

Crisis and Opportunity: Race Relations in Selma

**Alabama Advisory Committee
to the U.S. Commission
on Civil Rights**

December 1991

A report of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission and the Commission will make public its reaction. The findings and recommendations of this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Alabama Advisory Committee.

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THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights, first created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and reestablished by the United States Commission on Civil Rights Act of 1983, is an independent, bipartisan agency of the Federal Government. By the terms of the 1983 act, the Commission is charged with the following duties pertaining to discrimination or denials of the equal protection of the laws based on race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or in the administration of justice; investigation of individual discriminatory denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to discrimination or denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to discrimination or denials of equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting discrimination or denials of equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

THE STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and section 6(c) of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Act of 1983. The Advisory Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission on matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Advisory Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Advisory Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference that the Commission may hold within the State.

Letter of Transmittal

Alabama Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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The Alabama Advisory Committee submits this report of its review of race relations in Selma, Alabama, as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission on civil rights issues within the State. This report includes findings and recommendations.

The Advisory Committee and staff of the Central Regional Office held a factfinding meeting on December 12-15, 1990, to gather information on the status of race relations in Selma. Over 51 persons appeared before the Committee to provide information and points of view related to the topic of the meeting. Those invited to participate included individual citizens, government officials, educators, ministers, and representatives of agencies, organizations, and commercial enterprises. Advisory Committee members and staff interviewed approximately 140 persons from August 1990 to December 1990 to obtain necessary background information prior to the factfinding meeting. Those persons who were interviewed or participated in the meeting were given an opportunity to comment on relevant sections of the report. Where appropriate, comments and corrections indicated by them have been incorporated into the final report.

Race relations in few, if any, towns have been addressed more openly, or have had the media spotlight shown on them as brightly as in Selma. Most would agree that in many respects Selma seems to be typical of other small southern towns with the same kinds of problems—a high poverty level, a desperate need for quality jobs and an education system that needs improvement. Yet Selma is so well known in a negative sense to the outside world that as one citizen told the Advisory Committee, “every time someone sneezes [in Selma] it gets on national TV.” On the other hand, it is clear that many persons, both black and white, have worked to improve race relations. However, the Advisory Committee concludes that more needs to be done in Selma to better race relations.

Among the numerous findings and recommendations of this report, the Advisory Committee notes that in spite of integration in the schools, housing and the workplaces, there remain two Selmas: black and white. There is in Selma an environment open to ideas to improve race relations. Nonetheless, that environment has yet to find an effective outlet to address race and human relations issues. There have been attempts made by such groups as One Selma and the Inter-Bap-

tist Fellowship of the Selma Baptist Association to reach across racial barriers and provide opportunities for interracial understanding.

The Advisory Committee strongly recommends that a group and/or organization be established to develop and coordinate a comprehensive program regarding race and human relations in the city of Selma. The group and/or organization should be community based and represent all key leadership groups, such as government, business, church, schools, media, and grassroots organizations. This group should establish itself as a voluntary coordinator on community and public policy issues, particularly in the area of race and human relations. Some suggested objectives of the group would be:

to develop an agenda with goals and milestones for race and human relations in the city;

to serve as a facilitator and as an advisor on race relation issues and their effect on general public policy and quality of life; and

to report to the community on progress or lack of it in enhancing race and human relations.

The Advisory Committee urges religious leaders to play a greater role in community affairs, particularly in race and human relations problems, and establish joint activities and programs aimed at moderating views and enhancing racial understanding.

The Advisory Committee finds that some blacks are concerned about the Selma School District's placement of black students in special education, particularly the program for emotionally and mentally impaired students, and the low number of blacks placed in the gifted and talented program. Complaints have been filed with the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, by parents alleging discrimination in the special education and gifted and talented programs. The Committee's data analysis of the student enrollment figures in special education and the gifted and talented program showed that blacks are overrepresented in the educable mentally retarded program and underrepresented in the gifted and talented program.

The Advisory Committee urges the Commission to suggest to the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education to undertake a comprehensive review of the Selma School District's special education and gifted and talented programs to determine whether or not students are placed in these programs without regard to race.

The Advisory Committee urges the Commission to concur with the recommendation regarding the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, and to assist the Advisory Committee in its followup activities.

Respectfully,



William D. Barnard, *Chairperson*
Alabama Advisory Committee

Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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Acknowledgments

The Alabama Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Central Regional Office for its help in the preparation of this report. The project was the principal assignment of William Muldrow with assistance from Ascension Hernandez, Farella E. Robinson, and Jo Ann Daniels. The report was written by William Muldrow, Farella E. Robinson, Ascension Hernandez, Kerry Morgan, and Melvin L. Jenkins with support from Jo Ann Daniels. The project was carried out under the overall supervision of Melvin L. Jenkins, Director, Central Regional Office.

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1. Introduction

Historical Context

Selma, Alabama, became a household name during the early days of the civil rights movement for its resistance to school desegregation, for its involvement with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his efforts to publicize the need for a national Voting Rights Act, and for the reputation it achieved during the traumas of "Bloody Sunday" and the Selma-to-Montgomery March. It is vividly remembered also for Sheriff Jim Clark and his colorful posse, which he took to Birmingham in 1963 to stand with Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor in a clash with civil rights demonstrators.¹

Tremendous changes have taken place in Selma since those early days, and there have been many signs of progress toward racial reconciliation. J.L. Chestnut, Jr., a Selma native and founder of the largest black law firm in Alabama, stated that in 1958 only about 150 out of 20,000 black persons in Dallas County were registered to vote, and that they had to be vouched for by white persons. No blacks worked downtown except for janitors and delivery people. There were no black deputy sheriffs, no black police officers. No black in the State of Alabama had served on a jury.² Currently, blacks serve on the board and as officers of the Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce. There are black college presidents, government agency executives, police officers and officials, school administrators, and blacks on the city council, boards

of registrars, and boards of education.³ In December 1990 Selma had 10,223 registered black voters and 10,043 white voters. Dallas County had 19,292 black voters and 17,491 white.⁴

In 1970 Selma businesses began hiring blacks for white-collar jobs. In 1972 the Selma Accords, which promised to provide black neighborhoods full city services and black people a fair share of city jobs, were drawn up by representatives of both races. Blacks and whites worked together in bringing new industry to the area. In the city and surrounding Dallas County, black leaders have had increasing political success, winning one position after another. Henry "Hank" Sanders, a Harvard Law School graduate and member of the Chestnut law firm in Selma, was elected in 1983 to represent one of the two State senatorial districts in Selma. His wife, Rose Gaines Sanders, a Harvard Law School graduate and member of the same law firm, founded the Black Belt Arts and Cultural Center to promote awareness of black culture. In 1985 the Federal courts ruled that Selma schools were fully integrated, and in 1987 Norward Rousell was appointed as the first black superintendent of the city schools. The first black was appointed to the school board in 1970, and a black became president of the board in 1980. For several years, that position alternated between blacks and whites. As of the beginning of 1991, however, blacks had never had a majority

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- 1 For a comprehensive account of these events see Alston Fitts III, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt* (Selma, Ala.: Clairmont Press, 1989), pp. 131-52.
 - 2 Information provided to the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its factfinding meeting in Selma, Ala., on Dec. 12-15, 1990, *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 8-9 (hereafter cited as *Transcript*).
 - 3 Unpublished printed information furnished by Jamie D. Wallace, Executive Vice President, Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, Sept. 12 and Dec. 14, 1990.
 - 4 Information provided by Debbie Barnes, Chairman, Dallas County Board of Registrars, Dec. 14, 1990.

on the board, which is appointed by the city council.

In 1972, as a result of a lawsuit protesting the at-large system for electing city council members, an agreement was reached to hold elections by wards, and five black and five white members were elected. In 1988 the city council was reduced to nine, including the president of the council who runs at large. The council has had five white and four black members who have often split along racial lines when voting on issues with racial overtones.⁵

Frederick W. Reese, who served as city councilman from 1971 to 1984, pointed out that black political gains have resulted in vastly improved government services for the black community. He said that, before passage of the Voting Rights Act, 95 percent of the streets in Selma's predominantly black neighborhoods were not even paved and street lighting was terribly inadequate. Since that time improvements have been made. Now all streets are paved and there is better lighting.⁶

The *Los Angeles Times* described Selma as one of the most integrated cities in the country, but also said that despite all the gains, Selma blacks still find themselves clinging to the bottom rung of the economic ladder.⁷ As to the progress that has been made, J.L. Chestnut, Jr., asserted, "Not one ounce of racial progress has ever come to Selma voluntarily. All of it has come at the point of a bayonet or court decree or demonstration. . . ."⁸

Many of the events that transpired in Selma in 1965 and virtually every important happening in Selma since that time, whether resulting in progress or controversy, have involved Mayor Joseph T. Smitherman. First elected in 1964 after serving on the city council for 4 years, Mayor Smitherman has, with the exception of 1 year (1979-1980), remained in office ever since. His tenure spans periods in which whites and then blacks were the majority within the electorate.⁹

Dr. Reese, currently the principal of Selma High School, explained the mayor's long tenure by saying that Joseph Smitherman is a man who knows how to persuade "white people to accept changes that will benefit the black people. . . . He knows just how far to go and still keep white support without losing black support."¹⁰ Once a die-hard segregationist, Mayor Smitherman now hails the Voting Rights Act as "the most important piece of legislation to be passed by Congress in a hundred years."¹¹ At a 1979 ceremony in Selma to dedicate a monument to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the mayor acknowledged that he now recognizes segregation was harmful.¹² In a recent newspaper article, he said he decided to join other white leaders, along with Selma's black leadership, in a campaign to remake the city's image.¹³ Some of those black leaders agree that while Mayor Smitherman was persuaded, sometimes "kicking and screaming," he is nonetheless a super salesman for Selma and in the last two decades has helped lead the way to greater racial harmony.¹⁴ Black leaders also

5 See Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, pp. 155-61, for a comprehensive account of events in Selma from 1965 to 1988.

6 "Once-Violent Selma Proud of Racial Harmony," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1989 (hereafter cited as *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1989).

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 30.

9 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 64.

10 "Selma Mayor Bridged Racial Gaps," *Mobile Press Register*, Nov. 25, 1990.

11 *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1989.

12 Fitts, *Selma: Queen of the Blackbelt*, p. 155.

13 *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1989.

agree that his ability to attract Federal funds to Selma has been astonishing. For example, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has allocated about \$75 million for public housing for Selma during Mayor Smitherman's time in office, and about 20 percent of Selma's families live in public housing developments scattered throughout the city.¹⁵

For more than 20 years following the traumatic events that erupted in Selma during the height of the civil rights movement in 1965, the city made real progress in race relations and enjoyed a period of relative calm. However, in December 1989 and early 1990 a controversy developed over a decision by a majority of the members of the Selma School Board (a majority all of whom were white) not to renew the contract of Dr. Roussell, the first black superintendent of schools. That controversy set in motion a series of demonstrations, boycotts, and lawsuits that disrupted the seeming tranquility enjoyed for so long and resulted in increased racial polarization. The news media splashed coverage of these events and their interpretation throughout Alabama and across the Nation, reinforcing the negative image in the minds of the public that Selma had never quite been able to dissipate, and calling into question claims made for improved race relations.

For some time prior to the crisis precipitated by the school board's decision, tensions had begun to surface in small ways and to involve increasing numbers of people. In part this was because the civil rights revolution had only marginal effect in relieving poverty in Selma among members of the black community and in

providing them with the political power they wanted.¹⁶

Regarding tensions that developed between the races, Otey Crisman, a Selma businessman and founder of Public Education Support Team (PEST), a parents' organization, said: "I think particularly for some of the leaders in the black community, probably frustration and not being able to gain power. . .had something to do with it."¹⁷ At the time of Selma's annual reenactment of the Civil War Battle of Selma, some members of the black community were offended when some white youths drove around Selma High School in a pickup truck flying a Confederate flag.¹⁸ That fall (1989) when blacks staged a demonstration on the Edmund Pettus Bridge to highlight the treatment of blacks under the apartheid system in South Africa, onlookers allegedly made negative remarks about the event ("You ought to go to Virginia Beach," an apparent reference to racial disturbances in Virginia Beach, Virginia, earlier in the year).¹⁹

Hostilities became more pronounced in the fall of 1989 when a dispute arose over plans for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the city's involvement in the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Taking an idea from an article in the *Los Angeles Times*, which highlighted progress in race relations made in Selma since its involvement with the voting rights movement, the mayor announced plans for a major symposium on the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday" and the Selma-to-Montgomery March. The intent was to showcase progress in the town since 1965, including school integration, the increase in the number of black elected officials, etc.²⁰ One ob-

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Alston Fitts III, interview in Selma, Aug. 21, 1990 (hereafter, Alston Fitts III interview).

