, informed staff that the academy's governing board would not be available for an interview and that she did not know when they would be available to meet with the Commission:

³⁰ Dr. Reginald L. Green, superintendent of education, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 4, 1982 (hereafter cited as Green Interview).

³¹ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial Ethnic Groups, Fall 1970-1978*.

³² Patricia N. Clay, assistant director, Community Development Program for the City of Tuskegee, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982 (hereafter cited as Clay Interview); Community Services Administration, *Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds in Alabama: Fiscal Year 1980* (hereafter cited as *Geographic Distribution of Funds*).

³³ Clay Interview and Green Interview.

³⁴ *Geographic Distribution of Funds*.

³⁵ Green Interview.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Green Interview. These goals include improvement of instruction to address competency testing, improvement of school public relations, improvement of administrative effectiveness,

that white children could probably get essentially the same or better education in the Macon public schools, her children remain at the academy.⁴²

The separate educational system in Macon has been virtually accepted by blacks and whites.⁴³ According to the superintendent, blacks in Macon know or care very little about the existence, operation, funding, or academic curriculum of the academy.⁴⁴ According to the assistant director of Tuskegee's community development program:

Blacks in Macon don't know anything about the academy. It is very closed about its operations. It doesn't get any county money. I guess it is financed with fish-fries and bake sales, I really don't know. We [blacks] don't have anything to do with it [the academy]. We never have.⁴⁵

Employment

For most of the blacks born in Macon, the county has been an economically depressed area without viable employment opportunities. Some reasons given for the limited job opportunities for these blacks are that the two major employers in the county—Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Administration Medical Center—traditionally have recruited and hired persons from outside Macon because most of the blacks who live in the county do not have the technical or specialized skills to enter the higher paying occupations at these institutions. Moreover, there are no other large employers in the county to hire most of the black semiskilled and unskilled workers, and whites who live in Macon have the transportation to commute to other places for work.⁴⁶

In 1980 the unemployment rate among blacks and whites in Macon was 8.7 and 4.6 percent, respectively.⁴⁷ Although nearly 90 percent of the higher paying professional and technical positions in Macon were filled by blacks in 1980, 89 percent of the unskilled laborers in Macon were black. Most of the black professionals in Macon live and work in

Tuskegee. However, most blacks in the county lag behind whites in employment opportunities. In 1980 the median family income in Macon was \$10,423 for blacks and \$17,500 for whites.⁴⁸

According to a South Alabama Development Commission's 1980 report, Macon's economy is "heavily dependent upon Tuskegee's educational and health industries."⁴⁹ However, the personnel officers at Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Administration Medical Center reported employment information that suggests that most of Macon County's long-time black residents do not benefit from the employment opportunities afforded by these institutions.

According to the personnel officer at Tuskegee Institute, as of December 1981, 1,219 persons were employed there, which included 1,124 (or 92.2 percent) minorities.⁵⁰ The personnel officer reported that, while the institute does not keep records on the residence of its employees, he estimated that 90 percent of the employees lived in Macon. However, he added that most of the faculty and administrators "are from outside Macon," who moved to Tuskegee for employment and "have moved up through the ranks" at the school.⁵¹ According to the personnel officer, most of the long-time Macon residents (who live outside Tuskegee) have been employed in the lower paying positions as clerical, service, and maintenance workers.⁵² He explained:

Most of our [professional] employees are from outside Macon. I would guess that more than half are. We recruit from the outside because we don't have the labor pool here in Macon or surrounding areas [for what we need].⁵³

The vice chairman of Tuskegee's Economic and Industrial Board concurred that most of the workers at Tuskegee Institute are coming from other places. She said that Tuskegee, which was a major employ-

⁴² Carroll Interview.

⁴³ Ibid., Green Interview, and Macon County Commission Interview.

⁴⁴ Green Interview.

⁴⁵ Clay Interview.

⁴⁶ E.M. Miller, personnel officer, Tuskegee Institute, telephone interview, Oct. 7, 1982 (hereafter cited as Miller Interview), and J.T. Braye, personnel officer, Veterans Administration Medical Center, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 9, 1982 (hereafter cited as Braye Interview).

⁴⁷ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, Alabama State Employment Services, *Macon County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs*, 1981, table 2.

⁴⁸ Ibid., table 4 and 1980 Census, chap. C, table 186, p. 2-472.

⁴⁹ *Macon County Community Development*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Miller Interview. Mr. Miller indicated that the numbers are from the Tuskegee EEOC Report—December 1981 and included full-time, part-time, and Federal grant employees.

⁵¹ Ibid. He also reported that the 195 whites who were employed in 1981 were persons who either lived outside Macon or had migrated to the county from other places to work at Tuskegee Institute, mainly as educators or administrators.

⁵² Ibid. In 1981, for example, there were 200 maintenance employees at the institute, 199 black; and there were 268 clerical workers, 262 black. He estimated that the majority of these workers had lived in Macon for a long time.

⁵³ Ibid.

er for Macon residents in the past, is hiring more people from outside the county.⁵⁴

The Veterans Administration Medical Center has been one of the largest employers of blacks in the Macon County area for nearly 40 years. In the past, the majority of the professional and managerial staff at the center have been black. In 1963, in an effort to encourage whites to use the facility, the center began to recruit and hire more white personnel and has increased the percentage of white employees at the center.⁵⁵ In 1982, although the majority of the staff were black and minorities represented over 70 percent of the professional staff, the majority of the managers and supervisors at the center were white. In addition, in its efforts to recruit more whites and other personnel, the percentage of staff who live outside Macon County has steadily increased.⁵⁶

The personnel officer said that, in 1963, the Veterans Administration headquarters in Washington, D.C., began to require the medical center to recruit and hire more whites "to attract more white patients" to the center.⁵⁷ He explained:

In 1963 there was a concerted effort by the VA headquarters in Washington, D.C., to get more white employees at the center. From Washington, D.C., came an internal order to hire more whites. I guess [the headquarters] did not want the VA medical center in Tuskegee to be called a "black enclave."⁵⁸

As a result of this effort, he reported, the percentage of white patients had increased from 15 to 20 percent in 1972 to about 40 percent in 1982.⁵⁹

In August 1982 there were 1,400 persons employed at the center, approximately 90 percent of whom were black.⁶⁰ The personnel officer said that the professional staff at the center included approxi-

mately 15 psychiatrists, 20 social workers, 5 dentists, 55 physicians, 45 therapists, 23 medical technicians, and 175 nurses. He said that approximately 75 to 85 percent of the professionals were minorities and 15 percent were white.⁶¹

The respondent said that most of the whites are hired in the professional and managerial positions. According to the respondent, the medical center has a majority-black clerical, custodial, and nurses' aides staff, while the majority of the physicians, nurses, and managerial staff are white.⁶²

The personnel officer also explained that, in the past, the overwhelming majority of the employees did live in Macon. In August 1982 he reported that approximately 65 percent of the staff lived in Macon. However, he noted that the number of employees who reside outside the county has increased.⁶³ He indicated that most of the white employees do not live in Macon.

One community leader on the economic and industrial board expressed concern over the increasing numbers of whites who are supervisors and managers, as well as the increasing number of employees at the center who live outside Macon.⁶⁴ She argued that the center should be more committed to hiring eligible Macon residents for the jobs.⁶⁵

There are no other large employers in Macon. Although whites are employed at the county's financial institutions,⁶⁶ the majority of them commute to Auburn, Montgomery, or Tallahassee to work.⁶⁷ Most of the blacks in the county do not have the skills or the transportation to go outside the county for employment. According to the director of consumer education at the Macon Community Action Committee:

⁶² Ibid. According to the respondent, "most of the white applicants apply for trade and professional jobs. Blacks apply for jobs at all levels."

⁶³ Ibid. In August 1982, the respondent said that about 65 percent of the employees lived in Macon, about 5 percent lived in Montgomery, 5 to 10 percent lived in Lee County, and 3 percent lived in Bullock County. Job vacancies are posted at the center, the post office in Tuskegee, and Alabama's office of personnel management in Huntsville.

⁶⁴ Jones Interview.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ The Alabama Exchange Bank, one of the two banks in Macon County, employs 50 people, 30 blacks and 20 whites. Only one employee does not live in the county. Of the 7 board of directors at the bank, 5 are white, and of the 11 bank officers, 9 are white. J.A. Parker, president, Alabama Exchange Bank, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982.

⁶⁷ Ramsey Interview and Carroll Interview.

⁵⁴ Wilhimena Jones, vice chairman, Industrial Development Board of Tuskegee, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 6, 1982 (hereafter cited as Jones Interview).

⁵⁵ For example, in 1974, 6.7 percent of the 1,279 persons employed at the center were white. In 1976, 8.4 percent of the 1,362 persons employed at the center were white. In 1981, 8.6 percent of the 1,349 persons employed at the center were white. Summary Chart of Employment Data for 1974, and 1976 through 1981, for the Veterans Administration Medical Center, Tuskegee, Ala., provided by the Veterans Administration, Equal Opportunity Staff, Office of the Administrator, Washington, D.C., Oct. 21, 1982.

⁵⁶ Braye Interview.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Staff also included 5 Hispanics, 1 American Indian, 21 Asian Americans, and 91 whites.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Blacks do not have the transportation to go outside the county for work. At one time the Macon County Community Action Committee provided transportation for blacks in Macon to go outside of the county for work and job training, but we can't do that anymore because we don't have the Federal funds.⁶⁸

Because of the minimal employment opportunities in Macon, industrial development has become the major "thrust" in the county. According to the mayor of Tuskegee:

To help the employment situation, we need industry in Macon. The major thrust in Macon County during the last decade has been in the area of economic or industrial development. We are making every effort to get a viable industry to locate here.⁶⁹

Economic Development

Tuskegee has been in the forefront of economic and industrial development in Macon. Between 1970 and 1981 Tuskegee received over \$30 million in Federal and State funds to develop resources and projects to prepare the city for industry.⁷⁰ Some of the projects have included a Tuskegee industrial park, sewage treatment plants in the southern and northern sections of the county, and a noncommercial airport to be used by industry.⁷¹

Unfortunately, Tuskegee has not attracted an industry that can provide Macon residents with meaningful employment. Some of the respondents think that one of the major reasons that a large industry has not located in the area is because of its nearly all-black population.⁷² Perhaps another reason that Macon has not been successful in attracting a major industry is that there is very little cooperation between the black and the white communities in industrial development within the county. Whites own most of the land in Macon that could be used for industrial development and control the major financial institutions, such as the banks and the

savings and loan establishments, but blacks in Tuskegee appear to be working alone in their efforts to bring industry to the city.⁷³ Most whites in the county have not participated in the industrial development of the county, and at least one white businessman did not appear to support industry coming to Macon:

We don't have a lot to offer [an industry] in raw materials and resources. We can have a level of population and community life whereby people live comfortably. The future in the county will not be judged by economic development. We don't need industry here.⁷⁴

In one venture to attract industry to Tuskegee, the lack of cooperation between blacks and whites in Macon may have helped to block a black-owned oil refinery from locating in the county. The refinery would have located approximately 10 miles from the Tuskegee city limits. According to Tuskegee's mayor, in an effort to get taxes from the refinery, whites who lived outside Tuskegee petitioned to incorporate the town of Franklin.⁷⁵ This would have put the refinery's site within the Franklin city limits. The competition between blacks and whites for the refinery site helped to hinder any possible employment gains for county residents that may have occurred as a result of the location of the refinery.

The mayor of Tuskegee said that if blacks had more economic influence in the county, they would be more successful in industrial development:

We [blacks] don't control the banks. Although one bank is very liberal, if we owned the banks, we would have more to say about economic development in the county.⁷⁶

Health Services

The former executive director of the John A. Andrew Health Center⁷⁷ explained that blacks in Macon and the South have had a negative view

⁶⁸ Penney Interview.

⁶⁹ Ford Interview.

⁷⁰ "Matching Funds Received for Specific Projects Between 1970-1981," provided by the Community Development Program for the City of Tuskegee, Aug. 3, 1982.

⁷¹ The city has an industrial site, but there was no sewage treatment facility on the premises in 1982. The mayor conceded that Tuskegee "is not equipped to handle [a plant like] General Electric." Ford Interview.

⁷² Ibid. Cal Wilson, director, Community Development Program for the City of Tuskegee, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982 (hereafter cited as Wilson Interview) and Clay Interview.

⁷³ Ford Interview and Charles Gallion, attorney for Wallace and Wallace Oil Refinery, interview in Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 9, 1982 (hereafter cited as Gallion Interview).

⁷⁴ Staff Interview, Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 11, 1982.

⁷⁵ Ford Interview and Gallion Interview.

⁷⁶ Ford Interview.

⁷⁷ The John A. Andrew Health Center in Tuskegee is part of the Central Alabama Comprehensive Health Services, Inc. The Central Alabama Comprehensive Health Services, Inc., is a nonprofit organization funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and a private grant. The center in Macon does not receive county funds. Dr. Ruth Gordon, executive director, John A. Andrew Health Center of the Central Alabama Comprehensive Health Services, Inc., telephone interview, July 14, 1983 (hereafter cited as Gordon Telephone Interview). The former executive director, Thomas Simmons, and the former

about health services because of their experiences during segregation.⁷⁸ Blacks were either denied health services because of their race, or they had too few places they could go to get attention.⁷⁹ Before 1968 blacks in Macon had access to only one public health clinic and one hospital. During segregation, there were two hospitals in the county—John A. Andrew Hospital, which was used by blacks, and the Macon County Hospital, which was used by whites.⁸⁰ A member of the Alabama Board of Health Systems Agencies explained that, after the white hospital closed in 1978, health services in Macon still remained segregated.⁸¹ According to her, “Whites in Macon began to go to other places for medical services.”⁸²

After blacks were elected to political offices, efforts were made to extend medical services to the rural areas. County health programs, such as a rural transportation service, were provided primarily with Federal and private funds.⁸³ This enabled some rural residents to have access to medical services. In 1974 the John A. Andrew Health Center at the John Andrew Hospital was established with a series of Federal and private grants. The health center’s main objective was to plan and provide primary health care services for rural residents in Macon, Barbour, and Bullock Counties.⁸⁴ To help provide medical care for rural residents, in 1974–75 the health center purchased, with Federal funds, mobile medical vans that served each of the three counties once a week.⁸⁵

According to a former health center official, this has been the only “innovative rural health delivery system for rural residents in Macon.”⁸⁶

The health delivery services, especially in the rural areas, and the use of Federal funds for health care and transportation may have had an effect on the infant mortality rate in Macon. The rate signifi-

cantly dropped for blacks during the past decade.⁸⁷ From 1970 to 1972, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 39.5 for blacks and 16.5 for whites. From 1979 to 1981, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 14.5 for blacks and 0 for whites.⁸⁸

The health delivery services in Macon have not influenced whites to use the county medical facilities. According to the assistant director of Tuskegee’s community development program:

Whites still prefer white doctors, and those white doctors who do practice in Macon continue to refer their [white] patients to the Lee County Hospital. Blacks use the health facilities in Tuskegee or visit the mobile health units that go to the rural areas.⁸⁹

Another respondent added:

Notasulga has a community clinic which is a division of the community hospital in Tallassee. It is used largely by whites. Black people in Notasulga go to the John A. Andrew Hospital or use the mobile health van for medical services.⁹⁰

According to one of the mobile program’s health workers, in 1982, “Most of the patients who used the medical unit in Notasulga were black. Only a few whites have used the van.”⁹¹ In August 1982, because of Federal reductions in funding, the mobile units only served two rural sites.⁹² These two sites were considered to be centrally located in the county and were visited once a week. One of the sites was Notasulga, which has a majority-white population. The other site was Davisville, an unincorporated community about 15 miles from Tuskegee.⁹³

assistant director, William Thompson, left the center in March 1983. Commission staff interviewed these two respondents in August 1982.

⁷⁸ Simmons Interview.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Clay Interview.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Clay Interview, Simmons Interview, and Macon County Commission Interview.

⁸⁴ In 1979 the health center received Federal funding under Public Law 94–63, Title V, sec. 330, provided through the U.S. Public Health Service. John A. Andrew Health Center, Tuskegee Institute, *Year 2 Report—Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Grants No. 3850 in Support of the Management of a 3-County Comprehensive Health Services Program* July 7, 1982, pp. 2–3 (hereafter cited as *3-County Health Services Program*).