17 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 159.

18 Alston Fitts III interview.

19 Sen. Henry "Hank" Sanders, interview in Selma, June 20, 1990 (hereafter Sen. Henry "Hank" Sanders interview).

20 Alston Fitts III, "Selma After 25 Years: The Ghosts Are Walking," unpublished paper provided to the Alabama Advisory Committee, Aug. 21, 1990.

jective was to better Selma's national image with the hopes of improving the city's economic and social conditions.²¹ The mayor established a committee of "moderate" persons, both black and white. The committee to plan the symposium was cochaired by Rex Morthland, chairman emeritus of the board of Peoples Bank and Trust Company of Selma, and Dr. Reese.²²

Members of the law firm of Chestnut, Sanders and Sanders looked upon the annual celebration as an event for which they had been responsible for planning each year and toward which they had been working for months. They indignantly denounced plans for the mayor's initiative as being misleading regarding progress made in race relations. The law firm's idea was to raise money through a benefit concert to erect a Voting Rights Museum, honor veterans of the 1965 marches, and reenact "Bloody Sunday" with white Seimians playing the part of George Wallace's State troopers and Sheriff Jim Clark's posse. When the mayor's planned symposium was threatened with disruption, his committee folded, and the Chestnut and Sanders committee, to which several whites were appointed, carried out the celebration on a considerably smaller scale than originally envisioned.²³ Resentments created by this dispute, and tension that had been building throughout the year, set the stage for the controversy that erupted following the decision by the white majority on the Selma Board of Education not to renew Dr. Roussell's contract as school superintendent.

In 1987 Dr. Roussell was the unanimous choice of the board as the system's first black superintendent, and he was given a 3-year contract expiring in 1990. Prior to his coming, dissatisfaction of some black parents had begun to mount

with regard to the school board's "leveling system," which they alleged assigned most white students to upper level academic courses while most blacks were assigned to lower levels, penalizing their academic preparation. Rose Sanders alleged that she found that her daughter was being "tracked" in the lower levels though she made As and Bs and scored well on achievement tests. In 1987 Mrs. Sanders formed a group with black parents, called Better Education Support Team (BEST), who shared her concerns about the education of their children.²⁴ White parents and white members of the school board dispute the charge that black students are "tracked" into lower levels of instruction and counter that the leveling system has always been fair and is a sound educational program of ability grouping to enhance learning.

The majority of the board of education contended that its decision not to renew Dr. Roussell's contract was based upon the superintendent's performance evaluation, which reflected poor administrative, managerial, and disciplinary skills.²⁵ Black school board members disagreed with this evaluation and walked out of the meeting at which the decision was made. Some blacks charged that changes made by Dr. Roussell in the leveling system to make it more equitable, and changes he made in the school system's administration of finances, ruffled feathers and resulted in pressure not to renew his contract. Part of the reason for Dr. Roussell's demise was a feeling on the part of some white members of the board that Dr. Roussell's policies were watering down the educational process and undermining discipline in the schools. It was their perception that whites were leaving the system because of this.²⁶

21 *Transcript*, vol. IV, p. 15.

22 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 87-88.

23 Alston Fitts III, "Selma After Twenty-five Years: The Ghosts Are Walking"; *Transcript*, vol. IV, pp. 15-16; Dr. Rex Morthland, interview in Selma, Aug. 21, 1990; and Sen. Henry "Hank" Sanders interview.

24 Rose Sanders, interview in Selma, Aug. 21, 1990.

25 "Roussell's Evaluation Made Public," *Selma Times-Journal*, Dec. 31, 1990.

The majority decision not to renew Dr. Roussell's contract triggered protest demonstrations, which were accompanied by a boycott of classes at Selma High School and a sit-in at the school by black students. White parents and school board members charged abuse and harassment by the protesters. The Governor sent in the National Guard and State troopers to keep the schools open. Demonstrations then focused on the mayor and city council, and protesters occupied City Hall. Four black persons were arrested for allegedly trying to force their way into the mayor's office. Lauderdale Circuit Court Judge Leslie Johnson was brought in to mediate the situation, and though several agreements were hammered out, all fell through. He then issued a 10-point injunction limiting the conduct of protesters.

At least 20 contempt citations were issued for violation of this restraining order. Some protesters admitted to violating the order but claimed it unconstitutionally restricted their first amendment rights. Others who were arrested denied that their actions were illegal and charged that their arrests were forms of harassment by the police and city officials. More arrests were made for alleged violation of city ordinances or destruction of police property. Counter charges were made of alleged police abuse and improper arrests.

It was alleged that the mayor and city administration took action against several leaders of the protests by complaining to their employers that the protesters acted improperly and asking that they be fired. The city's financial support was withdrawn from the Central Alabama Youth Services (CAYS), whose director was involved

in the protests. The local legal services agency is under investigation by the Legal Services Corporation because one of its attorneys was involved in the protest. City officials asked that the local office be closed or that the employee be fired or transferred. Termination of the dean of students at Selma University was also requested for alleged behavior in the protests. Several Selma attorneys, including State Senator Hank Sanders, were investigated by the Alabama Bar Association for complaints received regarding their participation in the protests.²⁷ Protesters charge that these requests, complaints, and investigations are retaliatory and intended to have a chilling effect on their further involvement in the protest.²⁸

Joe Pickard, a former superintendent of the Selma school system, stated the obvious when he said that the current situation has widened the gap between races. He also observed that the underlying issues are about politics and power and not about education and Dr. Roussell.²⁹

In late August 1990, an agreement was effected between various parties to the dispute, including the city council, black and white members of the board of education, and BEST, whereby black school board members would return to the board provided that a provision was made for an alternating black/white majority and chair on the school board. All charges and lawsuits against the city, the school board, and the protesters were also to be dropped as part of the agreement. Provisions of the agreement are now in place.³⁰

26 Alston Fitts III interview.

27 "Selma Officials Go After Leaders, Jobs," *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 11, 1990.

28 Sen. Henry "Hank" Sanders interview.

29 Dr. Joe Pickard, interview in Selma, Aug. 31, 1990.

30 "Selma City School Board and Selma City Council Accord and Agreement" (undated); and AGREEMENT by and between Carl Barker, Richard Bean, Julius Jenkins, Edie Jones, Charles Lett, Sheila Okoye, J.A. Pickard, Martha Reeves, James Spicer, Freeman Walker, and Clinton Wilkerson, Jr., August 1990.

The Alabama Advisory Committee's Study

Staff of the Commission's Central Regional Office and members of the Commission's Alabama Advisory Committee monitored the crisis regarding the Selma Board of Education and Dr. Rousell as it developed through media accounts and personal interviews with key persons in Selma. By August 1990 the controversy showed no signs of abating and began to involve a widening circle of issues and people. At that time, the Advisory Committee met in Selma and voted unanimously to conduct a study of race relations in the community, culminating in a written report with a summary of findings from the investigation and including recommendations to be formulated by the Committee. It was hoped that the study and resulting report and recommendations would help to ameliorate existing problems, as well as highlight efforts and programs aimed at promoting equality and racial harmony. It was also suggested that such a study would provide a case study of a community in which a complex series of developments and issues had resulted in a crisis in race relations, and would thereby provide helpful information and useful suggestions to other communities confronted by similar issues. The study was to be broadbased and include not only issues that had precipitated the immediate controversy, but also the administration of justice, voting rights and the election process, economic justice, and general race relations.

During the course of the project, members of the Committee and Commission staff interviewed approximately 140 persons in Selma and the surrounding area. Then, on December 12-15, 1990, the Alabama Advisory Committee, chaired by William D. Barnard of Tuscaloosa, conducted a 4-day factfinding meeting in Selma as the final phase of the study. During this meeting, 51 persons appeared before the Committee

to provide information and points of view related to the topic of the meeting.³¹ Those invited to participate included individual citizens, government officials, educators, ministers, and representatives of agencies, organizations, and commercial enterprises with responsibilities in areas relevant to the topic of the meeting. Members of the public were invited to participate in open sessions that were held each evening and on Saturday.

Relevant background materials and statistics for the study were requested from city and county governments, the Selma public school system, institutions of higher education, private industries, Federal agencies, and from officials responsible for election and voter registration procedures. The Selma community provided excellent cooperation in the interviewing and factfinding phases of the project, and most requests for information were answered in a prompt and comprehensive manner. However, the lack of a comprehensive response on the part of some officials, or the failure to respond at all to requests for background information, has resulted in an incomplete record and analysis of some issues included in the Advisory Committee's study. No written information at all was forthcoming from private companies regarding employment, affirmative action, and equal opportunity policies and practices, or with regard to the racial makeup of their work forces. Nor were pleadings and legal memoranda regarding court cases involving the school board shared with the Advisory Committee. The city personnel office responded fully to requests for data, and helpful information was received from the Selma Housing Authority. However, a request to the mayor's office for information regarding city government and policies went unanswered.

31 See app. A of this report for Factfinding Meeting Agenda.

Selma and Its Resources

Selma, in Dallas County, is located approximately 50 miles from Montgomery, the capital of Alabama. It has a mayor-city council form of government with an annual budget of approximately \$18 million.³² The mayor and eight councilmen are elected to 4-year terms.³³ The city has a daily newspaper and five radio stations.³⁴ There are 23 schools in Selma and Dallas County, including several private and parochial schools. Within 100 miles of Selma, there are 15 colleges and universities, 5 within 30 miles, and 3 within the city limits, George Wallace Community College, Concordia College, and Selma University.³⁵ The Selma school system consists of eight elementary schools, two middle schools, and one high school. All have been accredited by the Alabama State Department of Education and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.³⁶

Using 1990 census data, the Alabama State Data Center at the Center for Business and Economic Research (CBER) at the University of Alabama reported that Selma contains a population of 23,755 of which 58.4 percent is black, 41.0 percent is white, and 0.4 percent Asian American or American Indian. Dallas County has a population of 48,130 of which 41.8 percent is white and 57.8 percent is black. Selma is the largest city in Dallas County and contains 49 percent of the population.³⁷ (For other census

data on the State of Alabama, Dallas County, and the city of Selma, see appendix B.)

Located in the heart of the agricultural "Black Belt" of Alabama, Selma and the surrounding area are characterized by fertile land and a strong history of dependence on agriculture.³⁸ In 1986 seven manufacturing and processing industries within Selma and surrounding Dallas County had 300 employees or more, and eight had 100-300 employees. Products include locksets, candy, farm machinery, wood pulp, lumber, and wearing apparel.³⁹ Available to these companies are a railroad, motor freight lines, river transportation, one bus company, and flying services.⁴⁰

The reliance of Selma and Dallas County on agriculture as a source of income and jobs began to shift somewhat after World War II when jobs began to be created by the military, manufacturing, and service sectors. A diverse industrial base of small manufacturers enhanced the economy and the quality of life in Selma, which entered a period of growth.⁴¹

However, in 1977 Selma/Dallas County began to experience some serious economic difficulties due to events and conditions beyond the control of local leaders. The Federal Government closed Craig Airfield, a U.S. Air Force base, eliminating 2,800 jobs and a payroll of more than \$34.5 million per year.⁴² This event cost the community in other ways, also. Approximately

32 University of Alabama, Office of Economic and Community Affairs, *Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Planning Report* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., Nov. 17, 1986), p. 2.

33 Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Authority, *FACTS*, Selma, Ala., September 1987, p. 3 (hereafter cited as *FACTS*).

34 *Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Planning Report*, p. 3.

35 *FACTS*, pp. 18, 20.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

37 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape, File 1A, Profile—Characteristics of the Population, City of Selma and Dallas County.

38 *Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Planning Report*, p. 10.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

40 *FACTS*, p. 25.

41 *Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Planning Report*, p. 10.

42 *Ibid.*

85 percent of the employees of the base were college graduates who had heavily supported the schools, civic clubs, and cultural life of the area.⁴³ Following the Craig Airfield closing, a 4-year drought hit the agricultural industry and the number of agricultural implement dealers dropped from seven to two.⁴⁴ Beechcraft, an air-related industry, was attracted to Selma only to be forced to withdraw because of a downturn in sales.⁴⁵ Several apparel industries, including Selma Apparel and Dallas Uniform, reduced production. The Dan River Mills, a textile company, closed as did a window manufacturing company, and Southern Timberlands moved its headquarters from Selma to Dallas, Texas.⁴⁶ In an effort to compensate for these losses, the Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Corporation was established to create new jobs and expand the area's industrial base.⁴⁷

Richard P. Morthland, president of the Peoples Bank and Trust Company, said that a number of jobs, mostly blue collar, have been added to the area during the past year.⁴⁸ Jamie D. Wallace, executive vice president of the Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, stated that due to the aggressive approach of the Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Authority, 1,500 new jobs, though not as well paying as desired, had been added in the past 3 years and several million dollars had been invested in new and expanding companies in the community.⁴⁹ More recently, positive economic indicators have been reported. The Peoples Bank and Trust Company had its strongest year ever with a net income of \$1.9 million for 1990.⁵⁰ Selma has a new motel and a new shopping center with 250,000 square feet of shopping space.⁵¹

43 Jamie D. Wallace, interview in Selma, Sept. 12, 1990 (hereafter Jamie D. Wallace interview).

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 "Comments of Richard P. Morthland to the 1990 Annual Shareholders Meeting of the Peoples Bank and Trust Company," Apr. 10, 1990.

47 Jamie D. Wallace interview.

48 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 126.

49 Ibid., vol. III, p. 158.

50 "Peoples Bank Has Biggest Year," *Selma Times-Journal*, Jan. 27, 1991.

51 "Shopping Center to Open April 4, Bringing 400 Jobs," *Selma Times-Journal*, Jan. 27, 1991.

2. General Race Relations

Race relations in few, if any, towns have been addressed more openly or have had the media spotlight on them as brightly as in Selma. Most would agree that in many respects Selma seems to be typical of other small southern towns with the same kinds of problems—a high poverty level, a desperate need for quality jobs, and an educational system that needs improvement.¹ Yet, Selma is so well known in a negative sense to the outside world that as Terry Merritt, a Selma High School teacher, put it, “every time someone sneezes it gets on national TV.”² In the fall of 1989, when a few dozen people stood at the foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge to compare the situation in Selma with the apartheid system in South Africa, television cameras and journalists outnumbered the participants. In the spring of the next year, the occupation of Selma High School by black activists, following the failure to renew the contract of the city’s first black school superintendent, took top billing on CNN and other networks, even over unprecedented government reform talks going on at that time in Moscow.³ Some placed part of the blame on the media for “creating stories” rather than giving publicity to the positive things in Selma and letting the sensational things die without undue notice.⁴ Within the town, there is wide disagreement as to how far perceptions about the city’s race relations differ from the truth.⁵

Few would say there are no problems. Jamie Wallace did not disagree with assertions that Selma has problems, but emphasized that Selma was not the only city with them. He said, for example, that many cities have severe educational problems. He found much of the media coverage of events in Selma irritating, especially when old stories dating years before were repeated over and over. His organization is now taking pains to challenge “bash-Selma” articles that are considered to be unfair.⁶

It is clear that many persons, both black and white, have worked hard to improve race relations in Selma and provide the city with a more positive image. The One Selma organization, a diverse group of Selma-area residents, with black and white cochairs, is dedicated to the goal of improving the quality of life for all Selmians, with particular emphasis on the elimination of friction based on race. Its philosophy recognizes differences among groups of people but emphasizes that these differences enrich society. It is committed to working for positive change, avoiding publicity for itself and facilitating open discussion.⁷ Its ability to have any serious effect on race relations or the quality of life in Selma was questioned, however, because of its alleged failure to deal with serious issues.⁸

Habitat Selma, established as a local chapter of Habitat for Humanity in 1987, is a nonprofit

1 Patricia C. Stumb, “It’s Status Quo in Selma,” *Selma Times-Journal*, Mar. 2, 1990.

2 *Transcript* of factfinding meeting of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Selma, Alabama, Dec. 12-15, 1990, vol. I, p. 237 (hereafter *Transcript*).

3 Patricia C. Stumb, “It’s Status Quo in Selma.”

4 George E. Stainback, C.E.O. of the Selma Medical Center, interview in Selma, Aug. 24, 1990.

5 Tom Bolton, President, Cooper Brothers Construction Co., *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 181.

6 Jamie D. Wallace, Executive Vice President, Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, interview in Selma, Sept. 12, 1990 (hereafter Jamie D. Wallace interview).

7 “One-Selma,” a bulletin provided by Tom Bolton, Dec. 14, 1990.

organization that has had a more tangible effect on the quality of life and race relations. Its membership is derived from both races and all economic classes. Habitat for Humanity builds houses, using volunteer labor, donated materials, and financial resources, and sells them at nominal cost to the working poor with low monthly payments at no interest.⁹

Another project, a nonprofit community alternative school, which receives some State funds, was organized by Rose Sanders for the purpose of enhancing the self-image of black young people and improving their learning capacity. Ms. Sanders denies the charge that these black young people are taught to hate whites and points with pride to an award from United Way for the school's program.¹⁰

Julius Brown, president of the George Wallace Community College, stated that though his school was somewhat affected by the controversy in Selma from June to December 1990, he is committed to creating an institution where black and white students get along together, and to model that objective in the administration of the college.¹¹

Ministers of Selma, both black and white, have been prominent in efforts to improve race relations. At the height of the school controversy in early 1990, more than 20 ministers met twice a week to listen to concerns brought to them.¹² The Selma Ministerial Alliance was praised as a truly integrated and effective orga-

nization.¹³ Rev. Grady Perryman reported that, periodically, black and white ecumenical services have been conducted in various churches and the Queen of Peace Catholic Church is racially integrated with close to a 50-50 black-white ratio in its congregational membership.¹⁴ From the date of its organization, the Reformed Presbyterian Church has also had an integrated congregation.¹⁵ More integration than ever before was reported to exist now in Selma's Boy Scout troops and the YMCA.¹⁶

Community events, such as the annual Fourth of July celebration and the Christmas parade, were said to be events at which special efforts are made to include persons of both races and bring them together.¹⁷ In 1990, for the first time, the home of a black businessman was placed on the list of homes for the annual Historic Selma Pilgrimage, though it was picketed by some blacks who felt that the owner was siding with the white community.¹⁸

Other actions and situations in Selma reflect efforts to promote positive race relations. It was reported that both black and white members of the city council voted to appropriate \$40,000 to renovate the Martin Luther King area of the city, in a primarily black community.¹⁹ Richard P. Morthland, president of the People's Bank and Trust Company, observed that there is a good deal of social interaction among people of different races and that there are virtually no neighborhoods in Selma that are not racially in-

8 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 27.

9 *Habitat Selma*, February 1990.

10 Rose Sanders, interview, Nov. 5, 1990.

11 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 141.

12 "Ministers in Action," *Selma Times-Journal*, Feb. 9, 1990.

13 Rev. Dr. C.A. Lett, interview, Sept. 12, 1990.

14 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 208-09.

15 Rev. Robert Hemphill, interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

16 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 142.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Fred Williams, interview, Nov. 6, 1990.

19 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 221.

tegrated.²⁰ In spite of this, he said, most white and black persons generally lead segregated lives outside of the school and workplace.²¹ The bulk of Selma's population, he related, has good will for the opposite race, though some blacks and some whites are so badly polarized that they think all that the other side has done is bad.²²

The mayor takes pride in showing visitors what appears at first glance to be a city that could serve as a model of racial harmony for any region in America. He points to blacks and whites, side by side, working, living, shopping, worshipping, voting, serving on the city council and school board, and patrolling together in police cars.²³ He also stated that there is absolutely no disparity in city services. He reported that all parts of Selma get garbage service twice a week and communities throughout the city enjoy equal recreational facilities. He said that, for example, 75 percent of street lighting installed during the past 15 years has been done in predominantly black areas.²⁴ Few, if any, will dispute the enormous progress made in Selma's black community, but Ed Moss, a black city councilman, disagreed in part with the mayor's assessment. It was his experience that services in the two communities were not provided equally. He observed that street-sweeping machines rarely come through predominantly black communities and that street repairs often go undone, whereas in white communities, he said, such things move along promptly.²⁵

With the increase in the number of black voters in Selma, and increased black representation on the city council, has come a significant increase in the number of leadership positions that blacks hold in the city.²⁶ The Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce supplied a list of 26 blacks in leadership positions as of September 12, 1990, and in addition pointed out that 6 of the 11 city schools had black principals.²⁷ Julius Brown stated that blacks in such key positions are very important as role models in the black community.²⁸

Despite efforts by both blacks and whites to improve race relations in Selma, and clear indications of progress, some citizens think that visible, positive changes are surface phenomena, and most would agree that problems of race linger. Joseph Rembert, Sr., pastor of the historic Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, stated that he does not see anything that has changed in the last 10 years, and that race relations are no better and no worse than they were then.²⁹ Paul R. Davis, former editor of the *Selma Times-Journal*, wrote that "communication between the majority black population and the minority white population seems no better than it was 10 years ago, or maybe 25 years ago."³⁰ Associated Press correspondent Jules Loh set the present state of race relations in Selma in a national perspective when he wrote, "not unlike cities of all sizes in every region, Selma still feels the ache of what has become a national migraine reduced to a single syllable. Race."³¹ Rex

20 Ibid., vol. III, p. 143.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 124.

23 "Selma's Mayor Bridged Racial Gaps," *Mobile Press Register*, Nov. 25, 1990.

24 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 86.

25 Interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

26 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 150-51.

27 List on file in the Central Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Jamie D. Wallace interview.

28 Dr. Julius Brown, interview, Aug. 21, 1990.

29 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 222-23.

30 "Selma's Hurting Again," *Selma Times-Journal*, Feb. 20, 1990.

Morthland thinks that Selma is now in the third phase of race relations since 1965. From the confrontations and upheaval that occurred in 1965, until 1970, Selma remained clearly divided into two groups, black and white. By 1970 attempts were being made to bring the races together, with initiatives being taken, as he saw it, mostly by whites. These resulted in a great deal of progress, exemplified by improvements in city services—such as paved streets and sewer installations—and in increased employment of blacks, and race relations improved a great deal. The third and present phase he described as beginning with the controversies and confrontations that developed in 1989, throwing race relations back a great deal. This third phase, he said, is now characterized by a conscious attempt at healing.³²

J.L. Chestnut, Jr., said that whether or not there has been progress in Selma's race relations depends on your vantage point. He felt that Selma has indeed come a long way from the late 1950s.³³ Still, he said, Selma, like America, is racially polarized to the point where there is not one, but two Selmas, a black Selma and a white Selma.³⁴ Blacks and whites in Selma, if he is any example, have trouble socializing with each other.³⁵ They represent two distinct cultures that worship differently, eat differently, speak differently, and have different values.³⁶ Furthermore, these cultural differences are not transcended, because whites hold the positions of power and are not required to make the effort to understand blacks, whereas blacks have had

to understand whites (and accommodate to their values) or suffer the consequences.³⁷

Perry Varner, a Dallas County commissioner who lives in Selma, picked up on the theme of two Selmas and asserted that, in reality, there have been two city councils, a white majority and a black minority that wields no real power. Of the four city council committees, he said that three were chaired by whites and the fourth, which had a black chair, dealt with such inconsequential matters as traffic signs. The same, he felt, has been true for the school board, with a white majority, in reality, making the decisions.³⁸

J.L. Chestnut, Jr., reinforced this view by reporting that though there are now blacks represented on virtually every city board, not a single board is predominantly black. Though the city has almost a 55 percent black majority population, the perception exists that this black majority can do nothing if the white minority opposes it.³⁹ Mayor Smitherman recognized that the perception persists that all important decisions rest in the hands of either whites in the private sector, or whites in combination with blacks who are appointed to their positions in government. And he said that if he were black, he would also perceive things that way, but that it is not so. Much of the control attributed to him, he said, is a result of the high profile he has acquired in the news media.⁴⁰

Richard P. Morthland disagreed with the picture of Selma as being two communities, black and white, and emphasized that blacks and whites intermingle socially as well as in other

31 "Selma's Mayor Bridged Gaps," *Mobile Press Register*, Nov. 25, 1990.

32 *Transcript*, vol. IV, p. 7.

33 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 8,9.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

38 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 8-9.