⁸⁵ Simmons Interview. In 1982 the mobile vans included a nutritionist, a nurse, a lab technician, and a physician who was available once a month.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Walter R. Pack, health services administrator, Macon County Health Department, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 5, 1982.

⁸⁸ Alabama Department of Public Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Alabama Vital Events for 1970–72, 1979–81*.

⁸⁹ Clay Interview.

⁹⁰ Ramsey Interview.

⁹¹ Mable Gray, community health coordinator for Notasulga, John A. Andrew Health Center, interview in Notasulga, Ala., Aug. 5, 1982.

⁹² Simmons Interview.

⁹³ Ibid.

By the end of 1982, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services had planned to eliminate all funding for the mobile health units.⁹⁴ If the medical vans are no longer made available, there will be no "on-site" health services for residents who live outside Tuskegee.⁹⁵ According to the former associate director of the John A. Andrew Health Center, "The rural health outreach is terrible now and after the mobile health service winds down, there will be no rural medical outreach in Macon."⁹⁶ Another respondent added:

Transportation for rural residents is still the key factor for getting blacks medical services in Macon. If the mobile health vans stop, I don't know what's going to happen to the rural black people. Medical care is foreign to the rural areas. However, for most of the blacks, they can't miss what they haven't had [medical services].⁹⁷

Since 1968, with the allocation of Federal, State, local, and private funds for medical programs, the health delivery services in Macon have improved, especially in some rural areas. However, a 1982 health center's report identified some of the remaining problems in providing adequate health care for residents of rural Macon:

Although a number of gains were made in health care delivery per se during the past decade, services to the rural poor have yet to be brought together in a generalized delivery system which will adequately impact that populace's special circumstances and problems. Without such a system, mortality and morbidity will continue to be excessively high. The ratio of deaths for the black population under 5 years of age is [still] twice as large as that for the white population; and for the black population aged 25-34, nearly three times that of the white population.⁹⁸

Summary

Since 1968 Macon County has had a complete shift in political control, moving from a white to a black county government. By 1972 blacks had gained political offices in the county and the county seat, Tuskegee. With the advent of black political gains, many of the whites left Macon, but, for the most part, the whites who remained have segregated themselves from all facets of Macon life. In every institution, segregation in Macon is apparent. Blacks

and whites do not go to school together, work together, plan together for the county's economic development, and do not share or use the same medical or other services offered by the county. However, although whites have segregated themselves from blacks within the county, they have maintained economic control of Macon. Whites own most of the land and the financial institutions in the county.

Since the Commission last studied Macon, the black county and city officials have used Federal funds to provide public educational programs, health and sanitation services, and infrastructure for industrial development. For example, Federal assistance has enabled the black school officials to provide academic and nutritional programs to aid Macon's school children, especially low-income black children. Federal funding also has been used to provide a new medical center and mobile medical vans that improved health services to some of the rural parts of the county. One of the positive outcomes of such services has been the decrease in the infant mortality rate of blacks since 1968.

Employment opportunities for blacks in Macon have not improved significantly since 1968. Although Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Administration Medical Center are in the county, they have not provided employment opportunities to the majority of black residents who are unskilled. The lack of employment opportunities and the high rate of unemployment among blacks in the county have made industrial development the major thrust for Macon's black leaders.

After 10 years, efforts to attract a large industry to the county have not been productive. Although some residents think that the reason that a company has not located in Macon is because of the majority-black population, the segregation and lack of cooperation that exist between blacks and whites who live in the county and the economic control that whites have in Macon may also be major reasons for the county's lack of success in industrial growth.

During the past 10 years black leaders have been able to provide services for the residents of Macon. However, segregation, white economic power, and

⁹⁴ Simmons Interview. In July 1983 the mobile units were still operating. They currently serve Notasulga and Midway, another incorporated area in Macon. Gordon Telephone Interview.

⁹⁵ In 1982 alternative plans included providing transportation to pick up rural residents and bring them to Tuskegee to the health center, and to establish a community health center (a satellite clinic) in Notasulga.

⁹⁶ William M. Thompson, former associate director, John A. Andrew Health Center, interview in Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 3, 1982.

⁹⁷ Clay Interview.

⁹⁸ *3-County Health Services Program*, pp. 26-27.

the decrease in Federal assistance may impede future progress and development within the county.

7. Sumter County

The civil rights movement of the 1960s passed over Sumter County altogether.

Wendell Paris, chairman, Sumter County Board of Education

Introduction

Sumter County is in west-central Alabama on the Mississippi-Alabama State line. About two-thirds of the land in this predominantly rural county is either forest or pine plantation. Most of the remaining land is used for agriculture, primarily as pastureland.¹ In 1970 the population of Sumter County was 16,974 with blacks representing 66.2 percent (11,242) of the total.² In 1980 the population was 16,908, 69.3 percent (11,711) black.³

There are two cities with populations of over 2,500 in the county: Livingston (47.3 percent black), the county seat, and York (62.1 percent black). Their respective populations were 3,187 and 3,392 in 1980.⁴ Livingston and York share the bulk of ongoing economic activity in the county, and both display a substantial amount of urban amenities, including street lights, paved and lined roads, and small office buildings. These conditions, however, sharply contrast with those that exist in some rural parts of the county. In certain areas outside Livingston and York, especially those inhabited by blacks,

residents do not have running water in their homes. Roads are often unpaved and so narrow that only one car at a time can travel in either direction.

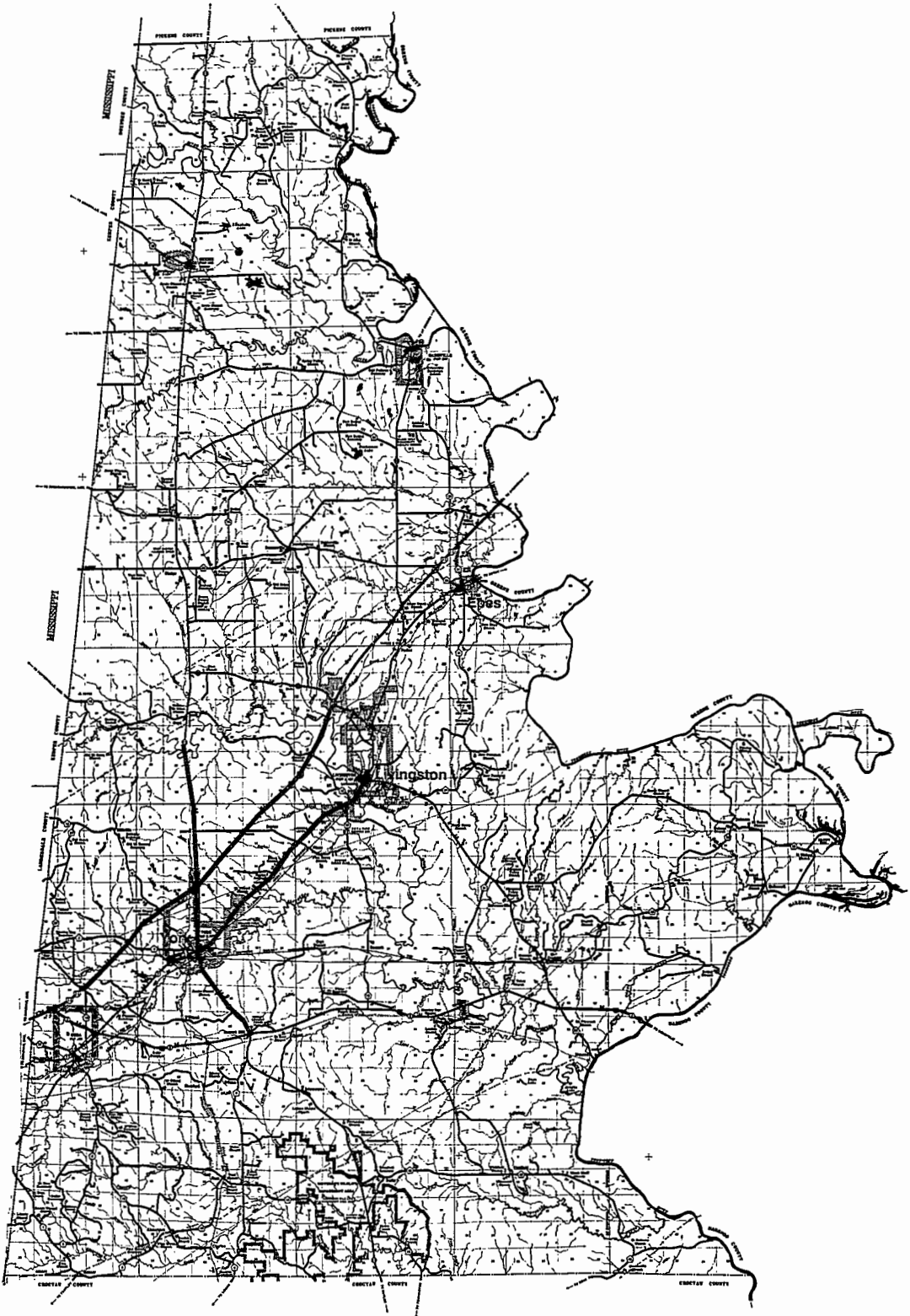
Although blacks accounted for nearly 70 percent of the county population, as recently as August 1982, they had yet to gain representation on the county commission. Since the last Commission study there has been relatively little improvement in living conditions for blacks in the county. Although there has been substantial economic progress, especially in Livingston, blacks have remained at a severe disadvantage. Blacks account for disproportionate shares of the unemployed, the undereducated, and the poverty-stricken portions of the county population. Generally, they compare unfavorably with whites in every measure of socioeconomic status. The limited improvement that blacks in Sumter have experienced has largely resulted from Federal spending. For example, there has been extensive utilization of Federal funds to install water lines in rural parts of the county. There also have been notable increases in the utilization of Federal funds that benefit the

¹ Richard M. Kinne and Francis B. Dobson, Jr., *An Economic Profile of Sumter County, Alabama* (Camden, Alabama: Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission, 1980), p. 7.

² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 35, p. 123 (hereafter cited as *1970 Census*).

³ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of the Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. B, *General Population Characteristics*, part 2, *Alabama*, table 45, p. 147 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. B).

⁴ *1980 Census*, chap. B, table 39, pp. 112, 123.



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
SUMTER COUNTY
ALABAMA

public education system and health services in the county. In these instances, federally funded programs serve blacks almost exclusively because most whites in the county use neither the public health facilities nor the public school system.

The fact that whites in the county choose not to take advantage of certain public programs partially reflects the generally segregated society maintained in Sumter. In the words of a local school board member, "The entire social structure of the county is segregated."⁵

There are three positions on the Sumter County Commission. The commissioners are elected at-large with district residency requirements. Both Livingston and York use the mayor-council form of government. In both cities the mayor and council members are elected at large. In August 1982 both of these municipal governments, along with the county commission, consisted entirely of whites.⁶

Although blacks sat on neither the county governing board nor municipal governing boards within the county, they had managed to win some county-wide elections. Blacks held the majority of positions (three) on the five-member board of education. Additionally, the district judge in the county is black. He was the first black to attain a full-time elective position in the history of the county.⁷

The judge said that it has been extremely difficult for blacks to achieve political progress in Sumter. He contends that the local white power structure has been persistent in its efforts to keep blacks—at least some blacks—from winning key positions in local government. According to the judge, the most effective strategy employed by whites is that of "field[ing] their own hand-picked black candidates to challenge another black for the same position." He said the objective of this tactic has been to split the black vote, thereby assuring that no black could win a countywide election.⁸ The judge attributed

⁵ Wendell H. Paris, chairman, Sumter County Board of Education, interview in Livingston, Ala., Aug. 23, 1982 (hereafter cited as Paris Interview).

⁶ Local respondents estimated that approximately 55 percent of the registered voters in the county were black in 1980.

⁷ Eddie Hardaway, Jr., district judge, Sumter County, interview, Aug. 23, 1982 (hereafter cited as Hardaway Interview).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Alabama is covered by sec. 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which requires the State and all jurisdictions within the State to submit any changes in voting practices, prerequisites, or procedures to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia or the U.S. Department of Justice to be precleared *before* implementation of

his victory in 1980 partly to the fact that local whites were unable to field another qualified black to run against him.⁹

In 1981 a purge of the voter lists was initiated in Sumter County.¹⁰ The voter lists were purged of all those who had not reidentified themselves by a given date. Local respondents estimated that before the voter purge approximately 55 percent of the registered voters in the county were black and 45 percent were white. Local blacks active in the political arena considered the purge as another tactic to diminish the voting strength of blacks.¹¹ In reaction, blacks mounted a massive reidentification effort combined with a registration drive. The efforts were successful, and after the purge, the proportion of registered black voters grew to approximately 65 percent.¹²

The 1982 Sumter County elections brought about a substantial change in the makeup of the county government. As a result of the purge and reidentification, the three incumbent white commissioners were defeated by blacks. Seventeen years after passage of the Voting Rights Act, in a county where they have been the majority, blacks attained representation on the governing body. This political development could have significant impact on the conditions for blacks in the rural parts of the county, especially in distribution of county services.

Education

Education, like other social institutions in Sumter County, remains almost entirely segregated. Blacks attend public schools and whites generally send their children to one of two private academies.

In 1970, 66.3 percent of the whites and 12.4 percent of the blacks aged 25 and over had a high school education.¹³ By 1980 the percentage of black graduates had increased to 29.6 percent but was still

the change. 42 U.S.C. §1975c (1976). In the case of Sumter's reidentification, the action was initiated on July 1, 1981, and was approved by the Department of Justice on Apr. 28, 1982.

¹¹ Various organizations and individuals outside the county expressed the same concern. Letters expressing the potential discriminatory effect of the voter purge were sent to the Department of Justice by the Southern Regional Council, the Legal Services Corporation of Alabama, and by Alabama's Secretary of State, Don Siegelman.

¹² T.A. Markham, chairman, Sumter County Board of Registrars, telephone interview, July 29, 1983.

¹³ 1970 Census, tables 120, 125, pp. 355, 385.

considerably lower than the 75.0 percent level reached by whites.¹⁴

Public Education

Whites abandoned the public schools in Sumter between 1968 and 1970 in reaction to the school desegregation case, *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*.¹⁵ In 1968, 3 of the 14 schools¹⁶ in the public system were predominately white: at Livingston Lab School whites represented 98.5 percent of the student body and 100 percent of the faculty; at Sumter County High School and Livingston High School whites accounted for 99.1 and 97.8 percent of the student bodies as well as 90.1 and 84.3 percent of the faculties, respectively.¹⁷ By 1970 Livingston Lab School had been closed, no white students attended Sumter County High School, and only four whites (0.7 percent) were enrolled at Livingston High School. In both Sumter and Livingston High Schools, however, whites still represented nearly a third of the faculty.¹⁸ Overall white attendance in public schools declined from 16.4 percent in 1968 to 2.0 percent in 1980.¹⁹

The Sumter County Public School System consists of seven schools: four junior high schools (grades 1-9), two high schools, and a vocational education school. The schools are administered by a superintendent and a five-member school board.²⁰ Although whites abandoned the public schools in 1970, they held the majority of positions on the board of education until 1980, when blacks won three school board positions.²¹

¹⁴ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, chap. C. *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Alabama*, table 182, p. 408 (hereafter cited as *1980 Census*, chap. C).

¹⁵ *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 221 F. Supp. 297 (M.D. Ala., 1963).

¹⁶ Of the 14 schools in the public system in 1968, 9 had fewer than 250 students and 1 had more than 900 students. The average enrollment per school was 376 students. By 1970 the number of schools in the public system had been reduced to 7, and average enrollment per school had increased to 557 students.

¹⁷ U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts, Fall 1968*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Sumter County Board of Education, student enrollment chart, September 1981.

²⁰ According to information supplied by the Sumter Board of Education, in 1980 there were 189 teachers and administrators; of these, 26 were white.