39 Interview, Dec. 12, 1990.

40 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 105.

ways.⁴¹ The Rev. Perryman, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, felt the biggest divisions in the community fell along economic rather than racial lines. He observed that it is easier for middle-class whites to relate to middle-class blacks than to lower class whites, or middle-class blacks to lower class blacks.⁴²

Fred Williams, a black entrepreneur, observed that even among blacks there are distinct differences of philosophy, values, and attitudes between those who have achieved middle-class status recently and those who inherited that position.⁴³ He and others also pointed out that the black community was by no means monolithic in its views of the tactics, or even the objectives, of the leaders of the protest movement in the recent school board controversy. The same was true in the white community regarding its opinion of the actions of white officials who responded to the protests.⁴⁴

Several persons in Selma expressed the view that behind the racial tensions in the city there is a struggle for power. Ralph Hobbs, school board attorney, for example, stated flatly that the whole controversy is a power struggle.⁴⁵ Rex Morthland also believes that the issue of race relations in Selma is, at least in part, a struggle for power.⁴⁶ The *Birmingham Post-Herald* editorialized that race relations in Selma are intertwined with local politics; two factions—one black and one white—are battling for political control, polarizing the races in the process.⁴⁷ George E. Stainback believed that the mass of people suf-

fers because of tensions between two or three small groups, and that most of the community does not even know where the tensions are centered.⁴⁸

Shelton Prince, former publisher of the *Selma Times-Journal*, wrote that the same fight for political control is going on behind the scenes that has been carried on for years. He identifies the parties as “Mayor Joe Smitherman and his loyal band” versus the law firm of Chestnut, Sanders and Sanders. Mayor Smitherman, he said, has maintained his political control through tactics that divide his political opponents, while on the other hand the team of Chestnut, Sanders and Sanders attempts to convince black people that all whites are only interested in perpetuating their political control.⁴⁹

Ed Moss, president of a local credit union and member of the city council, believes that Mayor Smitherman maintains political control through his many appointments to boards and agencies of people who then owe him favors.⁵⁰ Senator Henry “Hank” Sanders believes that it is a “group of the white power structure” that has control over the mayor and maintains a check on his actions. Furthermore, he said that the school board also does not act in a vacuum but is heavily influenced by the mayor and other people in the community.⁵¹

The mayor denied that he controls everything. He pointed out, for example, that the school board members are people of wealth and position, and highly educated—people who do

41 Ibid., vol. III, pp. 123-24.

42 Ibid., vol. III, pp. 220-21.

43 Interview, Nov. 6, 1990.

44 Tom Bolton. *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 183-84.

45 Interview, June 20, 1990.

46 Interview, Aug. 21, 1990.

47 “Racial Political Battles Split Selma,” *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 30, 1990.

48 Interview, Aug. 24, 1990.

49 “Test of Political Control,” *Selma Times-Journal*, undated.

50 Interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

51 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 275.

not like politics and whom he could not tell what to do. He said, however, that he is involved with all segments of the community, and that it is important to keep the support of the white people.⁵² Alston Fitts III also said that the mayor does not control all city councilmen, though he felt that he does have the power to influence council decisions.⁵³

A surprisingly large number of people contacted during the course of the Advisory Committee's study considered that at the heart of the 1990 school board controversy and its aftermath was a power struggle between two relatively small groups in Selma, one black and one white, that left most of the population uninvolved. Otey Crisman, a Selma businessman and founder of the Public Education Support Team (PEST), said, "[t]ake away about 8 or 10 leaders on either side and. . .you could throw us all in a pot and pull out everybody looking the same."⁵⁴ Cleophus Mann, a black businessman and former candidate for mayor, said that there are two groups, black and white, that control the city.⁵⁵

Opinions as to who composes these groups that supposedly control Selma varied widely. Ross Hobbs, principal of the Byrd Elementary School, believes there are three distinguishable communities in Selma, but he did not wish to name them.⁵⁶ Reverend Rembert believes that the blacks who are in power are those who have economic means, the elite, who are always appointed to boards and commissions. Some of them, he said, are not really part of the black

community. They may live in Selma but really have no interest in the community at large, which is most affected by bad race relations.⁵⁷ George Stainback sees in Selma what he feels is probably true in other places: "You have a small group over here, you'll have a small group over here, you'll have a large group in between. . .it really doesn't make a whole lot of difference to them one way or the other. . ."⁵⁸ David Hodo, a Selma psychiatrist, said that people in the two groups are "on a pretty widely varied polarity," but in his view both were extremely moderate, despite their public stances, when approached in private conversation.⁵⁹

Perry Varner voiced the opinion that the real problem is not so much who the power brokers are but the fact that there is no equitable distribution of power between blacks and whites in Selma. The strategy will no longer work, he said, for the mayor to control everything.⁶⁰ Richard Morthland does not feel it matters who has control, as long as they are the "right people," black or white, and do a good job. He stated that he had some concerns about a black majority school board, but emphasized that black or white leadership in the schools would be fine as long as they do a good job.⁶¹ Mr. Morthland agreed to a suggestion that in order for blacks to begin to share power in Selma, there needs to be movement by businesses to place blacks on the boards of directors of banks, savings associations, and other companies.⁶² He said that for years his bank has looked for black leaders with a busi-

52 Ibid., pp. 95-96.

53 Alston Fitts III, interview in Selma, Aug. 21, 1990 (hereafter Alston Fitts III interview).

54 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 157.

55 Ibid., vol. II, p. 329.

56 Ibid., vol. II, p. 105.

57 Interview, Sept. 13, 1990.

58 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 121.

59 Interview, Aug. 23, 1990.

60 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 7.

61 Ibid., p. 149.

62 Ibid., p. 131.

ness orientation who could become members of the board, and that they continue to look for them without success. He indicated that they had been successful, however, in hiring one black banking officer.⁶³

Perry Varner expressed the view that problems related to race relations in Selma will not be solved until there is an equitable sharing of power. An all-black city council is not the answer either, he said, nor an all-black school board, but, rather, a situation is required in which power is shared equally. He pointed out that some people say that dialogue is the answer, but that there has been tremendous dialogue at many levels of life in Selma without any resolution of the problem. He said that some people feel that economics is the basis of the problem, but race relations were still a problem when Craig Field was operating and the city was at its best economically. Education is not the basis of the problem, he said, because Selma has had a larger educated black middle class of doctors, lawyers, dentists, farmers, and health service personnel than most Alabama communities and problems still persist. His conclusion was that until there is an equitable distribution of power, the problem of race relations is going to continue.⁶⁴

The Advisory Committee was told that the sharing of power is not easy. With reference to demands by protesters for a majority black school board, Alston Fitts III remarked that it is hard to give up power, and it is harder still when it is perceived to be surrendered to a foe.⁶⁵ Richard Morthland said that the history of the sources of power must be considered. He identified three sources of power: money, which is

concentrated in the hands of the white community; the vote, which, though now numerically in the black community, has historically been in the white community; and people who do the work. The economic power that is currently concentrated in the white community, he said, is not going to "just shift." It is impossible, he believed, to simply throw out this whole infrastructure and put another group of people in place.⁶⁶ Otey Crisman echoed that view when he observed that economic power is shifting to blacks now, but it is something that must go very slowly.⁶⁷

Carl Morgan, president of the city council, had a similar view. When questioned about the desirability of a majority black school board, in light of a student body that is predominantly black, he said that the economic base of Selma is still vested in the whites, and in order to keep the interest and support of the white community, it is necessary to have a larger proportion of whites on the school board than the proportion of white students in the school system. Loss of support by whites of the system, he believed, would result in continued flight out of the schools to the detriment of the system. Selma is surrounded by counties, he said, where this has happened.⁶⁸ Richard Morthland stated that the heads of a number of agencies other than the schools have been black, and in several of these agencies there was a catastrophe, not necessarily because the agency head was black, but because he "screwed up." He said, however, that other institutions that are run by blacks, such as the George Wallace Community College, are a whole lot better off than they have ever been.⁶⁹

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., p. 24.

65 Alston Fitts III interview.

66 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 147-48.

67 Interview, Sept. 14, 1990.

68 *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 220-21.

69 Ibid., vol. III, p. 148.

Jamie Wallace said there is an uneasiness among people in the community, including some business people, at the prospect of predominantly black elected governing bodies. This is something that has never happened before. He made it clear, however, that he did not necessarily share this concern because he has faith in people and their ability.⁷⁰ The mayor, however, was more direct. He charged that after the election of a majority black county commission, "the black majority got rid of every white and put in all blacks [in the courthouse]." He characterized the black county commission's attitude as saying, "You people have had a hundred years. [Now] it is our time."⁷¹ However, Perry Varner, one of the county commissioners, said that this is not true. He pointed out that the personnel policy requires all positions to be open to competition. Furthermore, he said, the highest paid person in the county is white and has a white staff, and the tax collector, tax assessor, probate judge, and sheriff are all white.⁷² He charged that, on the other hand, all gains which have been made in black representation in the

county, and with the city, the school board, and the city council, were not given voluntarily but came through lawsuits filed in the courts.⁷³

Senator Hank Sanders, as other leaders of the recent protest movement, despairs of ever achieving a fair share of power without some form of struggle. He sees tokenism in the city and charges that, even though the city is majority black, the city council has never appointed a black majority to any board whatsoever. Just talking is not enough, he said. Some kind of leverage is necessary, because people who have power do not simply give it up without a struggle. He said that, though protest movements are not popular, and those who engage in them place their families and business in jeopardy, they are one form of leverage required to gain a fair share of economic and political power. And he noted that until a commitment is made for a fair share, race relations in Selma are going to remain unstable. He said that he would love to see Selma have a wonderful image, but that justice is more important than image.⁷⁴

70 Ibid., pp. 167-68.

71 Ibid., vol. I, p. 109.

72 Ibid., vol. III, pp. 11-12.

73 Ibid., p. 9.

74 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 67-70.

3. Education

Americans hold more truths self-evident about education than any other aspect of public life. It is almost universally agreed, for instance, that education is the keystone to a successful society and that a good education is essential for an individual's well-being and individual progress. Rooted in this general belief is the view that all children should have equal access to a meaningful education. The following sections examine the Selma public school system, its historical and demographic background, and the effects of the crisis in race relations upon equal educational opportunity. The areas examined are: educational attainment, ability grouping, special education, staffing characteristics and personnel policies and procedures, and general race relations among students and school staff.

Background

During the 1990-91 school year, the Selma city schools served 5,309 students in 11 schools, including 1 high school, 2 middle schools, and 8 elementary schools. The racial makeup of the student population is 4,235 (79.8 percent) black, 1,055 white (19.9 percent), and 19 (0.3 percent) other minorities.¹ The preceding year and prior to the district's racial tension, the white enrollment was 1,616 (26.8 percent).² This 6.9 percent differential in white enrollment is largely due to approximately 600 white students leaving

the school district for private schools, or to enroll in the county school system.³

The most current data provided by the district on the racial composition of administrative staff and faculty were for the 1989-90 school year. Of the 371 staff members, 199 (53.6 percent) are white, 169 (45.6 percent) black, and 3 (0.8 percent) other minorities.⁴

Other Educational Institutions in Selma and Dallas County

In Selma and Dallas County, students attend city, county, and private schools. In addition, there are three colleges, a State community college, and two private colleges.⁵

The Dallas County school system during the 1990-91 school year served 5,018 students, of whom 1,006 are white and 4,011 are nonwhite. It offers K-12 general and college preparatory courses in 12 schools, including an area vocational school.⁶

Three institutions of higher education operate in Selma. Wallace Community College (WCC), established in 1963, a State college, offers 2-year academic and technical courses in nursing, allied health fields, business education, and vocational programs.⁷ WCC has a total student population of 1,678 students, of whom 1,135 (67.6 percent) are white; 530 (31.5 percent) are black; and 13 (0.7 percent) are other minorities.⁸ Concordia College, a Lutheran

1 See data supplied by the Selma City Schools on Jan. 16, 1991 (on file with the Central Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Kansas City, Mo. (CRO)) and tables 3.1 and 3.3.

2 Ibid.

3 *Selma Times-Journal*, Feb. 24, 1991, p. 11; James Carter, Acting Superintendent, interview in Selma, Sept. 12, 1990.

4 See data supplied by the Selma City Schools on Jan. 16, 1991, on file with CRO and table 3.2.

5 *Selma Showcase*, Fall 1990, p. 27.

6 Data supplied by the Dallas County Public Schools, telephone interview, Feb. 12, 1991.

7 *Selma Showcase*, Fall 1990, p. 27.

TABLE 3.1 Racial Composition of Student Population (11 Schools)

School Year: 1990-91	White	Black	Other	Total
Elementary	783	2,133	12	2,928
Middle	129	1,065	2	1,196
High school	143	1,037	5	1,185
Total	1,055	4,235	19	5,309
<i>Percent</i>	<i>19.9</i>	<i>79.8</i>	<i>0.3</i>	
School Year: 1989-90	White	Black	Other	Total
Elementary	881	2,162	10	3,053
Middle	326	1,144	5	1,475
High school	409	1,082	9	1,500
Total	1,616	4,388	24	6,028
<i>Percent</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>72.8</i>	<i>0.4</i>	
School Year: 1988-89	White	Black	Other	Total
Elementary	885	2,125	10	3,020
Middle	387	1,022	6	1,415
High school	438	1,067	7	1,512
Total	1,710	4,214	23	5,947
<i>Percent</i>	<i>28.8</i>	<i>70.9</i>	<i>0.3</i>	
School Year: 1987-88	White	Black & other		Total
Elementary	907	2,053		2,960
Middle	405	1,011		1,416
High school	486	1,086		1,572
Total	1,798	4,150		5,948
<i>Percent</i>	<i>30.2</i>	<i>69.8</i>		

Source: Data supplied by Selma School District, Jan. 16, 1991; on file at Central Regional Office.

TABLE 3.2 Staffing: Racial Composition (District-wide)

1989-90	White	%	Black	%	Other	%	Total
Administrators	12	(52.2)	11	(47.8)			23
Teachers	187	(53.7)	158	(45.4)	3	(0.9)	348
Total	199	(53.6)	169	(45.6)	3	(0.8)	371
1988-89	White	%	Black	%	Other	%	Total
Administrators	14	(56.0)	11	(44.0)			25
Teachers	188	(54.7)	154	(44.8)	2	(0.5)	344
Total	202	(54.7)	165	(44.7)	2	(0.5)	369
1987-88	White	%	Black	%	Other	%	Total
Administrators	11	(50.0)	11	(50.0)			22
Teachers	159	(50.6)	154	(49.1)	1	(0.3)	314
Total	170	(50.6)	165	(49.1)	1	(0.3)	336

Source: Data supplied by Selma School District, Jan. 16, 1991; on file at Central Regional Office.

TABLE 3.3 Racial Composition of Student Population by School

1990-91:	White	%	Black	%	Other	Total
Bryd	198	(56.7)	148		3	349
Cedar Park	111		224		0	335
Clark*	0		358	(100.0)	0	358
East End**	6		244	(97.6)	0	250
Edgewood	100		422		7	529
Knox*	0		283	(100.0)	0	283
Meadowview**	368	(83.4)	71		2	441
Payne*	0		383	(100.0)	0	383
Eastside**	1		380	(99.7)	0	381
Westside	128		685		2	815
Selma High School	143		1,037		5	1,185
1989-90:	White	%	Black	%	Other	Total
Bryd**	201	(58.9)	139		1	341
Cedar Park	137		211		0	348
Clark*	0		361	(100.0)	0	361
East End**	7		271	(97.5)	0	278
Edgewood	137		409		8	554
Knox*	0		304	(100.0)	0	304
Meadowview**	399	(84.2)	74		1	474
Payne*	0		393	(100.0)	0	393
Eastside*	0		418	(100.0)	0	418
Westside	326		626		5	957
Selma High School	409		1,082		9	1,500
1988-89:	White	%	Black	%	Other	Total
Bryd**	191	(55.7)	152		0	343
Cedar Park	144		199		2	345
Clark*	0		378	(100.0)	0	378
East End**	6		271	(97.8)	0	277
Edgewood	150		342		8	500
Knox**	1		284	(99.6)	0	285
Meadowview**	393	(83.3)	79		0	472
Payne*	0		420	(100.0)	0	420
Eastside**	1		405	(99.8)	0	406
Westside	386		617		7	1,010
Selma High School	438		1,067		8	1,513

* Racially isolated

**Racially identifiable

(continued)

TABLE 3.3 Racial Composition of Student Population by School (continued)

1987-88:	White	%	Black & other	%	Total
Bryd**	176	(56.4)	136		312
Cedar Park	167		179		346
Clark**	1		345	(99.7)	346
East End**	4		273	(98.6)	277
Edgewood	180		326		506
Knox**	2		278	(99.3)	280
Meadowview**	376	(79.0)	99		475
Payne*	0		417	(100.0)	417
Eastside**	1		415	(99.8)	416
Westside	404		596		1,000
Selma High School	486		1,050		1,536

* Racially isolated

**Racially identifiable

Source: Data supplied by Selma School District, Jan. 16, 1991; on file at Central Regional Office.

school established in 1922, offers 2-year associate of arts degrees in the fine arts, theology, social sciences, math, business, and the natural sciences.⁹ Concordia has a total student population of 398 students, of whom 396 (99.5 percent) are black and 2 (0.5 percent) are white.¹⁰ Selma University, the oldest of the institutions, was established in 1873. It is a predominantly black Baptist school offering courses in general education and in theology. It has a student population of 168 black students.¹¹

The county's three private schools are Dallas Christian School, Meadowview Christian School,

and John T. Morgan Academy.¹² Dallas Christian School is a small nondenominational Christian school serving students in grades K-12.¹³ Meadowview Christian School, established in 1970, is an interdenominational Christian school serving students in grades K-12. Morgan Academy, established in 1965, is a private school also serving K-12.¹⁴ Meadowview and Morgan Academy each serve approximately 500 students.¹⁵ These private academies were established to accommodate whites who did not support school integration.¹⁶ To date there is no record to show that any blacks have ever attended any of

8 Data supplied by the Registrar's Office of Wallace Community College, telephone interview, Feb. 12, 1991. (A student enrollment of 1,700 was cited in "Wallace College Fills Many Black Belt Roles," *Selma Times-Journal*, Feb. 24, 1991.)

9 *Selma Showcase*, p. 27.

10 Data supplied by the Registrar's Office of Concordia College, telephone interview, Feb. 21, 1991. (Student enrollment, however, of 375 was cited in "Selma's Black Colleges Hold Place in History," *Selma Times-Journal*, Feb. 24, 1991.)

11 Data supplied by the Registrar's Office of Selma University, telephone interview, Feb. 21, 1991. (Student enrollment of 250 was cited in "Dawson Claims Rumors Magnify Selma U's Woes," *Selma Times-Journal*, Jan. 4, 1991.)

12 *Selma Showcase*, p. 27.

13 Ibid.

14 Dr. Christopher Debuzna, headmaster, Morgan Academy, and John Westbrook, principal, Meadowview Christian School, interview in Selma, Nov. 9, 1990.

15 Ibid.

16 Alston Fitts III, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt* (Selma, Ala.: Clairmont Press, 1989), p. 159.

these schools.¹⁷ According to 1980 census data analyzed by the Center for Demographic and Cultural Research at Auburn University, 12.7 percent (733) of students eligible to attend elementary and secondary schools in Selma were enrolled in private schools.¹⁸

Historical Context

The first structured educational system in Selma, the Dallas Male and Female Academy, was established by the Ladies Educational Society in 1839. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, efforts were made by the city to establish a public school system. As a result of a gift from the George Peabody Fund, Dallas Academy was established as a free school for Selma's white children.¹⁹

Temporary schools for blacks were established in 1865 by an ex-slave and by a white woman named Hubbard. However, black leaders felt the need for something more permanent and made an appeal to "Dear friends and former masters" for help in forming a permanent school.²⁰ Funding to establish the school was received from the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Bureau, and from Jabez Burrell of Oberlin, Ohio. Burrell Academy opened in 1869 with a full staff of teachers from the North. These teachers were recruited by the American Missionary Association, but salaries

after 1869 were paid by the city. Also in 1869 the Selma Public School Board was established to supervise both Dallas Academy and Burrell Academy, but with an all-white membership.²¹

The Reformed Presbyterian Church and the Congregationalist American Missionary Association both played a significant role in black education in central Alabama.²² In 1874 the Presbyterians established Knox Academy, and in 1905 they established East End.²³ In 1889 Payne School was formed as a private Methodist school supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁴ Both of these schools closed as private institutions when they were purchased by the Selma School Board in the 1930s.²⁵ Burrell Academy closed in 1890. Clark, which would become the first black public school erected by the city, was opened in that same year to accommodate black students.²⁶

At the same time that schools were being formed for blacks, between 1874 and 1916 three elementary schools and one high school for white students were established. They were Green Street School, Baker School, Frances Thomas Elementary School, Byrd Elementary, and Selma High School.²⁷ Although the city operated six public schools for whites and one for blacks, public education for blacks began to improve in the years following the Depression.²⁸

Because the Reformed Presbyterians found themselves financially unable to support the

17 Dr. Christopher Debuzna and John Westbrook, interview in Selma, Nov. 9, 1970.

18 Analysis of 1980 census data supplied by Center for Demographic and Cultural Research, Auburn University, Montgomery.

19 Selma, Ala., Selma Public Schools, "Reflections and Progressions 1938-1988," p. 1 (hereafter "Reflections and Progressions"); Alston Fitts III, letter to Melvin L. Jenkins, Director, CRO, Aug. 26, 1991 (hereafter Letter of Aug. 26, 1991); and Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 70.

20 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 70.

21 Ibid., p. 72; "Reflections and Progressions," p. 8; Letter of Aug. 26, 1991.

22 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, pp. 70, 72.

23 "Reflections and Progressions," p. 8.

24 Ibid., p. 10.

25 Alston Fitts III, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 119.

26 "Reflections and Progressions," p. 11.

27 Ibid., pp. 12-14.

28 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 119.

black schools, the public school system agreed to take charge of these schools. In 1935 Knox became the first public high school for blacks.²⁹ For the first time in the city's history, education of black children would no longer be primarily dependent on the churches or certain charities.³⁰ According to J.L. Chestnut in *Back in Selma*, Selma was one of the few cities in the region to provide black children a full school year. He stated that Selma spent comparatively more on black education than the rural counties.³¹ In 1930 the Dallas County school system spent \$51.00 a year for the education of each white child, while for the black child it spent \$7.00.³² Mr. Chestnut concluded that though the amount Selma spent per student cannot be determined from the school board minutes, the proportion appears to be nearly 3 to 1.³³

Albert C. Parrish High School was built in 1939 to serve white high school students.³⁴ R.B. Hudson, the black high school, was built in 1949.³⁵ A year after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*,³⁶ the Selma school board continued breaking ground for a new white elementary school (Edgewood) and a new black elementary school (Knox).³⁷ The initial reaction of whites in Selma to the *Brown* decision was opposition and disbelief.³⁸ Organized resistance to school desegrega-

tion resulted in the formation of the White Citizens Council.³⁹ The position of the white leadership at that time is voiced in a statement made by the then-mayor, Chris Heinz, to the city council after the Supreme Court ruled separate schools unconstitutional:

Under our present system, each race is free from social discrimination, free from any ill-feeling that would exist if our system were to be changed. . . . I feel I speak for all of the thinking citizens of our community, both whites and colored, when I say to you I am sure there will be no integration of white pupils in colored schools and no integration of colored pupils in white schools in the City of Selma.⁴⁰

After the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the then Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, required districts with dual school systems to submit desegregation plans if they wanted Federal funds.⁴¹ In April 1965 the Selma School Board submitted its first plan, called Freedom of Choice desegregation, to begin the process of integration.⁴² The first four grades would first be voluntarily integrated, and four more grades would be added each year.⁴³ Under the plan the dual system was still main-

29 J.L. Chestnut, *Black in Selma* (Toronto: Harper and Collins, 1990), pp. 6-7; Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 119.

30 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 119.

31 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, pp. 6-7.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 120-21.

35 "Reflections and Progressions," p. 20.

36 347 U.S. 438 (1954); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Southern School Desegregation 1966-67* (1967), p. 1.

37 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, pp. 81-82; "Reflections and Progressions," p. 21.

38 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, p. 81.

39 Ibid., p. 82.

40 Ibid., p. 82.

41 42 U.S.C. 2000d (1988); see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Southern School Desegregation, 1966-67*, pp. 10-12; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Federal Civil Rights Under School Desegregation Law* (Clearinghouse publication, 1966), appendix (Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964).