²¹ In the 1982 elections blacks swept the county commission and garnered the remaining two school board positions held by

A 1978 incident was the catalyst to blacks gaining the majority of school board positions.²² In that year county blacks boycotted Livingston Junior High School in reaction to the placement of a white principal at the nearly all-black school. The boycott against the school was lifted in 6 weeks when the principal was replaced. According to the chairman of the board of education, however, the public schools and the white-dominated school board remained crucial topics among blacks even after the principal was replaced.²³ He felt that the conflict had "united blacks to the point where we could win [election contests for the board of education]."²⁴

Most of the operating funds for the schools come from outside the county. Information from the State board of education shows that the primary sources of revenue for Sumter County schools are the State government and Federal funds. For the 1980 school year county funds accounted for only 3 percent of the total revenues received by the public schools.²⁵ Local and county revenues include only the minimum tax allowed under State law.

Private Education

Cuba private school, in Cuba, offers grades 1-9; Sumter Academy, in York, offers grades K-12. Although Sumter County government officials maintain that the private academies have no race restrictions for students, they admit that no blacks attend them.²⁶

The charters for the academies were drafted around 1968 by a white lawyer who was then chairman of the county board of education. The

whites. The superintendent of schools is white. His contract expires in June 1984.

²² Paris Interview.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ At this early stage, it is unclear whether the transformation to a majority-black school board will result in any major modifications of the public school system. One of the first major initiatives taken by the board was the introduction of video teaching aids into the public schools. Due to theft, however, this project was short-lived. Some \$20,000 worth of video equipment was stolen from the board of education's storage facilities before it was ever used. The local police investigation of the theft was unsuccessful and the equipment was never recovered.

²⁵ State of Alabama, Board of Education, *Annual Report 1980: Statistical and Financial Data (1980)*.

²⁶ W.T. Lockard, former chairman, Sumter County Commission; Jerry Plowman and C.G. Varigh, former members, Sumter County Commission; and Tom Neuhauser, chairman, Sumter County Industrial Development Board, interview in Livingston, Ala., Aug. 25, 1982 (hereafter cited as Sumter County Commission Interview).

current school board chairman contends that the private academies have been a financial strain on the white community; as symbols of segregation, the schools also demonstrate the extent to which whites will go to prevent their children from being educated with blacks. According to the chairman, the initial opening of the private schools was accomplished through the financial support of the white community, which staged various fund-raising efforts. The chairman suspects that because tuition payments alone likely are not enough to sustain the academies, additional support from the white community still is necessary.²⁷

Employment

In 1970 blacks accounted for 52.5 percent of the labor force in Sumter County and 72.8 percent of the unemployed. The unemployment rate by racial group showed that unemployment among whites was 3.4 percent, but among blacks the rate was 8.2 percent, approximately 2½ times the white rate.²⁸ More recent employment figures support allegations by black leaders that recent economic developments in the county have offered relatively few opportunities for blacks. By 1980 the black share of the labor force had grown to 59.6 percent, an increase of approximately 7 percentage points, while their share of the unemployed had grown to 84.8 percent, an increase of 13 percentage points.²⁹

An analysis of the occupational categories in which whites and blacks were employed further indicates the depressed status of black employment. For example, in 1980, 68.8 percent of the professional and technical workers and 79.9 percent of the managers and administrators were white. By contrast, most of the workers in the low-paying occupations were black. Blacks accounted for 66.5 percent of the service workers, as well as 88.7 percent of the laborers, and almost all (98.8 percent) of the private household workers. Only in a few blue-collar occupational categories (craftworkers and operatives) were blacks and whites represented in approximate proportion to their numbers in the labor force.³⁰

²⁷ Paris Interview. According to the former Sumter County commissioners, the monthly tuition for the private academies is \$110 for one child, \$162.50 for two children, and \$217 for three children in a family. In the 1980 school year, 524 students were enrolled in Sumter Academy and 54 students in Cuba private school.

²⁸ 1970 Census, tables 121, 126, pp. 362, 391.

²⁹ 1980 Census, chap. C, table 184, p. 442.

³⁰ State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, *Sumter*

Employment information is also available for workers for the town of Livingston, one of the largest public employers in the county. Livingston employs 38 full-time workers. Seven are classified as officials and administrators; five are white males, one is a white female, and one is a black male. The town employs no professionals, and only one technician, a white male. Only among service workers are there a significant number of blacks; 17 of the 22 service workers are black males.³¹

The different employment conditions of blacks and whites has caused a gross income disparity between the two groups. In 1970 median family income for whites was \$8,469, but for blacks the figure was \$2,734, only 32.3 percent of the white income.

Economic Development

The decade of the 1970s saw considerable economic development in Sumter County. Six of the eight major industries in Livingston were established during the 1970s, and they account for most of the employment there.³²

Sumter County participates in the Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission (ATRC), an association of local governments in 10 counties in southwest Alabama that serves as the areawide clearinghouse for review and comment on applications for Federal aid programs. One of the functions of ATRC is to encourage economic development. In addition, Sumter County has an industrial development board, a quasi-governmental agency that is authorized to provide low-cost financing and other incentives to prospective corporations.³³ There are no black members of the board.

The chairman of the Sumter County Industrial Development Board claims to have made aggressive efforts to attract industry to the county.³⁴ At the end of the 1960s Sumter County was almost entirely rural.³⁵ In the past 12 years, however, 1,400 jobs have been created in the county. Through county-

County: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs, 1981, table 2.

³¹ Town of Livingston, staffing chart 1981.

³² 1970 Census, tables 124, 128, pp. 379, 403.

³³ 1980 Census, chap. C, table 186, p. 476.

³⁴ State of Alabama, Office of the Governor, "Community Data: Livingston," March 1982, p. 4.

³⁵ See Ala. Code, §§11-54-80 to 101 (1975 and Supp. 1981).

sponsored efforts to attract and keep industry, per capita income has been raised substantially.³⁶ Further, the development chairman contends that further economic growth will occur in the near future due to the creation of several industrial sites, one of which includes a planned port and industrial complex at the town of Epes along the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.³⁷

Black respondents, all of whom felt that the development of the 1970s had done relatively little to help their situation, expect little improvement from any future developments.³⁸ According to one black elected official, many local manufacturing concerns that located in Sumter during the 1970s drew their employees from the populations of other counties.³⁹ The black official believed that any new jobs created by development of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a major public works program, will be primarily jobs for highly skilled workers. Because of the extremely limited opportunities for blacks to gain the necessary skills within the county, most of the new jobs will likely go either to whites or to noncounty residents.⁴⁰

Contrary to the industrial board chairman's contention that he had been engaged in vigorous efforts to attract industry, the chairman of the board of education contended that in many instances the county government had done more to dissuade new industry than to attract it. He stated that whites do not want new industry "cutting into their cheap labor supply, not as long as they still have people down here driving a tractor from sunrise to sunset, 6 days a week, for \$30."⁴¹ The education board chairman felt that the only new industry acceptable to local whites is that type which would not substantially alter the status quo—that is, would not detract too much from the available pool of cheap labor and would not elevate blacks to positions of status and favorable income.⁴²

Whether the industrial board has been engaged in a systematic effort to attract industries in which blacks would have little opportunity to gain employment is open to question. The reality, however, is that blacks have not benefited from the industrial growth that occurred during the 1970s. As stated earlier, "the increase in black unemployment during

this period was substantially higher than the increase in labor force participation by blacks.

Even if Sumter County has been more successful than other rural counties in attracting new industry, as the county commission and industrial development board maintain, the 1981–83 recession has done much to outweigh these gains. The largest employers in the county, Sumter Plywood and Livingston Fashions, both shut down in 1982.

The Sumter County Commission and industrial development board are not the only organizations devoted to encouraging economic development in Sumter County. Blacks in the county and elsewhere in the rural South have been aided by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an organization that provides technical assistance and fund raising for farm cooperatives. Most members of the federation are black farmers owning under 50 acres of land and with an annual income of \$5,000 or less. The federation also works with credit unions, sewing and other commercial cooperatives, and housing cooperatives in the rural South. The organization has its headquarters in Epes at the Rural Training and Research Center, which also houses a 1,325 acre demonstration farm for agricultural training and experimentation. At one time, the federation had Comprehensive Employment and Training Act funds to provide vocational training to local residents in housing rehabilitation, but recent budget cuts eliminated these funds.⁴³

The federation is primarily a black self-help organization, which bypasses the traditional white-run county government. Although its work is aimed at cooperatives throughout the rural South and not just in Sumter County, the location of the federation headquarters in the county has placed it in the forefront of local affairs on numerous occasions.

The federation appears to have generated considerable controversy, primarily along racial lines, and the organization generally views the white county government as its "enemy."⁴⁴ It alleges that the county government has refused to provide county services for its headquarters in Epes (such as graded roads and county water), even though the federa-

³⁶ Sumter County Commission Interview (Tom Neuhauser).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. Kinne and Dobson, *Economic Profile*, p. A-5.

⁴⁰ Hardaway Interview. Paris Interview.

⁴¹ Hardaway Interview.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Paris Interview.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

tion's payroll has been between \$200,000 and \$1,000,000 annually.⁴⁵

The federation recently was the subject of a grand jury investigation. The subpoena served upon Charles Prejean, director of the federation, instructed him to turn over "any and all documents in connection with Federal funding of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and its affiliated cooperatives for the years 1976-79."⁴⁶ The investigation lasted from December 1979 until May 1981 when the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama announced that he had "decided to decline prosecution."⁴⁷ Although no one in the federation was indicted by the grand jury, the lengthy litigation severely depleted the organization's finances, weakening it to the point where its future is uncertain. Legal costs incurred by the federation for the proceedings exceeded \$1 million.⁴⁸

Health Services

The availability of health care in Sumter has increased substantially since 1968. Those in need of medical attention may choose from among a variety of options: free services are available from the Sumter County Health Department in Livingston; services are provided for a fee at the West Alabama Health Service clinic located in Epes; finally, services may be obtained at cost from one of two hospitals located in Livingston and York, or from one of the private physicians in the county. The Sumter County Health Department Clinic provides a variety of services, including immunizations, family planning, maternity care, well child care, cancer detection, tuberculosis X-ray clinics, and Medicaid screening. The clinic does not employ a full-time physician, but a physician is always on call, and the services of two others are obtained when needed.⁴⁹ The onboard staff consists of the administrator, five nurses, three clerks, two aides, and an environmen-

talist; the two clerk typists and one of the aides are black.

The clinic operates on an annual budget of less than \$100,000.⁵⁰ The administrator of the clinic stated that, despite the modest budget and small staff, the clinic has provided adequate service, with patient load never exceeding available resources.⁵¹ He said that the clinic serves blacks almost exclusively, with whites accounting for only 10 percent or less of the patient load.⁵²

The Sumter County site of West Alabama Health Services, Inc., was established in 1981. The clinic, in Epes, is one of four operated by the corporation in the region.⁵³ The clinic basically offers the same services available at the Sumter County clinic. At the Health Services clinic, however, a fee is charged that is computed on a sliding fee scale according to the patient's financial situation.⁵⁴ According to the administrative coordinator of the corporation, in 1982, 60 percent of the clinic's patients were on the sliding fee scale and 20 percent of those patients were in the lower two (25 percent and 50 percent of actual cost) brackets.⁵⁵

The staff at the clinic consists of a nurse practitioner, a nurse's aid, a receptionist, and a driver, all black. The corporation employs five full-time physicians and one part-time physician. These are all general practitioners who serve the four clinics run by the corporation on a rotating basis, according to the daily requirements at each site. The chief medical officer of the group is a black woman.⁵⁶

During the 1982 fiscal year, the Health Services clinic was visited by an average of 30 patients per day. According to the administrative coordinator, approximately 96 percent of those patients were black.⁵⁷ The coordinator said that, as a result of the outreach program, the number of patients visiting the clinic has increased steadily. The outreach program was designed to inform those who live in

⁴⁵ Cleo Askew, director of housing, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, interview in Epes, Ala., Aug. 24, 1982.

⁴⁶ For response of Claude Jackson, chairman, Sumter County Commission, to these statements, see app. B.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Thomas N. Bethell, *Sumter County Blues* (Washington, D.C.: National Committee in Support of Community Based Organizations, 1982), p. 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵¹ Thomas Stewart, public health administrator, staff interview in Livingston, Ala., Aug. 23, 1982. Two county automobiles are available for use in home health visits and to transport patients to and from the clinic at no charge (hereafter cited as Stewart Interview).

⁵² For fiscal year 1982, the clinic received approximately \$48,000 in State funds, \$25,000 in county funds, and \$26,000 from other sources.

⁵³ Stewart Interview.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The corporation also has clinics in Hale, Greene, and Choctaw Counties. The clinics are funded through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. For the 1982 fiscal year, the operating budget of the corporation was \$1,549,518 with Federal funds accounting for \$1,114,609 of this total.

⁵⁶ Patients on the sliding fee scale must pay either 25, 50, or 75 percent of the actual costs of their treatment.

⁵⁷ Iris Sermon, administrative coordinator, West Alabama Health Services, Inc., telephone interview, June 2, 1982.

the outer parts of the county, many of whom have neither transportation nor telephones, about the availability of medical services. The program primarily operates through a referral program that has been initiated with various community organizations (mainly schools and churches) and the local Pensions and Securities Administration.⁵⁸

Both the Sumter County clinic and the Health Services clinic provide free transportation to and from their locations.⁵⁹ In addition, the Health Services clinic will transport patients who require treatment that is unavailable locally to facilities in either Meridian, Mississippi (45 miles), Tuscaloosa (35 miles), or Birmingham (120 miles).⁶⁰

Local respondents considered the health care network in Sumter to be adequate. To the extent that infant mortality rates indicate the health status of a community, however, blacks in the county compare unfavorably to whites. A decade ago the infant mortality rate for blacks was 38 per 1,000 live births compared to 7.7 per 1,000 live births for whites.⁶¹ Figures for 1980 show that although the rate for blacks has declined to 18.1 per 1,000 live births it is still nearly twice the white rate of 9.8 per 1,000 births.⁶²

Summary

Except in the area of health care, very little has improved for blacks in Sumter County since the last Commission study. Poverty and inferior education,

which characterized the plight of blacks here 15 years ago, are still highly evident today.

The county remains segregated: the older population refusing to forget "Southern tradition," while the children, learning and growing as separate races, are learning it anew. Whites, however, will not settle merely for keeping blacks segregated. As the experiences of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives have shown, initiatives taken by blacks to improve their socioeconomic state—even those that are totally independent of local whites—are resisted by whites.

Most of the new industry that has come into the county during the past 12 years has not benefited blacks. Further, one of the few firms that did offer blacks opportunities for advancement (Sumter Plywood) has closed.

Despite their significant numbers, political progress by blacks has been slow. Although the defeat of the white county commission in 1982 likely marks the beginning of a new political era for blacks, the black elected officials have yet to face the voters for a second time. In fact, blacks in Sumter are just gaining a foothold in the local political structure. It is too early to know what effect black political leadership will have on the plight of black county residents mainly because, regardless of their political losses, whites still maintain control over economic matters in the county.

supplied by the county and also uses the health services van when the need arises.

⁶² Neither of the two hospitals in the county offers radiology or dialysis treatment, nor can they provide certain types of eye treatment.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ The health services organization has a 15-passenger van based at the Epes clinic. The Sumter County clinic has two automobiles

8. Conclusion

In the 15 years since the Commission's hearing in Montgomery, the 16-county region has remained an economically depressed area, especially for blacks.

- The black unemployment rate remains two to three times higher than that of whites.
- Blacks are employed generally in the lowest paying jobs and are largely undereducated and unskilled.
- Median family income for blacks is only half that of whites.
- Poverty rates for blacks remain as much as 5 times those of whites.
- The percentage of blacks over 25 years of age who have graduated from high school is approximately half that of whites.
- New industries that have located in Alabama since 1968 have bypassed the 16-county area to a large extent, particularly in those counties where the population is majority-black and blacks have political control.
- Although the infant mortality rate for blacks has decreased, the black infant mortality rates continue to be much higher than those of whites.

In the six counties visited by Commission staff, educational, employment, and health conditions and services have improved for blacks, but there has been little change in conditions for blacks relative to whites.

As a result of the Voting Rights Act, blacks have been elected to a wide variety of political offices in five of the six counties, particularly where they represent a majority of the population. Currently, a majority of the county commissioners and school

board members in the four majority-black counties—Greene, Macon, Lowndes, and Sumter—are black. However, these political gains have produced little real power. The authority of these officials is basically limited to the distribution of minimal county revenues as well as Federal funds; black officials make decisions regarding the policies of public institutions such as the schools, health clinics, and other county services.