42 J.L. Chestnut, Jr., *Black in Selma*, p. 284.

tained, but students and teachers could transfer voluntarily to schools of the opposite race.⁴⁴

In implementing the requirements of Title VI, guidelines were established in 1966 to also desegregate school faculties.⁴⁵ In this effort the school board assigned black teachers to white schools and white teachers to black schools.⁴⁶ According to J.L. Chestnut, the best and most favored black teachers were assigned to the white schools, while the youngest and most inexperienced white teachers were assigned to the black schools.⁴⁷ In Selma, as in most of the southern and border States, the pace of integration was slow because the district's voluntary freedom of choice plan had not effectively dismantled the dual and racially segregated school system. In 1970 the district was placed under the supervision of the Federal courts and ordered to abolish its dual system by the next school year.⁴⁸ In 1970 Parrish and Hudson High Schools were merged to create Selma High.⁴⁹ Two junior high schools, Eastside and Westside, were created, and the racial percentages in elementary schools changed with zoning restrictions.⁵⁰ Some white families removed their children from the public schools and sent them to private academies.⁵¹

In most counties surrounding Dallas County, massive white flight to private academies left the

public schools as de facto segregated.⁵² In Selma, however, enough white families continued to support the public schools to make integration a reality.⁵³

Dr. Pickard related to the Advisory Committee that in 1983 the Federal courts ruled that Selma's schools had achieved unitary status.⁵⁴ However, the stigma of past segregation of certain schools continued to exist. Although integrated, Westside Junior High School, which once housed R.B. Hudson, the black high school, is still perceived by some as a black school.⁵⁵

In 1980 Charles A. Lett became the board's first black president.⁵⁶ In 1987 the school board selected its first black superintendent.⁵⁷

Educational Demographics

A demographic study titled *Education in Alabama: A Demographic Perspective*, by the Center for Demographic and Cultural Research, Auburn University—Montgomery, showed the median years of school completed in Selma for persons 25 years old and over was 12.3. Of the population, 59.8 percent had graduated from high school and 14.6 percent were college graduates.⁵⁸ Although there were no data available

43 Ibid; Letter of Aug. 26, 1991.

44 Ibid.

45 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Southern School Desegregation, 1966-67*, pp. 12-13.

46 Dr. Joe Pickard, *Transcript* of factfinding meeting of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Selma, Ala., Dec. 12-15, 1990, vol. I, p. 8 (hereafter *Transcript*).

47 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, pp. 284-85.

48 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 159.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 63.

55 Bunnie Gamble, interview in Selma, Nov. 7, 1990.

56 Fitts, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt*, p. 169.

57 Ibid.

58 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population* (Part 2).

on the racial makeup of the 25 and older population, a review of the 1980 census data revealed that 73.6 percent of the white population had completed 4 years or more of high school, while only 43.5 percent of the black population had attained this educational level.⁵⁹ This data also established that 18.6 percent of the white population had completed 4 years or more of college, while only 10.0 percent of the black population had attained this educational level.⁶⁰

A study by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, indicated that there is considerable disparity between the educational attainment of blacks and whites.⁶¹ Similarly, the Auburn study concluded that whatever measure is applied, blacks in Alabama rank significantly below whites in educational attainment.⁶² Although the Auburn study did not analyze by race the educational attainment of individual school districts and counties, it is reasonable to assume that many of the demographic factors that impinge upon educational performance from a State perspective may be applicable to the educational attainment of persons residing in Selma and Dallas County. Some of the highlights of the Auburn study were:

—Residents of the rural areas of the State, especially the Black Belt, typically display the lowest levels of schooling.

—Test scores are lowest in rural economically distressed counties and in city systems with a large minority population.

—Social conditions that are most indicative of low achievement scores include large families, high fertility rates, a large number of single-parent families, heavy reliance on government transfer programs, and a large minority population.

—Race and socioeconomic status, along with related attributes, play a central role in determining scholastic achievement as well as subsequent attainment.⁶³

Student Dropouts

The school district has in place a federally funded student dropout prevention program called STARS.⁶⁴ This program was established in 1988.⁶⁵ The nature and extent of the dropout rate is not precisely clear because definitive information is not available. The most current data show that during the 1988-89 school year, 53 students were identified as dropouts.⁶⁶ Of these students, 56.6 percent (30) were black, while 43.4 percent (23) were white.⁶⁷ The Alabama Department of Education has two reporting systems for monitoring student dropouts. One is based upon raw enrollment data submitted for the beginning of the school year in comparison to the end of the school year. The other

chap. C). (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), tables 157, 162, 175, and 182.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, *Alabama Demographic Profile* (1986), p. 9.

62 University of Auburn, Montgomery, Center for Demographical Cultural Research, *Education in Alabama: A Demographic Perspective* (November 1990), p. 7.

63 Ibid., p. 2.

64 James Carter, acting superintendent, telephone interview, Mar. 21, 1991.

65 Ibid.

66 See dropout data supplied by the Selma Public Schools on Jan. 16, 1991 (on file in CRO).

67 Ibid.

system is based upon the number of dropouts actually reported by school principals.

The Alabama Department of Education reported that 455 students started Selma High School as freshmen in September 1985 and that only 269 graduated in May 1989. This approach, which counts transfers to other school systems as dropouts, gives a dropout rate in the district of 39.6 percent. Based upon the number of dropouts reported by school principals, the rate was 15.2 percent.⁶⁸

Rose Sanders of the BEST organization states that the current dropout rate for blacks is as high as 40 percent.⁶⁹ James Carter, the acting superintendent, contends that the rate is approximately 29 percent. One of Mr. Carter's long range instructional goals is to decrease the dropout rate by 4 percent.⁷⁰

Special Education

The Selma city school system is reported to have established procedures to ensure that all the system's children and youth who are in need of special education and related services are identified, located, and evaluated. This also includes a practical method of determining which children are currently receiving needed services and which are not.⁷¹ Through cooperative efforts with the Alabama Department of Education and other agencies, the district ensures that services are developed and implemented in accordance with existing State and Federal laws.⁷²

Student referrals for testing and placement are made by the Referral Screening Committee at the school in which the referred students are enrolled.⁷³ All referral data and assessment reports are submitted to the Eligibility Determination Committee (EDC), which determines the educational placement of each child.⁷⁴ Generally, the EDC consists of a psychometrist, school nurse, speech/language specialist, administrator, and special education coordinator.⁷⁵

During the 1990-91 school year, the district's special education program enrolled 683 students of whom 75.4 percent (515) were black, while 23.7 percent (162) were white and 0.9 percent (6) were other minorities.⁷⁶ Districtwide, special education students are 12.9 percent of the student population. The special education enrollment figures for both black and white students are in proportion to their overall enrollment in the district.⁷⁷

To some degree, the special education program has been a source of racial contention within the district. Penny Williams, coordinator of testing and evaluation, and Elmyra Smith, a junior high school counselor, expressed concerns about the disproportionate number of blacks enrolled in educable mentally retarded (EMR) programs, while whites, when referred to special education, are usually placed in the learning disabled (LD) program.⁷⁸ On September 13, 1990, an anonymous complaint was submitted to the Commission's regional staff. The

68 See dropout data supplied by the Selma Public Schools on Jan. 16, 1991, and Floyd Johnson, Alabama State Department of Education, telephone interview, Mar. 21, 1991; Letter of Aug. 26, 1991.

69 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 149.

70 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 324; James Carter, acting superintendent, interview in Selma, Sept. 12, 1990.

71 Selma City Schools, *Comprehensive Plan for Exceptional Children and Youth* (FY 1989-91, Revised FY 1991), p. 2.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

75 *Ibid.*: during an onsite visit to the district, members of the EDC included the special education coordinator, the school nurse, speech therapist, and three psychometrists. Of the committee members, two were black and four were white.

76 See special education enrollment data supplied by the Selma Public Schools, Oct. 1, 1990 (on file at CRO).

77 *Ibid.*: see also table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4 Selma City Schools' Special Education Enrollment

1990-91 (September 1990)									
Exceptionality	Total	Male	Female	Black	%	White	%	Other	%
Educable mentally retarded	196	121	75	183	(93.4)	13	(6.6)	0	
Trainable mentally retarded	60	37	23	53	(88.3)	6	(10.0)	1	(1.7)
Multihandicapped	8	5	3	8	(100.0)	0		0	
Learning disabled	118	92	26	62	(52.5)	56	(47.5)	0	
Speech impaired	232	150	82	151	(65.0)	76	(32.8)	5	(2.2)
Emotionally disturbed	34	26	8	30	(88.2)	4	(11.8)	0	
Visually impaired	3	1	2	2	(66.7)	1	(33.3)	0	
Hard of hearing	1	1	0	1	(100.0)	0		0	
Deaf	4	3	1	3	(75.0)	1	(25.0)	0	
Orthopedically impaired	3	2	1	2	(66.7)	1	(33.3)	0	
Other health impaired	17	10	7	14	(82.4)	3	(17.6)	0	
Developmentally delayed	7	7	0	6	(85.7)	1	(14.3)	0	
Gifted	60	35	25	18	(30.0)	42	(66.7)	0	
TOTAL	683	455	228	515	(75.4)	162	(23.7)	6	(0.9)

1989-90 (December 1989)									
Exceptionality	Total	Male	Female	Black	%	White	%	Other	%
Educable mentally retarded	223	143	80	206	(92.4)	17	(7.6)	0	
Trainable mentally retarded	62	37	25	55	(88.7)	6	(9.7)	1	
Multihandicapped	7	5	2	7	(100.0)	0		0	
Learning disabled	141	107	34	70	(49.6)	71	(50.4)	0	
Speech impaired	253	165	88	164	(64.8)	84	(33.2)	5	
Emotionally disturbed	38	28	10	32	(84.2)	6	(15.8)	0	
Visually impaired	4	1	3	2	(50.0)	2	(50.0)	0	
Hard of hearing	1	1	0	1	(100.0)	0		0	
Deaf	5	4	1	3	(60.0)	2	(40.0)	0	
Orthopedically impaired	3	2	1	2	(66.7)	1	(33.3)	0	
Other health impaired	22	13	9	16	(72.7)	5	(22.7)	1	
Developmentally delayed	9	8	1	8	(88.9)	1	(11.1)	0	
Gifted	83	46	37	17	(20.5)	66	(79.5)	0	
TOTAL	768	514	254	566	(73.7)	195	(25.4)	8	(0.9)

Source: Data supplied by Selma School District, Jan. 16, 1991; on file at Central Regional Office.

complaint letter raised a series of allegations, such as the overrepresentation of blacks in EMR, disparities in student-teacher ratios and teacher aide support between the EMR and LD programs, and the lack of mainstreaming opportunities for EMR students.⁷⁹

Official complaints have been filed with the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (OCR), regarding the district's special education program.⁸⁰ On March 7, 1989, one case was investigated and closed with a no cause finding.⁸¹ On March 15, 1990, another complaint was filed against the district alleging discrimination on the basis of race in the assignment of students to the LD and gifted and talented programs. As of September 1991, this case was still under investigation by OCR.⁸² Student enrollment in the EMR program during the 1989-90 school year substantiated the allegation that a disproportionate number of blacks are enrolled in EMR.⁸³ During the 1989-90 school year, of the 223 students enrolled in EMR, 92.4 percent (206) were black, while 7.6 percent (17) were white.⁸⁴ The black enrollment in the EMR program exceeds the districtwide enrollment of black students by more than 20 percent. During the 1990-91 school year, blacks were 93.4 percent (183) of the EMR enrollment.⁸⁵ Again, this is disproportionate to blacks' overall enrollment in the district.

Gifted and Talented Programs

The district's gifted education program operates according to the mandate of the Alabama Exceptional Child Education Act of 1971.⁸⁶ When the district developed its program in August 1978, the program served approximately 50 students in grades 2-6. Since that time, enrollment and educational services for the program have increased steadily.⁸⁷ The elementary program is located at Meadowview and Cedar Park schools. Gifted students from other elementary schools attend classes at one of these two centers.⁸⁸ The middle school program is located at Westside Middle School.⁸⁹ At the high school level, no gifted and talented program is offered. According to the district's policy, due to the strength and diversity of academic subjects and extracurricular offerings available at the high school, the needs of those students who are intellectually gifted can be appropriately met by the regular education program through advanced and college preparatory classes.⁹⁰

A combination of intelligence and academic aptitude tests, school achievement, and teacher judgment is used to identify students who are eligible for the gifted and talented program.⁹¹ Students with a school ability index score of 120 and above on the Otis-Lennon School Ability Tests are referred to the program. Students with a school ability index score of 115-119 may also

78 Penny Williams, interview in Selma, Sept. 26, 1990, and Elmyra Smith, interview in Selma, Sept. 13, 1990.

79 See anonymous complaint, on file at CRO.

80 Jesse L. High, Selma School District, to Melvin Jenkins, Oct. 16, 1990 (hereafter cited as High Letter).

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 See special education enrollment data supplied by Selma Public Schools, Oct. 1, 1990; see also table 3.4.