Whites maintain control over the major financial resources and institutions in these counties, affording whites considerable power. Whites in majority-black counties also have withdrawn from the public schools and other institutions controlled by blacks, and have established and promoted segregated institutions in the counties.

Segregation, institutional and social, existed in the South until the passage of civil rights legislation. Although *de jure* segregation ended, segregation as a practice evolved into its present form—"neosegregation." Under neosegregation, blacks and whites accept the separation of the races as a way of life. For example, it has become generally accepted that blacks attend public schools and whites attend private academies. Therefore, a dual system in education still prevails; however, today it is not viewed by blacks or whites to be harmful or discriminatory in effect. Neosegregation appears to be more pervasive in the predominantly black counties where blacks have political control. Within these counties, whites have segregated themselves from blacks in many aspects of life.

To understand fully the phenomenon of neosegregation, and political versus economic control within these counties, the Commission's investigation addressed the following questions:

- Has the change in political structure from all-white to majority-black county government affected educational and employment opportunities and health care delivery for blacks?

Because black officials in these counties do not have economic control, they have not been able to improve employment opportunities for most of the black residents. Black leaders have initiated changes in the public educational system by attempting to improve the quality of education with Federal programs and funds that are available to public school students. However, county revenues are minimal, and because whites attend private academies, there is very little white support for public educational initiatives. Therefore, without more adequate funds, black officials have been unable to provide quality public education. Federal monies also have been used to provide health clinics and nutrition programs. Consequently, health services have improved since 1968 when the Commission last studied the region. However, the Commission's 1983 study shows that only a small proportion of persons living in rural areas receive adequate medical services, and any decrease in Federal support will further limit the availability of health care for many blacks in the counties.

- Despite the nearness of the State capital to part of the area, the existence of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project, and other seemingly favorable factors, why have industries not located in this area, the notable exception being Autauga County? Does the racial makeup of the counties affect where industries will locate?

The counties where blacks have political control have had the most difficulty attracting industry. When firms have located in these counties, almost without exception they have chosen to settle in the county seat or in other towns where whites maintain political control. Whites have controlled the industrial development efforts in every county except Macon. In Tuskegee, the county seat of Macon, blacks have initiated major efforts to attract large businesses to the area. For example, under black leadership, Federal financial support has been used to provide the county with the infrastructure necessary for industrial development. However, after 11 years, their efforts have been unsuccessful. Blacks

feel that a large business has not located in Macon because it is a predominantly black county with an all-black government. Although Greene has made the Prepared County List for Industry, only two of the counties, Autauga and Sumter, have experienced industrial growth since 1968. In both of these counties, whites have controlled the economic development initiatives.

- What is the role of the Alabama Development Office and the regional commissions in encouraging economic development in the six counties?

The mission of the Alabama Development Office is to encourage industry to locate in Alabama. There is little concern as to where an industry locates as long as it locates in the State. No attempts are made to "sell" one area over another; in fact, the companies decide on the location. The most economically depressed areas, where industries are desired and needed, have not experienced industrial growth. The regional commissions work with local governments in preparing demographic information on the county for businesses, and in aiding cities and counties to obtain funds for industrial development. The decisions regarding the industrial development of a county are left to the county's economic and industrial board. Except in Macon, these boards are controlled by whites.

- How does treatment of blacks differ in education, employment, and health care among the counties?

In the two majority-white counties (Autauga and Clarke), whites have political and economic control. They also control all of the public and private institutions, as well as the financial resources of the counties. Whites own all of the major businesses and determine the distribution of funds for all services, public education, and community and industrial development efforts. In these counties, blacks do not have any decisionmaking roles, and, for the most part, their concerns have been neglected.

In those counties where blacks have been elected to political positions, they control the distribution of county and Federal funds for services and public education. However, whites control the financial institutions and major businesses. Whites make all decisions regarding the distribution of land and other resources that can be used for industrial development and direct policies regarding loans and financing for local businesses.

Blacks are the overwhelming majority in the public schools, while most whites attend private

academies. Black school administrators have used Federal funds to provide educational, special, and nutritional programs for students. Although employment opportunities are limited throughout the region, the unemployment rate for blacks is higher than that of whites in every county, and most blacks are employed in lower paying occupations. In the majority-black counties, black leaders have been active in expanding rural health services. With the use of Federal funds, transportation, medical and nutritional programs, and health clinics have been provided.

- Do segregation and discrimination continue and, if so, in what form?

The most disturbing finding of the field investigation in the six counties was the continued segregation of blacks and whites in most facets of life. Private academies are the principal symbol of a segregated society, and whites and blacks accept the existence of the academies as the primary educational institutions for white children. The detrimental effect of these academies cannot be overstated. The dual system of education—black public schools and white private academies—denies all children equal educational opportunity. Furthermore, the effect of the dual system of education on blacks and whites extends beyond childhood. White and black children learn at an early age that segregation of the races is an acceptable way of life.

Discrimination is not practiced as openly as it was in 1968. Subtle discrimination, which appears on its face to be within the parameters of the law, is more prevalent. The segregation that prevailed in the past has evolved into neosegregation, whereby blacks and whites have accepted the separate societies. In those counties where blacks have political control, whites continue to control the major financial resources. This control has effectively hindered blacks from entering into the economic mainstream. Black officials do not have the necessary economic resources to counter neosegregation and, consequently, improve conditions for blacks.

The Federal Role

It has become apparent that improved conditions for blacks in these counties may depend on the continued role of the Federal Government in every area—voting rights, education, employment, and health care. Improvements in the conditions for blacks in the six counties since 1968 appear to be due largely to Federal assistance and programs. Blacks have been the major beneficiaries of various Federal educational, employment, and health programs. From medicaid to food stamps, from Chapter 1 funds for educationally disadvantaged students to Comprehensive Employment and Training Act funds, most of the participants in these programs have been black. The Federal Government should continue funding for educational, employment, and health programs. These programs should be enhanced, not eliminated or weakened.

In addition to funding, the Federal Government must enforce civil rights legislation that guarantees equal protection of the laws. The Department of Justice must remain firm in its commitment to enforce the Voting Rights Act and to ensure that blacks have an effective role in selecting elected officials. Vigorous enforcement of the Voting Rights Act will demonstrate that the Federal Government will not tolerate attempts to erect barriers to full participation of blacks in the electoral process.

In view of the divisive role that private academies play in rural areas of the South, the Internal Revenue Service should exercise its authority to investigate those schools that do not have a policy of discrimination but appear, in fact, to discriminate. Moreover, the Department of Education should review private academies receiving Federal funds under Chapter 1 or Chapter 2 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and initiate enforcement proceedings where violations are found.

It is clear from the evidence gathered that much remains to be done if equal opportunity in education, employment, and health care is to be achieved in this area of the Nation.

Appendix A—Methodology

In 1982 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights undertook a study to examine civil rights concerns in parts of rural Alabama. The study consists of (1) statistical data on the education, employment, and health conditions for blacks in 16 counties compared with whites and (2) a field investigation in 6 of the 16 counties.

The last major Commission study of civil rights developments in Alabama (other than in the area of voting rights) was a 1968 hearing held in Montgomery, Alabama, at which witnesses testified to the discriminatory conditions for blacks in such areas as education, employment, farming, and health. The hearing covered 16 counties—Autauga, Barbour, Bullock, Butler, Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox—that contained one of the largest percentages of blacks in the country. At the time of the hearing, evidence indicated that discrimination in education, employment, health, in the provision of services, and in the operation of Federal programs was pervasive throughout the 16-county area.

The 1982–83 study focuses on civil rights developments in this region since the Commission's 1968 hearing. The Commission examined changes in education, employment, and health conditions for blacks relative to whites, by examining available data for 1968, 1970, and 1980 from the Bureau of the

Census, the State of Alabama, and other sources, such as special reports prepared by the regional commissions within the State of Alabama.

The field investigations included indepth interviews with local and State officials, community leaders, and civil rights organizations concerning the conditions of blacks within the selected counties. The end product was a multisite qualitative and quantitative study.¹ The multisite qualitative approach was selected because it addresses the same research questions in a number of settings using similar data collection and analysis procedures in each setting.² Such studies emphasize indepth description of each setting as a separate entity.³ This approach allowed for analysis based on the experiences, conditions, and findings within each of the six counties, but without comparisons made to each other or to other areas.⁴

To select the six counties for the field investigation, staff conducted an intensive literature review of the South, Alabama, and the 16-county area since 1968. In addition, staff prepared detailed profiles of all 16 counties. Telephone interviews were conducted with public officials, representatives of civil rights organizations, and staff of legal services groups to gather information on current developments, issues, and problems in each of the 16 counties. The profiles included demographic data, school enrollment data, educational expenditure and

¹ See Robert E. Herriott and William A. Firestone, "Multisite Qualitative Policy Research; Optimizing Description and Generalizability," *Educational Researcher*, February 1983, pp. 14–19 (hereafter cited as "Multisite Qualitative Research"), Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation Methods* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: SAGE Publ., 1980), pp. 22, 40–43 (hereafter cited as *Qualitative Methods*), Karen Seashore Louis, "Multi-

site/Multimethod Studies," *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 26, no. 1 (September–October 1982), pp. 6–22. For a bibliography on the use of qualitative research, see end of this section.

² "Multisite Qualitative Research," p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*; *Qualitative Methods*, pp. 40–41.

⁴ "Multisite Qualitative Research," p. 14.

attainment data, information on racial makeup of county commissions and school boards, major employers, types and amounts of Federal funds spent, health data, and other information. These county profiles became the basis for selection of counties as well as topics to be examined within each county. The profiles of all 16 counties showed that education, employment, and health conditions had remained the primary concerns of blacks in the region.

In many of the counties the political structure had shifted from all white to all black. Thus, the Commission decided to examine the effect of the change in the political structure on conditions for blacks. In addition, since the Commission's 1968 hearing, industrial development had become a major thrust in the State of Alabama for improving the economy and employment situation for residents. Thus, industrial development also was included in the new study to determine whether it had expanded job and economic opportunities for blacks. Of particular interest in this area is the Tennessee-Tombigbee Public Works Project, which was to provide and improve employment opportunities for the region. In addition, industrial development was included because many of the counties are located near the State capital of Montgomery, which has experienced industrial growth since the 1968 hearing. Since the Commission had recently released reports on black farming and voting rights, these subjects were excluded from the 1982-83 study.

Based on the county profiles and the issues to be studied, the Commission selected Autauga, Clarke, Greene, Lowndes, Macon, and Sumter Counties for field investigations. Greene, Sumter, and Clarke lie along the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. The three counties, though similar in many ways, provide interesting contrasts in the areas of education, employment and industrial development, and political structure.

Greene County has one of the highest percentages of blacks in Alabama. In 1969 it became one of the first Alabama counties to elect blacks to a majority of positions on its county commission. The schools are 99 percent black, whites opting to send their children to private academies.

Sumter County is 69 percent black, but before November 1982 no black had ever been elected to the county commission. Two of five school board members and a district judge, elected in 1981, were black. The public schools are 97 percent

black, and the county is one of the poorest in the State.

Clarke County has a majority-white population (57 percent) and almost all elected officials are white. The county has two desegregated school systems—Clarke County Public Schools (68 percent black) and Thomasville City schools (38 percent black)—and three private academies.

The other three counties—Autauga, Lowndes, and Macon—are all close to the city of Montgomery, which has experienced significant economic growth. The three counties, however, differ considerably on most indicators.

Autauga County is nearly 80 percent white and has experienced significant industrial and population growth due to its proximity to Montgomery. In fact, it is now part of the Montgomery metropolitan area and is no longer considered rural. Its black population is mostly rural and poor, however, and does not appear to have benefited from expanded economic opportunities. The county has experienced significant population growth, particularly among whites, and by 1980, the proportion of blacks had fallen to 22 percent. No blacks have been elected to political office or have decision-making roles in the county's public institutions. The public schools are 31 percent black.

Lowndes County, like Autauga, borders Montgomery but, unlike Autauga, has experienced little growth. The county is 70 percent black, and blacks have recently won a majority of seats on the county commission and school board. There is also a black sheriff and a black superintendent of schools. The public schools are 99 percent black, and two private academies enroll nearly all the county's white students. The county is one of the poorest in the State. There is no hospital in the county, but there is a federally funded and operated health center.

Macon County is over 80 percent black and, on the average, has a better educated and more affluent black population than in any of the other 15 counties, largely due to the existence of Tuskegee Institute. Blacks have been elected to all of the political positions in the county and county seat of Tuskegee. The county has attempted to attract new industry, but has had little success. The public schools are 99 percent black.

After the counties and topics were chosen, a team of two staff members was assigned to each county. Each team was responsible for locating knowledge-

able persons to be interviewed in each county and setting up interviews. Two techniques were used for identifying persons to be interviewed. First, persons who held certain public positions were contacted in each county, for example, the superintendent of schools, probate judge, county commissioners, school board members, and director of industrial development board. Second, staff used the "snow-ball" technique, whereby each person who was contacted by telephone was asked to recommend others who were knowledgeable about the subject areas.⁵ As many of these persons as possible were contacted, particularly those whose names were mentioned most frequently.

Before conducting field investigations, staff developed two sets of questions to be addressed. There were general questions for which answers would be obtained in each county: these included questions on basic demographic data, information on black elected officials, school enrollment statistics, information regarding desegregation, industries and employment data, and health services. Each team developed more specific questions that would be tailored to specific issues uncovered by the preliminary investigation in the county, and to the persons who were recommended for interviews. This process allowed both for collecting similar information from each county as well as for probing into areas that were more important or relevant for a particular county. Briefings on interview techniques were held before each field trip. The types of information to be obtained also were discussed.

⁵ Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 2d ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publ. Co., Inc., 1979), pp. 205-15.

In addition to interviews within counties, staff interviewed State officials in Montgomery to gain an overall picture of State responsibility and action in the areas of education, employment, economic development, and health care, and to assess the State's role in planning and implementing programs, and making policies that affect the 16-county area. These interviews included the State superintendent of education, the director of the Alabama School Board Association, the director of the Alabama Private School Association, the director of the Alabama Development Office, the director of the Alabama Industrial Training Institute, the directors of the State's regional planning and development commissions, and representatives of the State departments of health and employment.

One to two weeks were allocated for each field visit to the counties and to Montgomery. Interviews of State officials in Montgomery were combined with the field trips to Macon, Lowndes, and Autauga because of their proximity to Montgomery. The field visits were made in August and September 1982, according to the following schedule:

August 2-12, 1982: Macon County, Lowndes County, and Montgomery, Alabama

August 22-27, 1982: Autauga County and Sumter County

September 9-17, 1982: Clarke County

September 12-17, 1982: Greene County

Telephone interviews to obtain followup information, as necessary, were conducted after the teams returned.

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Appendix B

Defame and Degrade Responses

According to section 702.18 of the Commission's Rules and Regulations:

(a) If a Commission report tends to defame and degrade, or incriminate any person, the report or relevant portions thereof shall be delivered to such person at least thirty (30) days before the report shall be made public in order that such person may make a timely verified answer to the report. The Commission shall afford such person an opportunity to file with the Commission a verified answer to the report or relevant portions thereof not later than twenty (20) days after service of the report or relevant portions thereof upon such person as provided by the regulations in this part.

(1) Such person shall be served with a copy of the report or relevant portions thereof, with an indication of the section(s) that the Commission has determined tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate such person, a copy of the Act, and a copy of the regulations in this part.

(2) The report or relevant portions thereof, the Act, and regulations in this part shall be served by depositing the same in the U.S. mail via certified mail, return receipt requested, or by leaving a copy thereof at the last known residence or business address of such person.

(3) The date of service for the purposes of this section shall be the day the material is delivered either by the post office or otherwise, to such person or the agent of such person or at the last known residence or business address of such person. The acknowledgement of the party served, or the verified return of the one making service shall be proof of service except that when service is made by certified mail, the return post office receipt may also constitute proof of same.

(b) If a person receiving a Commission report or relevant portions thereof under this part requests an extension of time from the Commission within 7 days of service of such report, the Commission may, upon a showing of good cause, grant the person additional time within which to file a verified answer.