84 Ibid. A statistical analysis is needed to determine whether or not the disproportionate enrollment of blacks occurred by chance.

85 Ibid.

86 13 Ala. Code §16-39 (1987); Selma City Schools, *Plan for Gifted Education Program* (June 1990), p. 1.

87 Ibid., p. 1.

88 Ibid., p. 6.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

be referred, provided that they have both total reading and math achievement scores at or above the 85th percentile. Parents may also refer their child if they meet the above criteria and exhibit characteristics of a gifted child.⁹²

The enrollment in the district's gifted program during the 1989-90 school year was 83 students or 1.4 percent of the student population.⁹³ Analysis of the data showed that white and black enrollments in the program were disproportionate to the overall racial composition of the student population. Of these students, 20.5 percent (17) were black, while 79.5 percent (66) were white.⁹⁴ Again, as in the previous year, white and black enrollments in the gifted program were disproportionate to the overall racial composition of the student population. During the 1990-91 school year, 60 students were in the gifted program or 1.1 percent of the student population. Of these students, 66 percent (42) were white, while 30 percent (18) were black.⁹⁵ Although the district's procedures and criteria used to select students for the program appear neutral, according to Milton Slauson, the district's special education coordinator, students are referred most often by teachers and their judgment is heavily relied upon in identifying students for the program.⁹⁶

Verdell Lett Hines, a principal at one of the elementary schools whose daughter is in the gifted program, noted that her daughter was not referred until she requested that her daughter

be referred.⁹⁷ Ms. Hines said that, in her view, parental referral is the only way a black child is identified for the gifted program. She also noted that black students attending predominantly black schools did not participate in the Odyssey of the Mind Program, a competition in problem solving for students in the gifted program. However, in 1987 Payne and Knox elementary schools participated in the program.⁹⁸

Staffing Characteristics and Personnel Policies and Practices

The most current data provided by the district on the racial composition of administrative staff and faculty were for the 1989-90 school year. Of the 371 staff members, 199 (53.6 percent) were white; 169 (45.6 percent), black; and 3 (0.8 percent), other minorities.⁹⁹ During the preceding school years of 1988-89 and 1987-88, the racial composition of staff was consistent with the above figures, ranging from 50 to 54 percent white and 44 to 49 percent black.¹⁰⁰ The racial composition of the central administration during these same years ranged from 40 to 60 percent for both black and white.¹⁰¹

The district has in place written equal employment opportunity procedures and grievance procedures.¹⁰² However, some employment policies are not being implemented.¹⁰³ Specifically, the district has not established a salary schedule, and at one point written job descriptions for each position in the district did not exist.¹⁰⁴ Dr.

92 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

93 See gifted and talented enrollment figures supplied by Selma Public Schools, Oct. 1, 1990; see also table 3.4.

94 Ibid. (A statistical analysis is needed to determine whether or not the disproportionate enrollments by race occurred by chance.)

95 Ibid. (A statistical analysis is needed to determine whether or not the disproportionate enrollments by race occurred by chance.)

96 Dr. Milton Slauson, coordinator of special education, interview in Selma, Sept. 26, 1990.

97 Verdell Lett Hines, interview in Selma, Sept. 26, 1990.

98 Ibid.

99 See data supplied by the Selma City Schools on Jan. 16, 1991, on file in CRO; see also table 3.5.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Selma City Schools Policy Manual, Equal Opportunity Employment and Grievance Procedures (adopted Aug. 8, 1984).

103 James Carter, interview, Sept. 12, 1990; Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

TABLE 3.5 Racial Composition of Staff by School

1989-90:	Total	White %	Black %	Other %
Byrd	20	14 (70.0)	6 (30.0)	
Cedar Park	23	18 (78.3)	5 (21.7)	
Clark	24	14 (58.3)	10 (41.7)	
East End	17	7 (41.2)	10 (58.8)	
Edgewood	27	16 (59.3)	11 (40.7)	
Knox	16	5 (31.3)	11 (68.6)	
Meadowview	27	25 (92.6)	2 (7.4)	
Payne	24	7 (29.2)	17 (70.8)	
Eastside	26	6 (23.1)	19 (73.1)	1 (3.8)
Westside	63	31 (49.2)	32 (50.8)	2 (2.0)
Selma High School	99	54 (54.5)	43 (43.3)	
Central administration	5	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	
1988-89:	Total	White %	Black %	Other %
Byrd	10	5 (50.0)	5 (50.0)	
Cedar Park	23	15 (65.2)	8 (34.8)	
Clark	21	10 (47.6)	11 (52.4)	
East End	15	4 (26.7)	11 (73.3)	
Edgewood	27	16 (59.3)	11 (40.7)	
Knox	17	7 (41.2)	10 (58.5)	
Meadowview	26	24 (92.3)	2 (7.7)	
Payne	24	7 (29.2)	17 (70.8)	
Eastside	30	9 (30.0)	21 (70.0)	
Westside	64	34 (53.1)	30 (46.9)	
Selma High School	92	55 (59.8)	37 (40.2)	2 (2.2)
Central administration	10	5 (50.0)	5 (50.0)	
1987-88:	Total	White %	Black %	Other %
Byrd	16	11 (68.8)	5 (31.3)	
Cedar Park	22	16 (72.7)	6 (27.3)	
Clark	19	11 (57.9)	8 (42.1)	
East End	14	4 (28.6)	10 (71.4)	
Edgewood	26	15 (57.7)	11 (42.3)	
Knox	15	6 (40.0)	9 (60.0)	
Meadowview	23	18 (78.3)	5 (21.7)	
Payne	22	16 (72.7)	6 (27.3)	
Eastside	24	7 (29.2)	17 (70.8)	
Westside	54	25 (46.3)	29 (53.7)	
Selma High School	87	45 (51.7)	41 (47.1)	1 (1.1)
Educ. assistance center	9	3 (33.3)	6 (66.7)	
Central administration	5	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	

Source: Data supplied by Selma School District, Jan. 16, 1991, on file at Central Regional Office.

Roussell noted that job vacancies as they became open were not announced to the staff or the general public.¹⁰⁵ Mr. Carter said that one of his goals was to establish a salary schedule and written job descriptions for all employees by November 30, 1990.¹⁰⁶ Bruce Dozier, a teacher and president of the Selma Teachers Association, expressed his concern about the lack of written employment and promotion standards.¹⁰⁷ Mr. Dozier also stated that the district should enhance its efforts to recruit black teachers, particularly black males.¹⁰⁸

Gerald Buford, the high school band instructor, noted that historically the position of band instructor had been reserved for whites. However, under Dr. Roussell's administration, Mr. Buford was selected as the first black band director.¹⁰⁹

Another source of contention among some black teachers is the alleged past district practice of assigning white teachers to the higher level classes, while blacks were disproportionately assigned to the lower levels.¹¹⁰

During the recent protests and demonstrations, the Selma Teachers Association was divided along racial lines.¹¹¹ After the schools

reopened, relations between black and white teachers were tense. Since that time, there has been a gradual renewal of interaction between black and white teachers.¹¹²

Review of individual schools shows that the staffing characteristics of some schools are racially identifiable.¹¹³ Staff in the 1989-90 school year at Cedar Park, Meadowview, Payne, Knox, and Eastside were identifiable by race. Cedar Park, Meadowview, and Payne had an overrepresentation of white staff members and Knox and Eastside had an overrepresentation of black staff members.¹¹⁴ Similarly, during the two preceding school years, these same schools and Eastside were racially identifiable.¹¹⁵

The Selma City Schools Policy Manual states that the superintendent will assign all employees to their respective positions.¹¹⁶ Mr. Carter indicated that school principals may also make recommendations for teacher assignments. The school board makes the final decision on all teacher assignments.¹¹⁷

104 Ibid.

105 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

106 James Carter, interview, Sept. 12, 1990.

107 Bruce Dozier, president, Selma Teachers Association, interview in Selma, Nov. 8, 1990.

108 Ibid.

109 Gerald Buford, band director, interview in Selma, Nov. 8, 1990.

110 Bruce Dozier, interview, Nov. 8, 1990; Quintella Harrell, teacher, interview, Nov. 8, 1990; Louetta Wimberley, counselor, interview, Sept. 13, 1990; Dr. Frederick Reese, principal, interview, Sept. 12, 1990.

111 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 179-80.

112 Ibid.

113 See data supplied by the Selma City Schools on Jan. 16, 1991, on file in CRO; see also table 3.5. (Racially identifiable meaning that the percentage of teachers of particular race in a school differs by more than 20 percentage points from the percentage of staff district-wide of that same race. This is taken from "Ability Grouping Legal Memorandum and Investigative Plan" (Draft), U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, p. 2. A statistical analysis is needed to determine whether or not the school assignment of teachers by race occurred by chance.)

114 See data supplied by the Selma City Schools on Jan. 16, 1991, on file in CRO; see also table 3.5.

115 Ibid.

116 Selma City Schools Policy Manual, Assignment.

117 James Carter, telephone interview, Mar. 21, 1991.

Literature on Tracking and Ability Grouping

Educational tracking¹¹⁸ is ingrained in American education but has not always rested easily with the principle of equal opportunity.¹¹⁹ Tracking dates back to the early 1900s when it grew side by side with the expansion of public schooling, and it has increased steadily over the decades until today more than 80 percent of all students are tracked one way or another.¹²⁰ In recent years, new categories of special education, remedial programs, and language groupings have expanded the justification for labeling students.¹²¹ Tracking is based upon the proposition that children of nearly equal abilities should be grouped together for learning because they absorb knowledge at the same pace, making for instructional efficiency. Tracking mechanisms are varied and complex, and can take place inside classrooms (small size ability grouping), on specific subject areas (assigning students to different difficulty levels of the same course), or through different curriculum placements (college prep, business, or vocational programs).¹²² The matter has become more contentious because of accusations that it is widely used to relegate a disproportionate number of blacks to slow-learner, low-achieving classes while a disproportionate number of higher achieving white children are given the advantages of more challenging courses and teachers.¹²³

According to Phyllis McClure of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, tracking is common in southern school districts and exists in the North as well. She said accusations of racial discrimination in tracking are rarely upheld because the courts give deference to educators and presume that they are making decisions in the best interest of children.¹²⁴

Supporters of tracking say that it is necessary to address individual student needs and problems and to match students with appropriate educational experiences.¹²⁵ Proponents of tracking argue that slower students are intimidated and left behind if they face daily academic competition in class with their brighter peers.¹²⁶ They further argue that tracking is done in the best interests of students who are not suited for the same curriculum and to accommodate teachers who find it easier and more efficient to present instructional materials to homogeneous classes.¹²⁷ Jeffrey Schneider of the National Educational Association reports that parents are the biggest backers of ability grouping, especially middle-class and upper middle-class parents.¹²⁸

Robert E. Slavin, codirector of the elementary school programs at the John Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools, stated that most studies show that mixed ability grouping does not hurt high-achieving students and in fact helps those of lower achievement levels.¹²⁹ The case against

118 Ability grouping and tracking are related practices by which students are assigned to groups or classes on the basis of an assessment of academic ability or achievement level. U.S. General Accounting Office, *Within School Discrimination—Inadequate Title VI Enforcement by the Office for Civil Rights* (GAO/HRD-91-85, July 1991).

119 "Teaching Inequality: The Problem of Public School Teaching," 102 *Harvard Law Review* 1318 (1989).

120 Stan Karp, "Selma Tied to the Track," *Rethinking Schools* (October/November 1990), p. 11.

121 "In Pupil Tracks, Many See A Means of Resegregation," *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1990, p. B1.

122 Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," p. 11.

123 Ibid.

124 "In Pupil Tracks Many See a Means of Resegregation," *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1990, p. B1.