(c) A verified answer shall plainly and concisely state the facts and law constituting the person's reply or defense to the charges or allegations contained in the report.

(d) Such verified answer will be published as an appendix to the report: Provided, however, that the Commission may except from the answer such matter as it determines to be scandalous, prejudicial, or unnecessary.

The Commission mailed letters to 33 respondents who were defamed and degraded in this report. Twenty persons chose to respond. The following appendix contains all of the letters and materials that were received.

ALABAMA PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

Huntingdon College — Massey Hall

1500 E. Fairview Ave.

Montgomery, Alabama 36106

263-9115
263-9116

August 19, 1983

John Faircloth, Executive Director
Gus Swenson, Associate Director
Linda Faust, Secretary

TO: THOMAS R. WATSON

FROM: JOHN K. FAIRCLOTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RE: LINE BY LINE RESPONSE TO PRINTED QUOTES FOR PUBLICATION BY THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Line 1 of Footnote 16: The term "umbrella" does not apply to the Alabama Private School Association. This association is totally a service organization to its members. The term "umbrella" was never used by me in conversation.

Line 2 of Footnote 17: The categorical statement "Private schools offer an alternative to public schools in terms of quality" is out of context and incomplete. The statement refers to the discussion of purpose for the Alabama Private School Association. The statement was made "that the Association provides parents with an opportunity to send their children to a private school of quality, if they choose an alternative to public education and their choice was an APSA member school."

Line 1 of Footnote 18: The stated quote "so called white flight might have been white pursuit" (of quality education), is out of context and incomplete. The statement refers to the discussion as to why the explosion of private schools occurred in the late 60's and early 70's. The conversation was as follows: "During the Freedom of Choice Era, very few private schools were organized. But during the forced Desegregation Era, many schools were organized, as parents had a fear of a lack of academic quality during the actual Transition Era." It was also stated that the destruction of the community school system by forced busing was a major issue at the time. I used the statement "white pursuit"; rather than "white flight", simply because parental purpose during that time was not to escape, but to be non-speculative about their child's academic life during this period of federal assumption and control of local school systems.

Line 2 of Footnote 18: The statement "Parents did not want to speculate with their child's academic environment" is out of context and incorrect. For context purposes, refer to the response of

MR. THOMAS R. WATSON

AUGUST 19, 1983

PAGE 2

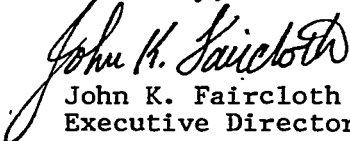
Line 1 of Footnote 18. The statement should read "Parents did not want to speculate with their children's academic life."

Line 1 of Footnote 20: The statement "The director claimed that the Association is trying to change the image and reputation of private academies as "white flight schools" is incorrect. The statement should read "The Alabama Private School Association has been tabbed with the stigmas of being a racist organization and an athletic organization." I stated "that we have tried to eliminate both of these stigmas on an association level and felt that we had made great strides, but we were not home yet." No reference was made to local private academies and their image.

Line 3 of Footnote 20: The Alabama Private School Association has only one requirement for membership application and that criterium refers to charter only. A school must be a non-profit chartered corporation to make application.

Line 5 of Footnote 20: The statement "It is hard to bring minorities in (to the schools). They don't seem to want to enter" is out of context and incomplete. The statement refers to the conversation which centered around the number of minorities currently enrolled in member schools. The statement should read "that efforts have been made by member schools to secure minorities in their programs, but with little success, primarily because of peer pressure from the minority communities and the cost factor." I further stated "that minorities did not seem to want to enter a predominately white private school, whereas many were enrolled in predominately black private schools." To my knowledge, no minority applicant has been rejected by an APSA member school.

Sincerely,


John K. Faircloth
Executive Director

Autauga County Commission

JUDGE OF PROBATE JIM CORLEY, CHAIRMAN
PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA 36067

August 26, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

RE: Fifteen Years Ago...Today:
Rural Alabama Revisited
Autauga County

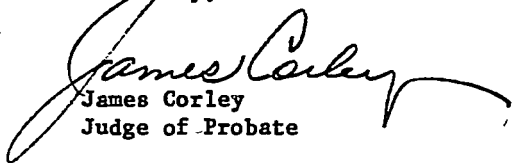
After circulating excerpts from the above referenced report for review and discussing the time frame for responses with Mr. Thomas R. Watson of your staff Autauga County is filing the following comments.

1. The provision of water service in the County is the responsibility of the Rural Water and Fire Protection Authorities. The board members of these authorities are appointed by the County Commissioners based on nominations submitted by the residents of the respective service areas. After appointment these authorities operate as independent corporations and are not responsible to the County Commission.
2. The interview with Mr. Robert Grasser did not occur in Prattville, but in Montgomery. Mr. Grasser reported to your field representatives that most of the growth in Autauga County had occurred in Prattville. He pointed out that efforts were being made, using community development block grant funds, to provide basic services such as water service and drainage improvements to the remainder of the County. These efforts can be documented through projects such as water improvements in the Autauga Hills and Autauga County Water and Fire Protection areas, bridge construction in Vida, and drainage improvements and recreation development in Autaugaville. Furthermore, the quote attributed to Mr. Grasser should read that "CARPDC has been unsuccessful in obtaining funds to provide street paving and sewerage facilities in rural areas."
3. The quote from the black community leader outside Autaugaville has been edited in such a way that the lack of service sounds like it is the County's fault. Attention is again drawn to comment 1 above regarding the responsibility for water service in the rural areas.
4. Footnote 91 attributes the remark on the racial composition of the Industrial Development Board to Mr. Grasser. That is incorrect. Mr. Grasser is aware of the existence of the Board, but does not know who the individual members are. For sake of accuracy please correct this citation.

5. Bids for work in the City of Prattville can not legally be placed through the Probate Judge's office. The City must place its own advertisements, accept bids and award contracts for work independently of the County.

Your attention to correcting and amending your report would be appreciated.

Sincerely,



James Corley
Judge of Probate



CITY OF PRATTVILLE

POST OFFICE BOX 277 • 101 W. MAIN STREET • PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA 36067-0277

August 25, 1983

C. GRAY PRICE
MAYOR
365-9997; EXT. 17

HOWARD DUNN
COUNCILMAN, PLACE #1

A. E. ERICSON
COUNCILMAN, PLACE #2

JAMES E. ROYAL
COUNCILMAN, PLACE #3

W. A. GLOVER
COUNCIL PRESIDENT
COUNCILMAN, PLACE #4

GWENDOLYN TEEL
COUNCIL MEMBER, PLACE #5

JERRY SIMS
MAYOR'S ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
365-9997; EXT. 17

JOYCE COLLINS
MAYOR'S SECRETARY
365-9997; EXT. 17

RUBY'E. KENNEDY
CITY CLERK-TREASURER
365-9997; EXT. 16

GUY COTHRON
REVENUE OFFICER
365-9997; EXT. 25

E. R. "IKE" CREW
POLICE CHIEF
365-9997; EXT. 19

DONALD MCGOUGH
FIRE CHIEF
365-3455

ARCHIE PLYLER
FIRE MARSHAL
365-5782

KENNETH DERAMUS
WASTEWATER DEPARTMENT
AUTAUGA CREEK PLANT 365-4353
PINE CREEK PLANT 365-5342

KENNETH HILL
PARKS & RECREATION DEPARTMENT
365-9997; EXT. 39

RAYBURN HILL
STREET DEPARTMENT
365-9997; EXT. 38

LEO BUSH
SANITATION DEPARTMENT
365-9997; EXT. 17

NAPOLEON STEELE
VEHICLE MAINTENANCE DEPARTMENT
365-9997; EXT. 37

DOUGLAS SMEDLEY
BUILDING DEPARTMENT
365-9997; EXT. 41

JUDGE GEORGE HOWELL
MUNICIPAL COURT
365-9997; EXT. 34; EXT. 35

CARL MCCORD
DOG WARDEN
365-9997; EXT. 40

SECRET WITNESS
365-2220

CERTIFIED MAIL

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

The attached "Response to United States Commission on Civil Rights" is forwarded as my reply to your letter of August 11, 1983. I have answered those charges specifically made against the City of Prattville and myself as its Mayor.

With this factual information in hand, you will be able to make the necessary corrections in your projected 1982 investigative report covering six Alabama counties entitled "Fifteen Years Ago ... Today: Rural Alabama Revisited."

No report which would adversely affect the residential and industrial growth of any city in the United States should be published containing untruths.

Sincerely,

C. GRAY PRICE
Mayor

CGP:jc
Enclosure

RESPONSE TO UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

TO: UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
FROM: CITY OF PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA, a municipal corporation
SUBJECT: ANSWER UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF §702.18 TO THE RELEVANT PORTION
OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT THAT IS DEFAMATORY, DEGRADING AND
INCRIMINATING AGAINST THE CITY OF PRATTVILLE
DATE: AUGUST 23, 1983

CHARGE I

A BLACK PERSON HAS NEVER BEEN ELECTED AS MAYOR OR TO THE CITY COUNCIL.

Although blacks have sought the office of Mayor and the City Council, there has not been one elected and there is a majority of whites on the City Board. This is in keeping with a free and democratic society which is governed by an open election where the population of 18,647 is made up of 85% white, 14% black and 1% other. 1/

CHARGE II

THE CITY DISCRIMINATES IN PROVIDING SEWAGE SERVICES IN THAT FUNDS HAVE BEEN USED PRIMARILY IN WHITE AREAS.

An action in the United States District Court was brought against the City of Prattville in 1970 charging discrimination of services. In the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama, Northern Division, Civil Action No. 2886-N, Hon. Frank M. Johnson issued an order on February 2, 1970 wherein the Court found no discrimination on the part of the City of Prattville "in the areas of street pavement, construction of sidewalks and gutters in the Negro neighborhoods, the installation of fire hydrants, street lights, sewerage lines, street signs, and traffic lights in Negro neighborhoods...", and the City of Prattville has not discriminated since that date.

All improvements in the sewage system of the City of Prattville have been allocated by need and engineering, and without regard to the color of the populace. The only sewage improvement project being conducted at this time is in a predominantly black area, which application was applied for and received on August 16, 1982, prior to the interview with Bobby Zeigler on August 23, 1982 (Commission's footnote 15/).

1/ Alabama State Data Center, University of Alabama, 12/21/82.

CHARGE III

LIMITED PROMOTION OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

The charge of discrimination by the Civil Rights Division of the Office of Revenue Sharing was fully answered and we would quote a part of this answer:

"The City of Prattville denies any discrimination against blacks in its hiring and promoting practices and denies that blacks are precluded from progressing beyond entry level to superior positions and does not respond to the charge that blacks are under-represented in those being hired in the fire, police and executive departments. The City does not respond since it does not understand the charge. The City of Prattville does not hire or promote on a quota basis, engages in no discrimination, and does not understand the charge. The City's written Personnel Policies contain a statement of policy as to discrimination, which is attached hereto as Exhibit "A"."

The City does not have an affirmative action program, but the administration of the City of Prattville, for many years, has actively engaged in recruitment among its black citizens for qualified employees for the fire and police departments. Any disproportionate representation in these departments by blacks is a lack of black interest in these positions and not based on a policy of discrimination or lack of effort on behalf of the City administration.

CHARGE IV

DISCRIMINATION IN ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

The Industrial Development Board has not been active in the economic industrial development of Prattville for many years, has not actively sought or recruited industries or business or developed any long-range programs, but only responded to industrial inquiries. When the current Mayor took office on October 6, 1980, five (5) of the members of the Industrial Development Board had already been appointed for a six (6) year term.

The City of Prattville has no control over the Chamber of Commerce, but the City understands that the Chamber of Commerce would welcome any member who would pay dues.

The City of Prattville awards all of its applicable contracts under the Alabama Competitive Bid Law. It awards its contracts to the lowest competitive, qualified bidder, but is delighted and encouraged when a local business receives the award. Thomas Construction Company, it would appear from the record, has made very little effort to secure the City's business, which is shown by the following:


- (a) 1981 Paving Project - Mr. Thomas' bid was \$29,952.74 higher than the next bid;
- (b) Cooper Street Project - Mr. Thomas did not respond to the bid invitation;
- (c) 1982 Paving Project - Mr. Thomas did not respond to the bid invitation;
- (d) 1983 Paving Project - Mr. Thomas did not respond to the bid invitation.

The City of Prattville has never received a request to place Mr. Gardner on its bid mailing list. The City never puts bids through the Probate Judge's Office. Bids are always advertised at the City Hall and through mail, as is required by law. The City of Prattville complies with all of Alabama's competitive bid laws and its files are open to the public for inspection. As to Willie L. Wood, Sr.'s comments (Commission's footnote 98/) concerning the City discriminating against black contractors, the City would suggest that the comments are made concerning a subject of which Mr. Wood has no knowledge.

The City would reply to the charge (Commission's footnote 90/) of "only one black in an office without a mop". Shortly after the current Mayor took office, Mr. Willie L. Wood, Sr.'s daughter, Ms. Callie Marshall, applied for and was offered an excellent job in City Hall as a Police Dispatcher. This offer was turned down by Ms. Marshall. Further, the Mayor and Police Department actively seek qualified blacks to fill positions when none are qualified on the personnel roster. 2/

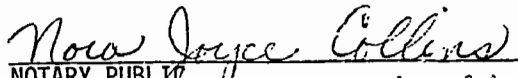
2/ Mayor, C. Gray Price

Respectfully submitted,


C. Gray Price, Mayor
City of Prattville, Alabama

STATE OF ALABAMA)
COUNTY OF AUTAUGA)

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 26th day of August, 1983.


NOTARY PUBLIC
my commission expires May 24, 1987

cc: Honorable Bill Nichols, U.S. House Representatives
cc: Honorable Jeremiah Denton, U.S. Senate
cc: Honorable Howell Heflin, U.S. Senate



UNBLEACHED PAPER
& BOARD DIVISION

P. O. BOX 326, MONTGOMERY, ALA. 36101 TELEPHONE (205) 365-8841

August 25, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

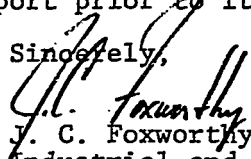
Re: Report
Fifteen Years Ago . . .
Today: Rural Alabama
Revisited

Dear Mr. Hope:

We received your letter of August 11, 1983, on August 15, 1983, enclosing certain material pertaining to Union Camp Corporation which you propose to publish in the above referenced report.

Your letter advised us that we are entitled to respond " . . . if a section of a Commission report tends to defame, degrade or incriminate any person." Our verified Answer is enclosed and as you will see from the information contained in the Answer, your report does "defame" us in that it is false and misleading in material respects.

We appreciate the opportunity to respond and strongly urge you to review our information and correct your report prior to its publication.

Sincerely,

J. C. Foxworthy
Industrial and Public
Relations Manager

JCF/ja
Enclosure

IN THE MATTER OF

Report Entitled: Fifteen Years Ago . . .
Today: Rural Alabama Revisited

United States Commission on
Civil Rights

ANSWER OF UNION CAMP CORPORATION

Comes now Union Camp Corporation and for answer to the allegations set forth in the above referenced report says as follows:

1. In August 1982 Union Camp Corporation cooperated with the United States Commission on Civil Rights in their field studies on rural Alabama counties. The Commission now proposes to publish a report which contains two false and misleading statements, one of which is as follows:

"Although blacks are employed at some of the larger companies, they are underrepresented in supervisory and managerial positions. For example, the Union Camp Company, one of the major paper manufacturing companies in the county, employed about 650 people in August 1982. The company employed approximately 190 blacks. Although they were nearly 30 percent of the workforce, of the 125 supervisors and managers, approximately 10 percent were black and 90 percent were white. . . "

2. The Commission is in error in using Union Camp as an example of underrepresentation. The facts are while the number of blacks in supervisory and managerial positions has varied from time to time, Union Camp has substantially exceeded availability in these categories. The most recent statistical analysis done by the State of Alabama, Department of Industrial Relations, Alabama State Employment Service, in conjunction with the U. S. Department of Labor establishes that the availability of blacks in the Montgomery area work force for supervisors and managers from the 1980 census ranges from .5% to 2.00%, depending on the category used.

3. The report further states:

" . . . According to the Industrial and Public Relations Manager, 'The company now has an affirmative action plan. It has general goals for more black supervisors and top maintenance people.'"

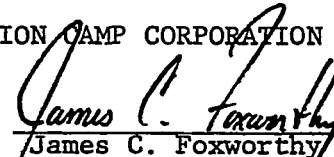
The word "now" was not included in Mr. Foxworthy's statement and is in error. The inclusion of the word "now" infers that the Union Camp affirmative action plan is of recent origin. The facts are, since 1969, shortly after the mill began operations, the Company's affirmative action plan has been a vital part of the Montgomery Mill. The plan is reviewed each year and updated as necessary. Both the plan and the Company's affirmative action efforts have been scrutinized by the U. S. Department of Labor's General

Services Administration, Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in full scale audits conducted in 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1981. Those agencies consistently have approved the Company's overall affirmative action efforts and have specifically agreed with the computations regarding the actual availability of blacks for supervisory positions at the Mill. The Company's present "general goal" to develop more black supervisors illustrates a commitment to equal opportunity and not a remedial response to underrepresentation.

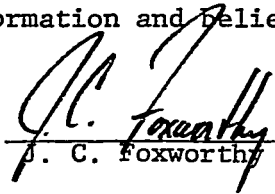
THIS 1st day of September, 1983.

UNION CAMP CORPORATION

By


James C. Foxworthy

Personally appeared before the undersigned authorized to administer oaths, James C. Foxworthy, Manager of Industrial and Public Relations for Union Camp Corporation at its Montgomery, Alabama Plant, who on oath says that the facts set forth in the foregoing Answer are true to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.



J. C. Foxworthy

Sworn to and subscribed
before me this 1st day of
September, 1983



Notary Public

My Commission Expires Oct. 26, 1985

Gurney Manufacturing Division

GURNEY INDUSTRIES, INC.
P. O. DRAWER E
PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA 36067
August 23, 1983

Mr. John Hope III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

Thank you for your letter dated August 11, 1983 regarding the Commission's report entitled Fifteen Years Ago . . . Today: Rural Alabama Revisited.

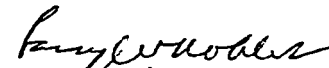
Given below is our response to the matter referred to, i.e., "One of the company's plants employed 132 blacks and 71 whites; all five managers were white and four of the six supervisors were white".

The point in question is moot. The plant referred to, the Gloria Plant in Prattville, closed in September, 1982, and remains closed at this writing.

Gurney Industries, Inc., supports and makes every effort to comply with all laws and guidelines concerning equal protection for its employees.

Sincerely,

GURNEY INDUSTRIES, INC.


Larry W. Nobles

Mr. John Hope, III.
Acting Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

RE: Autauga County Board of Education
Prattville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hope:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 11, 1983 addressed to me, along with the Commission's Report regarding the above captioned matter. I would respectfully submit the following information.

The Autauga County Board of Education operates pursuant to Chapter 8 of Title 16, 1975 Code of Alabama, subject to the Orders of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama in Lee v. Autauga County Board of Education.

Since the implementation of the Desegregation Orders applicable to this School System, the Autauga County Board of Education has attempted in good faith to comply with the provisions of these Orders. The Board has attempted to employ those we believe best qualified for the position. We have not discriminated based on sex or race in our employment procedures and practices.

Beginning with the school year 1984-85, all eligible children can be enrolled in the public kindergarten program and there will no longer be a "lottery" system used. In the 1983-84 school year, all students who signed up for the "lottery" have been enrolled in the public kindergarten program.

Respectfully submitted,



James T. Powell
Chairman


STATE OF ALABAMA
COUNTY OF AUTAUGA

Before me the undersigned authority, personally appeared James T. Powell, who is known to me and being first duly sworn, on oath, does depose and say that the information contained in the above and foregoing response is true to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.



James T. Powell

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 12 day of September, 1983.



NOTARY PUBLIC
Autauga County, Alabama

cc: Ms. Linda Schaves
Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

BANK OF THOMASVILLE

"Southwest Alabama's Leading Bank"

August 25, 1983

Mr. John Hope III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on
Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Re: Response to letter dated August 11, 1983/received August 13, 1983

Dear Mr. Hope:

In 1982 I was contacted and asked to participate in a field investigation which was being conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. On September 15, 1982 I was interviewed by two representatives of the Commission. On August 13, 1983 I received a letter informing me that a derogatory statement naming the Bank of Thomasville was to be released in a report entitled Fifteen Years Ago...Today: Rural Alabama Revisited.

I feel that the brief statement which the Commission chose to write does not accurately reflect the Bank's position and, in fact, seeks to destroy and degrade its good reputation in the community.

In accordance with § 102(e) of the Commission's statute and § 702.18 of its rules and regulations the following clarifications and corrections are made. I appeal to you to print the clarifications and corrections as written as an appendix to your report.

Your report states:

"There are certain jobs for which blacks appear to have been excluded entirely or for which only a minimum number of blacks are hired. Generally, banks often have one black teller at most. Of 59 employees at the four branches of the Thomasville Bank, there are currently three black professionals and three black maids. Although the bank has employed two black tellers in the past, there are none at the present."

Main Office
131 West Front St.
Thomasville, AL 36784
(205) 636-5481

Hwy. 43 Branch
Hwy. 43
Thomasville, AL 36784
(205) 636-5481

Fulton Branch
P. O. Box 87
Fulton, AL 36446
(205) 636-5474

Coffeeville Branch
P. O. Box 98
Coffeeville, AL 36524
(205) 276-3291

Letter: John Hope III
August 25, 1983

Our responses:

The Bank of Thomasville is proud of its positive Equal Employment Opportunity posture in the community. Every personnel action, such as, employment, termination, compensation, benefits, transfers, promotions, Bank sponsored training, social and recreational programs, etc. is administered without regard to race, color, religion, sex, age, national origin, handicap or veteran status.

Blacks have not been excluded from employment at the Bank. The Bank of Thomasville has not only provided employment opportunities for qualified blacks, but has also provided significant promotional opportunities. Point in fact, it is true that at the time of your investigation the Bank did not have a black teller. However, your report failed to mention that this was due to the promotion of a black teller to the job of computer operator. The computer operator position is significantly higher graded than that of teller. Neither does your report state that subsequent to your investigation that the teller vacancy was filled with a black teller.

The Bank has and will continue to provide equal employment opportunity to all employees and/or qualified applicants for employment. All employees and applicants for employment are treated the same without regard to race, religion, color, sex, national origin, age, handicap or veteran status.


The Bank has done a number of things to ensure that fair employment practices exist in the organization. Among these are:

- 0 Supervisory Training for all personnel responsible for hiring, terminating, promoting, transferring, recommending wage increases, etc.
- 0 Communications with recruiting sources, community agencies and the general public regarding our EEO posture and position.
- 0 Establishment of EEO officers for all Bank employees.
- 0 Regular in-house position statements and communications regarding equal employment opportunity.

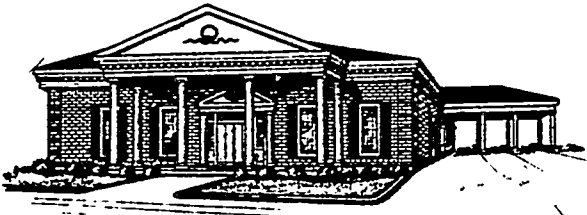
I trust that this letter will help the Commission more accurately reflect the employment posture and attitude in our community.

If you have any further questions, please contact me at (205) 636-5424.

Sincerely,



Robert F. Adams
President



JOHN H. BECTON, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

The First Bank of Grove Hill

P. O. BOX 549 • GROVE HILL, ALABAMA 36451

August 23, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

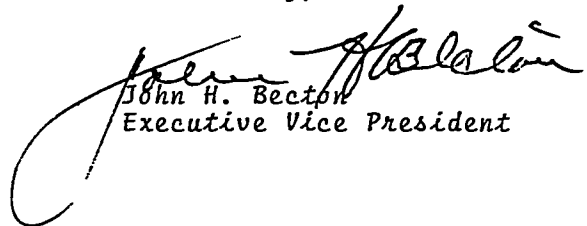
Dear Sir:

In response to your letter of August 11, 1983 and to the enclosed statements with that letter, I would like to submit the following information.

In the summer of 1982 we hired two people for summer employment of which one was Denise Martin, a black person. Again, the summer of 1983, of the three people we hired for summer work, one was again Denise Martin. We still have one black person as a part of our permanent staff, which is Mary Williamson. Mary is currently in a very responsible position with our bank. She is part of our operation's staff and is located in the same building as our computer, which is an integral part of our computer operations. She is one of our proof operators, which is a very sophisticated piece of equipment. The other black person on our staff is Archie Coats, which is our maid.

We presently have in mind hiring another black, that has an application on file with us, in the next opening we have in our operation's staff.

Yours truly,


John H. Becton
Executive Vice President

JHB/cwl



Vanity Fair Mills, Inc.

CLARKE DIVISION
P. O. BOX 98
JACKSON, ALABAMA 36545

August 23, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

We appreciate the opportunity of replying to your letter of August 11th and to the allegation made by Mrs. Viola Pugh that a white reference is required in order to obtain employment with our company.

Mrs. Pugh's daughter has made application to us for employment. On her applications she listed five references. Three of these were white and two were black, not three blacks as she stated. It has always been our normal policy to obtain character references on applicants; we usually obtain two such references from reputable citizens living in the area of the applicant. These may or may not include the references listed by the applicant on the application. Obviously, most applicants will list references they know will give them a good recommendation. We use references regardless of race, color, etc. Following our normal policy, we sent reference forms to two reputable citizens in the Coffeerville area, one black and one white.

In October, 1981, Mrs. Pugh, in a conversation with the Personnel Manager, was invited to bring her daughter in for an interview with him. They did not show up for the interview.

In conclusion, let me say that we want to hire the best people we can, those who are qualified to do the job available and who want to work. Our current turnover is 28% annualized, which indicates that we have a stable work force; that we treat them fairly and provide a good earning opportunity for them if they really want a job. If we can be of further assistance, please call on us.

Very truly yours,


Roy H. Ezell, Jr.
Plant Manager

RHE, jr./ecm
Certified - Return Receipt Requested



Alabama Department of Industrial Relations



ALABAMA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OFFICE

633 Commerce Street P. O. Box 637 Jackson, Al 36545 246-2453

September 1, 1983

Mr. John Hope III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

This is in response to your letter of August 11, 1983, regarding Fifteen Years Ago...Today: Rural Alabama Revisited which will be released in 1983.

The Alabama State Employment Service office in Jackson, after reading the statements submitted to your agency by residents of Barlow Bend, Alabama, submits the attached response.

Yours very truly,

Charles M. Rotch, Manager
Employment Security Office

Attachment

JOBS FOR PEOPLE — PEOPLE FOR JOBS

Response from

Alabama State Employment Service, Jackson, Alabama.

The Employment Service office located at Jackson provides services for all of Washington and Clarke Counties. If one was to observe the current statistics of our department, one could readily see that blacks have received more than their fair share of services provided by the local office. It is difficult and almost impossible from a statistical standpoint to measure what the office has done for every community in the two county area.

The black representation in the Clarke County community is approximately 44%. Blacks receive 68.2% of the temporary job referrals and 52.33% of the permanent referrals. During the period that this investigation was conducted, there was a recession in this county including Clarke County, Alabama. Jobs were scarce. The majority of the jobs that were received by the Jackson local office were minimum wage or slightly above minimum wage. Applicants that were available and accessible were referred. Statistics can be provided that will show this. The Alabama State Employment Service at Jackson proudly submits that it has not failed to refer any person to high-paying jobs for which he or she qualifies regardless of race, creed or color.



CLARKE COUNTY COMMISSION

COURTHOUSE

P.O. BOX 548

GROVE HILL, ALABAMA 36461

205/275-3507

August 23, 1983

Commissioners

Clarence Watters, District One

Bobby Bishop, District Two

Thomas E. Deas, District Three

Jesse J. Robinson, District Four

Fred L. Huggins

Judge of Probate and Chairman

John E. Adams, Sr.

Attorney

**Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission of Civil Rights-
Washington, D. C. 20425**

**Re: Report entitled "Fifteen Years Ago...Today:
Rural Alabama Revisited"**

Dear Mr. Hope:

I received your letter dated August 11, 1983, concerning the above referenced report. I appreciate your solicitation of a response from me on the proposed report.

I emphatically deny that during my time in office I have been guilty of denying equal protection of the law under the Constitution because of race, color, sex, religion, age, handicap, or national origin or in the administration of justice.

If your two field investigators are who I remember them as being, they did not do an adequate and thorough job of investigating. That is certainly evidenced by the fact that they accepted untitled, undated, unexplained data on county employees supplied by the newest member of the county government.

Your two investigators spent only a very few minutes in my office. They asked a few vague questions as to my opinion on race relations in the county which I tried sincerely to answer truthfully and to the best of my ability. At the time they were in my office, we were within a few feet of permanent, verified county payroll records and I could have shown them what we have accomplished on behalf of minorities in Clarke County within the past 12 years (the time I have been in office).

Why did your investigators not get correct information and an explanation from me? Could it be that they already had their minds made up about what they intended the report to show? Why isn't there something in the proposed report about the progress made within the past 15 years?

Now to the statement in your proposed report to the effect that about 25% of county

employees are black. Prior to January 1971 (when I took office) to the best of my knowledge and belief there were only 3 county employees who were black. All 3 were in janitorial jobs and none were employed in county offices or county road crews. At the present time about 25% of county employees are black. A few years ago when several of us were working to get Clarke County designated as an Economic Development District under the Economic Development Administration, we were told that 25% minority participation should be our goal. We have therefore been following federal goals and in fact increasing the percentage each year.

Now to items 77/ and 78/. The charge is incorrect and misunderstood. Sgt. James Kidd is black. He is the second ranking officer in the Clarke County Sheriff's Department in both rank, prestige, and pay. He earns \$17,295.00 per year. Annie D. Morris is the second ranking person in the Budget Clerk's office. In 1975 when a bookkeeper was needed, there were no qualified black applicants. Mrs. Morris was recruited, employed, and trained at county expense as a bookkeeper.

Although James Walker is listed as a custodian, he is not a custodian in the sense of being a janitor. Mr. Walker serves as custodian of buildings and as such he supervises other employees, both black and white. He is also responsible for contracting for maintenance and repair work on 6 county buildings, and is also responsible for a large amount of purchasing. He is considered a staff person and not a low status laborer. He replaced 2 white males when appointed to his present position.

There are several blacks which earn more than \$500.00 a month, contrary to the statement in your proposed report. Please permit me to site 2 or 3 examples of the county commission's efforts to recruit blacks and to be fair in our treatment of all employees.

In District 1, Lenel Calhoun is black and is an Equipment Operator. He was employed in 1976. Leonard Huggins is white and an Equipment Operator. He was employed in 1957. Both are paid \$11,612.12 per year. Dwight Calhoun is black and was employed in 1979. Nolan Keel is white and was employed in 1963. Calhoun has been elevated to truck driver and earns \$10,655.05 per year while Keel is a laborer and earns \$9,012.12 per year.

In District 2, James T. Brunson is white and is an Equipment Operator. Wiley Crum is black and an Equipment Operator. Both earn \$11,612.12 per year even though Brunson was employed in 1961 and Crum in 1973. Equipment Operator is the highest status job on the county crews and is not considered a low status job.

In District 3, the Commissioner is white but the foreman is black. Grady Gould is considered the foreman when the Commissioner is not available and he earns \$12,086.36 per year.

In District 4, the Commissioner is black and the foreman is white. T. J. Overstreet is considered the foreman when the Commissioner is not available and he earns \$12,086.36 per year, the same as Mr. Gould mentioned in the paragraph above who is black.

In the Clarke County Probate Office there are currently 5 permanent jobs. 3 are white and 2 are black. When a temporary job became available the slot was filled by a black;

Page Three
August 23, 1983
Mr. John Hope, III

making 3 whites and 3 blacks in the office. That's 50% any way you figure it. I submit to you that that is a heck of a lots better percentage than the United States Commission on Civil Rights, the White House, or New York City have ever attained.

In summation, your proposed report is inaccurate, unfair, and is prejudiced against the Clarke County Commission. I have worked very hard to be fair with every citizen of this county. I have also worked very hard to bring blacks into the county employment, along with other members of the County Commission and other county officials. And all I get for the effort is a report prepared by people who only spent a short time in the county, who only spent a few minutes with me, and whose report contains untrue statements prepared from untitled, undated, unverified information.

I would like to propose that the enclosed statement be substituted in preference to the one proposed by your department.

Sincerely,

Fred L. Huggins

Fred L. Huggins
Judge of Probate and Chairman

FLH:et

Enclosure



CLARKE COUNTY COMMISSION

COURTHOUSE
P.O. BOX 548
GROVE HILL, ALABAMA 36451
205/275-3507

August 23, 1983

Commissioners
Clarence Watters, District One
Bobby Bishop, District Two
Thomas E. Deas, District Three
Jesse J. Robinson, District Four

Fred L. Huggins
Judge of Probate and Chairman

John E. Adams, Sr.
Attorney

PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE STATEMENT

In the county and city governments blacks are still employed at a rate somewhat lower than their percentage in the county. For example, of the employees in the county government, approximately one-fourth are black while the percentage of black population is 42.9%. (1980 U.S. Census)

However, significant progress has been made within the past 15 years. Only 3 blacks were employed 15 years ago in county government and those 3 were in janitorial jobs. Today, blacks make up 25% of the employment of the county government and are employed at all levels of the government, including supervisory positions.

James E. Arrington
Mayor
Wayne Brunson
City Clerk

Wm. E. Stewart
Billy Allday
Harvey Long
H. W. Pearce, III
Dale Mathews
Councilmen

City of Jackson
Jackson, Alabama
36545

August 18, 1983



Heart of The Pines



Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

In response to your letter dated August 11, 1983. I offer the following answer:

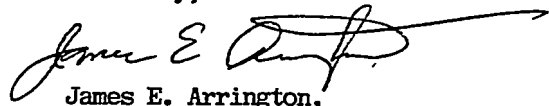
As to footnote 80/, there are only three women working as clerks in the Adminstrative Department. All three were trained and qualified as computer operators. This is one of the qualifications for employment. The dates of employment of these three women are:

1. August, 1973
2. July, 1974 to September, 1980; rehired November, 1981
3. October, 1980.

The other woman is employed as Municipal Court Clerk and does not work in the Adminstrative Department. This person was employed in July, 1969.

Footnote 81/ is incorrect. Only one office worker was hired in 1981. This person was a previous employee with an exceptional record and was already trained and qualified. Also, at this point in time, upon examination of all other applications for employment, none were qualified for this position.

Sincerely,


James E. Arrington,
Mayor

/mc



**THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD
OF CLARKE COUNTY**

P.O. BOX 338

205-275-8679

GROVE HILL, ALABAMA 36451

August 22, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

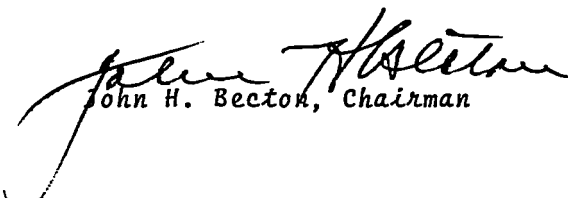
Dear Sir:

As a response to your letter dated August 11, 1983, and to the statements that were enclosed, I would like to take this opportunity to correct one of the statements.

The Industrial Development Board of Clarke County was originally comprised of nine members including a chairman and as per their appointment so stated. However, there is one exception, and that is we have two ladies presently serving on our board one of which has served since the date of organization. The board members themselves have no control over who is appointed to serve on this board. We have had extremely good harmony within this board even though it is made up of a wide representation of Clarke County. I wanted to get this correction in in order for it to be part of your report.

Sincerely,

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD OF CLARKE CO.


John H. Becton, Chairman

JHB/mch

PHELPS, OWENS, JENKINS, GIBSON & FOWLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
P.O. DRAWER 29
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35402

SUITE 426
ALABAMA FEDERAL BUILDING

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 205
345-5100

SAM M. PHELPS
JOHN A. OWENS
JAMES J. JENKINS
J. RUSSELL GIBSON, III
RANDOLPH M. FOWLER
JOHN D. HUNGER
MICHAEL S. BURROUGHS

26 August 1983

Mr. John Hope III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Ave. N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20425

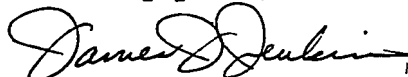
Dear Mr. Hope:

In your letter of 11 August 1983, you advised our client, Greene County Greyhound Park, Inc., that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was to publish a report entitled Fifteen Years Ago... Today: Rural Alabama Revisited. You also solicited our client's response in regard to certain matters which will be contained in the report.

I am enclosing an affidavit from Paul W. Bryant, President of Greene County Greyhound Park, Inc., in response. I request that this affidavit be attached pursuant to the Commission's regulations and statutes to the report which will be published.

Please advise me how I may obtain a copy of the report and the cost of procuring same.

Sincerely yours,



James J. Jenkins

JJJ:gs
Enclosure

STATE OF ALABAMA §

AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL W. BRYANT, JR.

GREENE COUNTY §

Before, me the undersigned authority, a Notary Public in and for the State of Alabama at Large, personally appeared Paul W. Bryant, Jr., who after by me being first duly sworn, deposes and says on oath as follows:

My name is Paul W. Bryant, Jr. I am the President of Greene County Greyhound Park, Inc. Greene County Greyhound Park, Inc., does business as Greenetrack in Greene County, Alabama. This affidavit is being made in response to matters to be contained in a report to be issued by the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

The section of the Commission's report relating to Greenetrack implies that Greenetrack has not materially benefited the black citizens of Greene County. In fact, Greenetrack has been an economic boon for the citizens of Greene County.

Greene County Greyhound Park opened for business in September of 1977. For the period September 1977 to and including 30 June 1983, the percentage of Greene County residents employed at Greenetrack has ranged from 75% to 84% of the total employees of Greenetrack. During this same period, the total payroll of Greenetrack was \$11,121,000.00.

In addition to the amount of funds generated to Greene County residents through its payroll, during the period September 1977 to and including 30 June 1983, Greenetrack also paid \$14,852,000.00 to the Greene County Racing Commission. The Racing Commission is required by law and has distributed these tax dollars as follows:

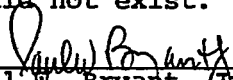
- A. 5% to the Greene County Hospital Board.
- B. 25% appropriated to each municipality in Greene County on a per capita basis according to the most recent population figures used by the Federal Government for the purpose of revenue sharing, or the population figures according to the last Federal Census.

- C. 30% to the Greene County Board of Education.
- D. 40% to the General Fund of Greene County which is to be used by Greene County as follows:
1. 50% is to be spent in any manner, provided by law, for the benefit of the citizens of Greene County by the county governing body thereof.
 2. 10% is to be used by the county governing body to upgrade law enforcement in the county.
 3. 10% for the establishment and maintenance of a county ambulance service and other health needs.
 4. 10% for the establishment and maintenance of day-care centers within the county.
 5. 6% to be used by the county governing body to promote economic development within Greene County.
 6. 4% to be appropriated to the Greene County Health Department.
 7. 4% to be used by the county governing body for parks and recreation within Greene County.
 8. 2% to be appropriated to the Greene County Library Association for upgrading of the library system.
 9. 2% to be appropriated to West Alabama Mental Health Center, Inc. to be used for mental health services within Greene County.
 10. 1% to be appropriated to the Greene County Historical Society for its use in restoring and preserving historic sites and buildings in the county.
 11. 1% appropriated to the Greene County Housing Authority.
- E. Any remaining moneys are to be distributed to a special building fund for use of the Greene County Commission for building and retirement of debt service for a new county courthouse and jail and for repair and renovation of the existing Greene

County Courthouse and adjacent county buildings located on the courthouse square.

According to the last Federal Census, the total population of Greene County is 11,021 persons. Of the total population, 8596 were black persons. Thus 78% of the population of Greene County are black persons. These persons would receive the greatest benefit from the tax dollar distribution scheme and the infusion of payroll.

In addition, a market study has shown that less than 10% of the income of Greenetrack is derived from persons residing in Greene County. Thus, the payroll dollars and tax dollars are moneys which would otherwise not be available to Greene County if Greenetrack did not exist.


Paul W. Bryant, Jr.

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this the 25 day of August, 1983.


Notary Public

HALL, CLARK & SMITH

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

P. O. BOX 790

ONE PROFESSIONAL COURT

EUTAW, ALABAMA

35422

DAVID M. HALL
GEORGE N. CLARK
MICHAEL D. SMITH

PHONE 372-3308
372-4844
AREA CODE 208

September 9, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

This correspondence is in response to a letter recently received by Mr. Luther Howell, executive director of the Greene County Economic and Industrial Development Board, from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. I am enclosing a letter from John Zippert who is a member of the G.C.E.I.D. and who was quoted in your letter of August 11, 1983. I hope that Mr. Zippert's letter of August 25, 1983 will help clarify some of the statements made by Mr. Zippert as recorded on September 15, 1982.

Under Alabama law the G.C.E.I.D. is an agency of the Greene County Commission which is the governing body of Greene County. The Greene County Commission is composed of four commissioners and the Probate Judge serves as chairman of the Commission. The members of the G.C.E.I.D. are appointed by the Greene County Commission. Although the Probate Judge and all members of the Greene County Commission are black, they elected to appoint a bi-racial board.

The G.C.E.I.D. has had the backing of the Greene County Commission, City of Eutaw, Town of Boligee and Town of Forkland. Each governmental entity has contributed financially to the board and to the efforts of economic development here in Greene County. Through the joint efforts of elected black and white citizens and black and white civic leaders, Greene County has made great strides towards economic development which are unparalleled by any other county in Alabama. This statement is evidenced by the fact that Greene County, City of Eutaw, Town of Boligee, and Town of Forkland are joint owners of a 2,000 acre industrial park. The board, through the joint efforts of black and white alike, has received grants from the State of Alabama totalling nearly \$8,000,000 and grants from the EDA totalling nearly \$3,000,000. The local governmental entities have committed nearly \$4,000,000 from their own funds.

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
September 9, 1983
Page Two

These accomplishments speak louder than any words or affidavits as to the spirit of cooperation and trust between blacks and whites here in Greene County.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "George N. Clark", written in a cursive style with some loops and flourishes.

George N. Clark,
as attorney for Greene County Economic
and Industrial Development Board

GNC/yc

Enclosure

The Federation of Southern Cooperatives
Rural Training and Research Center
Post Office Box 95
Epes, Alabama 35460



TELEPHONE (205) 652-9676

CHARLES O. PREJEAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 25, 1983

Board of Directors

Woodrow Keown, President
ARKANSAS

Norwood Davis, Vice President
LOUISIANA

David Humes, Secretary
MISSOURI

Lucius Black, Treasurer
ALABAMA

G. L. Twitty, Chaplain
SOUTH CAROLINA

Pearl Long, Secretary
FLORIDA

William Montgomery
GEORGIA

Wayne Sheffel
KENTUCKY

Mary Thomas
MISSISSIPPI

Daniel Bustamante
TEXAS

Mr. Luther Howell, Executive Director
Greene County Economic and Industrial
Development Board
P. O. Box 70
Eutaw, Alabama 35462

Dear Mr. Howell:

Thank you for sharing with me the letter from Mr. John Hope III, Acting Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, concerning my comments on the Greene County Economic and Industrial Development Board.

The Commission extracted a small portion of a long interview I had with them in September 1982. At that time, the GCE&ID Board had just completed dealing with Sunbelt Forest Products. I was dissatisfied with our approach and method of dealing with this company, especially with regard to their plans for minority employment. Time has somewhat proven out my concerns.

Time and working together has also made the entire Board more interested in and responsive to some of the issues and concerns I was raising. We now have regular GCE&ID Board meetings and will have regular meetings in the future to deal with the development of the Crossroads of America Industrial Park.

The Board members in recent months, have also become more sensitive to the issue of increasing employment and training opportunities for minorities and women, as a part of the economic development process for Greene County. The Board's willingness to adopt a 40% goal for minority hiring on the \$3 million EDA project for the Barge Docking Facility in the Crossroads of America Industrial Park is very encouraging. I hope we will closely monitor this project to see that the affirmative action goals for minorities and women are met.

Page 2
8/25/1983

I agree with Judge Branch of Greene County that Black and White people have been able to work together to build the Greene County Economic and Industrial Development Board. I hope we can stay together and share the coming benefits of economic and industrial development in a fair and equitable manner.

Cooperatively yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Zippert". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

John Zippert
Director of Program Operations
Member-GCE&ID Board

JZ:fr

MERCHANTS & FARMERS BANK

OF GREENE COUNTY

EUTAW, ALABAMA

35462



W. W. HUMPHRIES
PRESIDENT

August 22, 1983

Mr. John Hope, III
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 11, 1983, and the enclosures sent therewith. Most of the statements collected and reported are incorrect, do not reflect Bank policy, and appear to be based, at best, on hearsay, misinformation and speculation.

I am not a member of the Greene County Economic and Industrial Development Board or any other Industrial Development group. The Bank strongly supports industrial development and has loaned hundreds of thousands of dollars to our local governments over the past five years for the purpose of industrial development.

The Bank has participated in SBA insured loans for both black and white owned businesses. The lending policies of this Bank apply equally to all customers, both black and white. All persons are treated equally based upon their financial ability. Ours is a small, local bank and we try to be careful to make good, safe loans with a high probability for repayment. The Bank does take some risks, but when it does it must charge a higher rate of interest and/or obtain a sufficient guaranty or other form of security. I am certain that our conservative lending policies have on occasion irritated black and white customers alike; however, the officers of the Bank have an obligation to the stockholders and depositors to make loans in accord with sound banking principles by requiring either adequate security or proof of financial ability. Blacks, as well as whites, can obtain financing at our Bank (in fact, over fifty percent of our loans are made to blacks) upon meeting the Bank's requirements for a loan. The mere fact that our Bank is fiscally conservative does not mean we are discriminatory, it just reflects an overall policy of making sound, secure and, so far as possible, safe loans.

Each customer who enters our Bank can talk to the loan officer of his or her choice. The Bank does not "assign" loan officers to customers. The Bank does not discourage small loans, having loans on its books as small as Twenty Five Dollars (\$25.00).

MERCHANTS & FARMERS BANK

OF GREENE COUNTY

EUTAW, ALABAMA

35462



W. W. HUMPHRIES
PRESIDENT

Mr. John Hope, III
August 22, 1983
Page Two

While it is correct to say that there have been efforts to locate a second bank in Greene County, it is incorrect to allege that our Bank was the force which stopped that effort. The truth of the matter is that the State Banking Commission has not felt that our county of only ten thousand plus residents is financially strong enough to support two banks.

Our Bank has a very strong group of employees; they are dedicated and loyal employees whose length of service averages over fourteen years. We have very little turnover and have actively recruited black employees when vacancies have occurred. Our decision to begin hiring blacks was not the result of any SCLC activities or other outside pressure but rather was a reflection of our desire to try to promote fairness in our hiring, as well as our lending policies.

We are a fair, even-handed, fiscally conservative Bank. We do not like to make bad loans nor do we like reporting to our stockholders that we have lost money. We do not, have not, and will not discriminate against anyone because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap or national origin in either our lending or hiring policies.

Yours very truly,

W. W. Humphries
President, Merchants & Farmers Bank
of Greene County

WWEH/yc

Post Office Box 6
Hayneville, Alabama
August 24, 1983

Mr. John Hope III, Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Hope:

Thank you for your letter of August 11, 1983, informing me of my right to respond to the statements made about me in the Fountain and Haynes Interview on August 4, 1982.

May I refer you to the last three sentences of that section of the interview, which you sent. The two sentences next to the last one are a matter of opinion, which your respondents are entitled to; but an opinion which I do not share. However, the last sentence is not an opinion; it is an untruth, at which I take umbrage. ("In her last appearance as superintendent she became so disconcerted that she rushed out during a meeting and never returned.")

May I correct the record on this point? The Board Meeting at which I resigned, on August 25, 1975, was a scheduled meeting with a longer than usual agenda. All members were present except John Farris. Also present were Howard Mandell, attorney for the Board, and Robert C. Black, attorney for the Superintendent. After a lengthy meeting was conducted, and many items of business were completed, and immediately preceding adjournment, I presented a carefully composed letter, prepared in advance of the meeting. In it I calmly announced my resignation and explained my reasons for resigning before the end of my term. I then excused myself from the room and returned to my office, in order for the Board to discuss my resignation.

At no point in the meeting did I feel disconcerted, nor did I feel threatened nor insecure because of the two blacks on the Board. I did not rush from the meeting. I had completed all the business that needed my attention and I left at the appropriate time in an appropriate manner. There was absolutely no reason for me to return. I resent that last statement; but even more, I resent what it implies.

Thank you for allowing me to respond to a statement in a public record which I believe to be untrue and unfair.

Yours truly,



Hulda Coleman, Retired
Superintendent of Education

BOARD MEMBERS

LYDIA FAIR
FLETCHER FOUNTAIN
MARY DORA HAMMONDS
ANDREW McCALL
WILLIE B. WILSON, JR.

LOWNDES COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

URALEE HAYNES, SUPERINTENDENT
P. O. BOX 755
HAYNEVILLE, ALABAMA 36040

PHONES
548-2131
548-2134

August 29, 1983

RESPONSES TO
FIFTEEN YEARS AGO . . . TODAY: RURAL ALABAMA REVISITED

I. STATEMENT OF RALPH NORMAN

In response to the statement of Ralph Norman, Mayor of the Town of Fort Deposit, the Black board members are not more interested in "the number of Blacks in the schools and the number of teachers they can make Black" than they are in trying to improve the educational system.

The board members by the Consent Order of July 16, 1976 were merely trying to implement the Order of August 8, 1973. A complete copy of the Order is enclosed; Special sttention should be given to Section VI.

The board's attorney was told to get it done immediately. The 1976 Consent Order was an attempt to smoothe the transaction asked for in the 1973 Order. White teachers that left, resigned because they did not want to work in formerly all Black schools. Of course, the board was majority White during this time.

II. STATEMENT OF GENERAL ELECTRIC REPRESENTATIVE

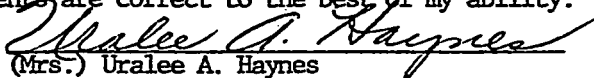
I am certain that the only thing that the General Electric representative meant when he stated that he "wishes the schools weren't the way they are" was that he wished the schools were not almost separate. None of us want separate schools.

III. CONCLUSION

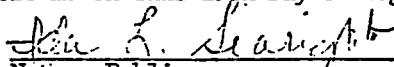
It is my opinion that the schools are continuously improving and that Whites themselves pulled out of the public school system of their own volition.

IV. CERTIFICATION

I Uralee A. Haynes, Superintendent, Lowndes County Board of Education certify that the above statements are correct to the best of my ability.


(Mrs.) Uralee A. Haynes

Sworn and Subscribed Before me on this 29th Day of August, 1983.


Notary Public

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALABAMA

MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALABAMA

JUL 16 1976

NORTHERN DIVISION

LANE P. GORDON, CLERK
DEPUTY CLERK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,)
)
Plaintiff,)
)
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,)
INC.,)
Plaintiff-Intervenor,)
)
v.)
LOWNDES COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION,)
et al.,)
)
Defendants.)

CIVIL ACTION
No. 2328-N

CONSENT ORDER

The United States filed simultaneously with this consent order a motion for further relief based on a showing that the faculty assignments of the Lowndes County Board of Education were not in compliance with this Court's order of August 8, 1973, or with the teacher assignment provisions of Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 419 F.2d 1211 (5th Cir., 1970). The motion cited statistics from the defendants' 1975-76 annual report to the court which indicated that there are three district schools with all-black faculties and two schools with only one white teacher each; while at Lowndes County High School, the only county school with whites in attendance, there are 22 white teachers, 7% of that school's faculty. (Whites 43% of this school's student enrollment.)

The United States and the defendants, Lowndes County Board of Education, being desirous of resolving this matter without the expense and delay of litigation, and having agreed to the form and terms of this decree, and the Court being of the opinion that the entry of this decree will effectuate the mandate of the August 8, 1973 order and the Singleton provisions, now therefore, without adjudication of the merits,

It is ORDERED, ADJUDGED and DECREED that

1. Commencing with the 1976-77 school year the Lowndes County Board of Education will transfer five white teachers from Lowndes County High School to other district schools, and will replace these five white teachers with five black teachers from the other district schools.

2. Commencing with the 1977-78 school year the Lowndes County Board of Education will assign five additional white teachers from Lowndes County High School to other district schools, and will replace these five white teachers with five black teachers from the other district schools.

3. Commencing with the 1978-79 school year the Lowndes County Board of Education will assign its teachers district-wide in such a way as to comply fully with the faculty assignment provisions of Singleton which provide:

The principals, teachers, teacher aides and other staff who work directly with children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school is intended for Negro students or white students [T]he district shall assign that staff described above so that the ratio of Negro to white teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system.

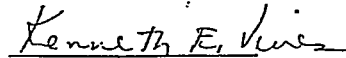
The school district shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment to accept new assignments.

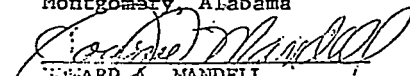
All other provisions and terms of the desegregation order not amended herein shall remain in full force and effect.


Done this 16th day of July, 1976.


UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Approved For Entry By Consent:


KENNETH E. VINES
Assistant United States Attorney
Post Office Building
Montgomery, Alabama


EDWARD A. MANDELL
Attorney for Defendants
Post Office Box 1904
Montgomery, Alabama 36103


LLOYD J. PARKER, JR.
Attorney
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

1973
U. S. DISTRICT JUDGE
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALA.
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
NORTHERN DIVISION

FILED 46
AUG 15/73
JAMES G. GIBSON, CLERK
C.C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Plaintiff

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
INC.

Plaintiff-
Intervenor

CIVIL ACTION NO. 2328-X

v.

LOWNDES COUNTY BOARD OF
EDUCATION, et al.,

Defendants

STIPULATION

It is stipulated and agreed to between the parties hereto that the Court shall order implementation of the attached plan for establishment of a "unitary school system" in Lowndes County, Alabama.

LOWNDES COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION,
Defendant

By: T. W. Thigpen

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
Plaintiff-Intervenor

By: William A. Hayes Jr.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Plaintiff
J. STANLEY FOLLINGER
Assistant Attorney General

By: Brian K. Landsberg
BRIAN K. LANDSBERG
ROSS L. CONNEALY
Attorneys, Department of Justice

IRA DE MENT, United States Attorney

By: Kenneth E. Vines
KENNETH E. VINES
Assistant United States Attorney

2. During the school year 1974-75, all students attending school in Lowndes County shall be permitted to attend the school of their choice with the Lowndes County Board of Education furnishing transportation to insure that each such student may attend the school of his choice irrespective of where he may reside. Provided, however, that the Lowndes County Board of Education will draw a zone surrounding the area in proximity to Fort Deposit, Alabama, and all students residing in this zone will be required to attend the Lowndes County High School. The Lowndes County High School will be paired with the Fort Deposit Elementary School or the facility which is now used as the Fort Deposit Elementary School will be closed as a grammar school and all students attending grammar school in the Fort Deposit zone will attend the Lowndes County High School. In the event that it decides to close the Fort Deposit Elementary School, the Lowndes County Board of Education will construct additional facilities at the Lowndes County High School so that the Lowndes County High School will have sufficient capacity to accommodate all students residing in the Fort Deposit zone. The Lowndes County Board of Education will immediately undertake a survey with the purpose of designing the lines of the Fort Deposit zone so that, during the school year 1974-75, the Lowndes County High School will be a majority black school. Nothing in this plan shall prevent the Lowndes County Board of Education from using the facility, now used as the Fort Deposit Elementary School, for the teaching of vocational, agricultural or other special education courses. No later than January 1, 1974, the Lowndes County Board of Education shall report to the Court the findings of its survey and the zone lines which it proposes to draw around the Fort Deposit area so as to insure that the Lowndes County High School will be a majority black school.

II

TRANSFER POLICY

The school system shall permit all students, both black and white, who reside outside the Fort Deposit zone, to attend the school of his choice, including schools located in the Fort Deposit zone.

III

TRANSPORTATION

The transportation system shall be re-examined regularly by the Superintendent, his staff and the school board. Bus routes and the assignment of students to buses will be designed to insure the transportation of all eligible pupils on a nonsegregated and nondiscriminatory basis. The Lowndes County Board of Education shall provide transportation to enable any student to attend the school of his choice so long as such transportation does not otherwise frustrate the other provisions of this decree.

IV

ATTENDANCE OUTSIDE SYSTEM OF RESIDENCE

If the school district grants transfer to students living in the district for their attendance at public schools outside the district, or if it permits transfers into the district of students who live outside the district, it shall do so on a non-discriminatory basis, except that it shall not consent to transfers where the cumulative effect will reduce desegregation in either district or reinforce the dual school system.

V

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND SITE SELECTION

All school construction, school consolidation and site selection (including the location of any temporary class rooms) in the system shall be done in a manner which will prevent the recurrence of the dual school structure once this desegregation plan is implemented.

The Lowndes County Board of Education shall take such steps as are necessary to insure the immediate construction of a gymnasium at the Lowndes County Training School. The construction of such gymnasium shall be the first priority of the Lowndes County Board of Education and capital outlay funds shall not be spent for any other purpose whatsoever until sufficient capital outlay funds have been allocated and ear-marked for such gymnasium. All other capital outlay funds of the Lowndes County Board of Education shall be expended for the construction of additional facilities at the Lowndes County High School until such school has sufficient capacity to accommodate the students enrolled there as a result of this decree.

VI

DESEGREGATION OF FACULTY AND OTHER STAFF

The Lowndes County Board of Education shall announce and implement the following policies:

(a) Effective not later than the commencement of the 1973-74 school year, the principals, teachers, teacher-aides and other staff members who work directly with children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school is intended for black or white students. The Lowndes County Board of Education shall make reasonable efforts to assign its teachers and other staff so that ultimately the ratio of Negro to white teachers and other staff members in each school shall be substantially the same as such ratio is for black and white students in each such school or as such ratio is for teachers and staff members in the entire system. See Appendix A.

This school system shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this aspect of its desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment

(b) Staff members who work directly with school children and professional staff who work on the administrative level will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, and dismissed without regard to race or color.

(c) If there is to be a reduction in the number of principals, teachers, teacher-aides, or other professional staff employed by the Lowndes County Board of Education which will result in a dismissal or demotion of any such staff members, the staff member to be dismissed or demoted must be selected on the basis of objective and reasonable nondiscriminatory standards from among all the staff of the school system. In addition, if there is any such dismissal or demotion, no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a person of a race or color different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted until each displaced staff member who is qualified has had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and has failed to accept an offer to do so.

Prior to such a reduction, the school board will develop or require the development of nonracial objective criteria to be used in selecting the staff member who is to be dismissed or demoted. These criteria shall be available for public inspection and shall be retained by the school system. The school system also shall record and preserve the evaluation of staff members under the criteria. Such evaluation shall be made available upon request to the dismissed or demoted employee.

"Demotion" as used above includes any reassignment

- (1) under which the staff member receives less pay or has less responsibility than under the assignment he held previously,
- (2) which requires a lesser degree of skill than did the assignment he held previously, or
- (3) under which the staff member is

asked to teach a subject or grade other than one for which he is certified or for which he has had substantial experience within a reasonably current period. In general and depending upon the subject matter involved, five years is such a reasonable period.

(d) In the event that the school system, in connection with its conversion to a unitary system, plans to dismiss or demote personnel, as those terms are hereinabove used, a report containing the following information shall be filed with the Court and served upon the parties by August 20, 1973:

(1) The system's "nonracial objective criteria" used in selecting the staff member(s) dismissed or demoted;

(2) The name, address, race, type of certificate held, degree or degrees held, total teaching experience and experience in the system, and position during the 1972-73 school year of each person to be dismissed, or demoted as hereinabove defined, and in the case of a demotion, the person's new position during the 1973-74 school year and his salaries for 1972-73 and 1973-74.

(3) The basis for the dismissal or demotion of each person, including the procedure employed in applying the system's "nonracial objective criteria";

(4) Whether or not the person to be dismissed or demoted was offered any other staff vacancy; and, if so, the outcome; and, if not, the reason.

VII

SERVICES, FACILITIES, ACTIVITIES, AND PROGRAMS

No student will be segregated or discriminated against on account of race or color in any service, facility, activity, or program (including transportation, athletics, or other extracurricular activity) that may be conducted or sponsored by or affiliated with the school in which he is enrolled. A student

attending school for the first time on a desegregated basis will not be subject to any disqualification or waiting period for participation in activities and programs, including athletics, which might otherwise apply because he is a transfer or newly assigned student except that such transferees shall be subject to longstanding, nonracially based rules of city, county, or state athletic associations dealing with the eligibility of transfer students for athletic contests. All school use or school-sponsored use of athletic fields, meeting rooms, and all other school-related services, facilities, activities, and programs such as commencement exercises and parent-teacher meetings which are open to persons other than enrolled students, will be open to all persons without regard to race or color. All special educational programs conducted by the school system will be conducted without regard to race or color.

Students shall be assigned to and within classrooms without regard to race or color.

VIII

On October 15, 1973, and on the same date annually until further order of this court, the defendants shall file with the clerk of this court, and serve copies on the parties to this lawsuit, a report setting forth the following information:

1. (a) The number of students by race enrolled in the district;
(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district;
(c) The number of students by race enrolled in each classroom in each of the schools in the district.
2. (a) The number of full time teachers by race in the district;
(b) The number of full time teachers by race in each school in the district;
(c) The number of part time teachers by race in the district;
(d) The number of part time teachers by race in each school in the district.

3. State the number of inter-district transfers granted since this court's order of August 7, 1973, the race of the students who were granted such transfers, and the school district to which the transfers were allowed.

4. State whether the transportation system, if any, in the district is desegregated to the extent that Negro and white students are transported daily on the same buses.

5. State whether all facilities such as gymnasiums, auditoriums, and cafeterias are being operated on a desegregated basis.

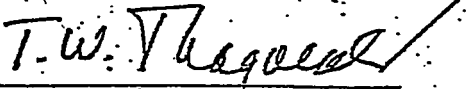
6. Give brief description of any present or proposed construction or expansion of facilities.

7. (a) State whether the school board has sold or abandoned any school facility, equipment, or supplies having a total value of more than \$500.00 since this court's order of August 7, 1973.

Respectfully submitted,

SMITH, BOWMAN, THAGARD, CROOK and
CULPEPPER

BY:


T. W. Thagard, Jr., Attorney for
Lowndes County Board of Education

SMITH, BOWMAN, THAGARD, CROOK
& CULPEPPER
600 Bell Building
Montgomery, Alabama

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have served a copy of the foregoing Plan upon the Honorable Ross L. Coomealy, Honorable Solomon S. Seay, Honorable Ira DeMont, by placing copy of same in the United States Mail, postage prepaid and properly addressed to them on this the 6th day of August, 1973.


OF COUNSEL

APPENDIX A

Faculty Assignments for 1973-74

Calhoun High School

<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
26	4

Fort Deposit Elementary

<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
13	4

Lowndes County High School

<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
7	14

Hayneville High School

<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
11	1

SUMTER COUNTY COMMISSION

SUMTER COUNTY

P.O. BOX 70

LIVINGSTON, ALABAMA 35470

August 23, 1983

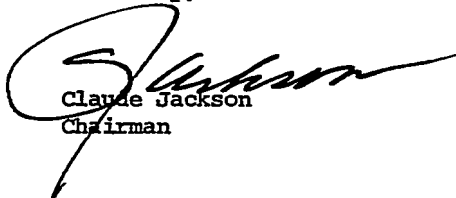
Mr. Ronald D. Henderson
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Room 400
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I am unable to verify any allegations in reference to your letter concerning the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, as we were not in Office in August of 1982 when you interviewed Cleo Askew, Director of Housing at the Federation.

We took office on January 17, 1983, and therefore cannot make any comments regarding the attached.

Sincerely,



Claude Jackson
Chairman

CJ:kc

Attachment.

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1984 O - 432-921 : QL3

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