125 Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," p. 11.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 "In Pupil Tracks Many See a Means of Resegregation," *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1990, p. B1.

tracking has been most effectively presented by researcher Jeannie Oakes. In *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (1985), Oakes argues that tracking hurts slower and average students academically and does not always benefit advanced ones. According to Oakes, tracking reinforces an unequal distribution of resources that leaves lower tracks with fewer academic course choices, fewer computers, less access to science labs, and more outdated textbooks and materials.¹³⁰

According to Oakes, high tracks are disproportionately white, wealthy, and college bound. Lower tracks are disproportionately black, brown, and poor. One summary of the research on tracking found that no matter what method of selection is used for track placement "even high achieving blacks tend to be placed in the low ability track, while even low achieving white middle-class students tend to be placed in the higher track."¹³¹

Ability grouping remains a matter of controversy. In a recent report issued by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, strong recommendations were made by some educators in North Carolina to abolish ability grouping.¹³²

According to testimony provided by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) to the United States Senate, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, an analysis of survey data

from the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights shows that in more than half of the Nation's school districts, a disproportionate number of minorities are in lower ability classes.¹³³

Recently, OCR stated that one of its future civil rights priorities will be investigation of ability groupings that result in segregation on the basis of race or national origin.¹³⁴ Currently, OCR is developing policy on ability grouping practices to assist regional offices in their investigation of such practices.¹³⁵

Grouping of Students for Instruction

Due to the concerns that were raised in studies and reports noted in the previous section, the Advisory Committee decided to review the application of grouping students for instruction in the Selma school district. Further, the Advisory Committee had received allegations that the district's leveling or ability grouping policy resulted in inappropriate tracking of students.¹³⁶

Dissatisfaction with the leveling system had begun to mount as early as 1987. A group of parents, residents, and students formed Better Education Support Team (BEST). BEST was formed primarily to dismantle what its members believed had become an institutionalized racial tracking system.¹³⁷ BEST further argued that students placed in level III classes did not take

129 Ibid.

130 Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," p. 11.

131 Ibid.

132 North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *In-School Segregation in North Carolina Public Schools* (March 1991), pp. 7-8.

133 U.S. General Accounting Office, "Within-School Discrimination: Inadequate Title VI Enforcement by Education's Office for Civil Rights," by Lawrence H. Thompson before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, Apr. 25, 1991.

134 "Grants Based on Race OK By Kemp," *Washington Times*, Dec. 17, 1990.

135 "Ability Grouping Legal Memorandum and Investigation Plan" (Draft), U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, p. 2.

136 Information provided by Rose Sanders, "Outline of Events Comprising Alleged Conspiracy to Deny African-American Citizens their Constitutional Rights to Protest Unfair Practices in the City of Selma, Alabama," Aug. 21, 1990, p. 1.

137 Ibid.

courses such as algebra, biology, foreign language, or other level I courses required for college admission.¹³⁸

A majority of the school board members and parents dispute the charge that black students are tracked into lower levels of instruction. They contend that the leveling system is a fair and sound educational program used to enhance learning.¹³⁹ Immediately following Dr. Roussell's hiring, he was asked by BEST to eliminate the system of leveling or at least correct the situation.¹⁴⁰

The Origin of Grouping in Selma City Schools

In 1965 Selma school officials conducted a self-evaluation of the educational objectives and instructional programs at Parrish High School.¹⁴¹ From this study they concluded that the instructional program did not meet the needs of the students.¹⁴² The district then developed during the 1970-71 school year a new instructional curriculum based on four levels of instruction.¹⁴³ School officials stated that they were embarking upon this educational venture in response to "recent forces and alterations which are taking place and changing the way of life in our society."¹⁴⁴

The leveling system was established in 1970-71 following the Federal courts' order for Selma to integrate its schools.¹⁴⁵ It was decided to

structure the school curriculum upon the following levels of difficulty:

Level I (Honors)—This level of instruction is for the conscientious student with above-average ability and above-average achievement.

Level II (General Studies)—This level is for students who are from low average to high average ability and achievement.

Level III (Essential Studies)—This level of instruction is for the student who is somewhat behind in his achievement and whose ability may be somewhat limited.

Level IV (General Studies)—This level of instruction is for the low achieving student (slow learner) and lack of ability should be a major criterion used for recommendation. Generally the student will have severe reading problems, be withdrawn in oral subject presentation, exhibit poor communication in writing, may be disinterested in school, have a record of previous poor attendance, have a personal conflict with society, and display a lack of educational motivation. A student does not have to fit all of the above, but these should be considered in proper selection.¹⁴⁶

138 Ibid.

139 Dr. Joe Pickard, interview, Aug. 23, 1990; Otey Crisman, interview, Sept. 14, 1990; Martha Reeves, school board member, interview, Aug. 24, 1990; Otey Crisman, "The Truth on Leveling Issue," *Selma Times-Journal*, Mar. 2, 1990, pp. 4-5.

140 Information provided by Rose Sanders, Attorney, "Outline of Events Comprising Alleged Conspiracy to Deny African-American Citizens Their Constitutional Rights to Protest Unfair Practices in the City of Selma, Alabama," p. 1, Aug. 21, 1990.

141 Information provided by Otelia Moss, coordinator of counseling, Selma High School, "Individualizing Instruction Through Levels of Difficulty," 1970, p. 20 (hereafter cited as "Individualizing Instruction Through Levels of Difficulty").

142 Ibid.

143 Information provided by Otelia Moss, coordinator of counseling, Selma High School, "Level Recommendations, 1971-72."

144 "Individualizing Instruction Through Levels of Difficulty," p. 20. (The fourth level of instruction was eliminated by Dr. Martha Barton, former superintendent, 1983-86.)

145 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, June 20, 1990; Dr. Joe Pickard, interview, Aug. 23, 1990.

146 Information provided by Otelia Moss, Coordinator of Counseling, Selma High School, "Level Recommendations, 1971-72."

Students were to be placed in levels of instruction based upon teacher recommendation, past classroom performance, and achievement and intelligence test scores.¹⁴⁷ The Advisory Committee received information that the leveling policy was to be used to strengthen academic weakness and was not to be confused with inappropriate track grouping or ability grouping.¹⁴⁸

According to Otelia Moss and other staff members, there was no leveling at Hudson High School prior to integration.¹⁴⁹ Joe Pickard indicated that Parrish High School to a limited degree implemented leveling prior to integration.¹⁵⁰

It is important to note that there are different perceptions in Selma regarding the purposes of leveling. Though far from unanimous, some whites interviewed stated that leveling was established to enhance learning and to allow those achieving at a higher level to move on.¹⁵¹ However, among some blacks there is a strong belief that leveling was established to weaken the effects of integration.¹⁵²

There is consensus among most Selmians that the district failed to establish written districtwide criteria for leveling.¹⁵³ Review of the district's policy manual shows that a districtwide policy for grouping of students was initially adopted by

the school board on August 9, 1984; however, the policy did not provide guidance on criteria or procedures for grouping students.¹⁵⁴ The high school and junior high did establish criteria, but implementation varied from school to school. According to Dr. Roussell, the criteria were not consistently applied or in some cases teacher and/or counselor judgment weighed more heavily than the objective criteria, resulting in a subjective process.¹⁵⁵ At the elementary level, teacher or counselor judgment was the sole criterion used in leveling students.¹⁵⁶ During the Advisory Committee's factfinding meeting, the question was raised as to why those in authority, particularly black educators, did not take action to address the problem of leveling. Otelia Moss stated that it was not appropriate to say anything and that she and others like her did not want to "buck" the system.¹⁵⁷

Black parents, many of whom are professionals, cited instances of their children being victims of the leveling system. They reported incidents such as their children being placed in level II classes as opposed to level I. Some were able to get their children in the higher levels because they complained or they knew someone who intervened on their behalf.¹⁵⁸

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 218; Penny Williams, coordinator of testing, interview in Selma, Sept. 26, 1990; Elmyra Smith, guidance counselor, Westside Middle School, interview in Selma, Sept. 13, 1990.

150 Dr. Joe Pickard, interview, Aug. 23, 1990.

151 Ibid.: Otey Crisman, interview, Sept. 14, 1990; Martha Reeves, interview, Aug. 24, 1990; Otey Crisman, "The Truth on Leveling Issue," *Selma Times-Journal*, Mar. 2, 1990, pp. 4-5.

152 Nancy Sewell, interview, Aug. 21, 1990; Penny Williams, interview, Sept. 26, 1990; Otelia Moss, interview, Sept. 12, 1990; and *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 13-16.

153 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, June 20, 1990; James Carter, interview Aug. 21, 1990; Freeman Waller, interview, Aug. 21, 1990; Charles Morris, interview, Aug. 21, 1990; Carl Barker, interview, Sept. 13, 1990; Penny Williams, interview, Sept. 26, 1990.

154 Selma City School Policy Manual, Aug. 9, 1984.

155 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, June 20, 1990; Penny Williams, interview, Sept. 26, 1990; Elmyra Smith, interview, Sept. 13, 1990; and *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 7-10.

156 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, June 20, 1990; Penny Williams, interview, Sept. 26, 1990.

157 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 223-24.

158 Bruce Boynton, interview, Aug. 24, 1990; Verdell Lett Hines, interview, Sept. 28, 1990; *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 137-39 and 183-85.

Current Grouping Policies and Procedures

Although Dr. Roussell had been asked by BEST to review the leveling system soon after he was hired in 1987, he initially resisted. It was not until a year later that he began such a review that included an examination of the curriculum and the courses offered at the various levels.¹⁵⁹ Dr. Roussell met with staff, reviewed school records, and held public meetings with parents before instituting changes.¹⁶⁰ Dr. Roussell found that students in grades 1-12 were systematically tracked in the sense that some students were being placed in classes based solely on teacher judgment, rather than testing criteria.¹⁶¹ He also found that at the high school all honors or advanced placement courses, such as algebra I, biology I, calculus, chemistry, physics, foreign languages, debate, etc., were offered only to level I students.¹⁶² Students in level I courses also received an extra academic credit for each level I course taken, resulting in a 5-point system, while lower levels were on a 4-point system.¹⁶³ Finally, Dr. Roussell said he found that some students in level II and III had achievement test scores and grade point averages equal to or better than some of the students in level I.¹⁶⁴ Dr. Roussell believes leveling, as practiced by the district, created "two school systems in one."¹⁶⁵ He summed up his position by stating:

[W]hat has happened over a period of time, consciously or unconsciously, was that in order to be sure that white students of a certain social class would stay in the public schools, the students white and black of another class and category had paid heavy dues over time, so that you could have in the Selma city schools a system of preferential education for some, and denial of educational opportunity for others.¹⁶⁶

Although there was some negative reaction among whites regarding changes in the grouping policy, on April 13, 1989, the school board adopted districtwide policies and procedures on grouping students for instruction.¹⁶⁷ The terminology "leveling" was discontinued in favor of "grouping for instruction."¹⁶⁸ The major changes were the development of written objective criteria for grouping of students and a written curriculum that set out expected outcomes for courses taken.¹⁶⁹ Although school officials have indicated that parents always had the opportunity to request changes in their child's placement, the BEST organization credits Dr. Roussell for establishing parental choice.¹⁷⁰

The current policies and procedures for grouping of students state:

The school board of the city of Selma recognizes that the process of making decisions on grouping students for instruction should involve consideration of a variety of factors including academic progress, age, maturity, and potential

159 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 7.

160 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, Sept. 11, 1990.

161 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 7.

162 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

163 *Ibid.*

164 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

165 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

166 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16; Edna Anderson, Administrative Assistant, Selma Public Schools, telephone interview, Mar. 26, 1991.

168 Selma City School Policy Manual. "Grouping for Instruction," Apr. 13, 1989.

169 *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 14-16.

170 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 142, 146.

for learning. Since students sometimes move from one school attendance zone to another and from school to school during a single school year, the same criteria for grouping students for instruction must be applied at all elementary schools, and the same criteria must be used and applied at the two middle schools.

The school system discourages labeling of students. The board believes that, in general, labeling causes more problems for students than it solves. The board recognizes that some grouping will occur by natural choice as in secondary course selection and by professional judgment as for contests or special events. It is the belief of the board that classes should be organized and students should be grouped for instruction in a manner which best provides for the most effective learning. In subjects and courses where grouping of students for instruction is beneficial for the academic progress of all students served, such grouping will be reviewed annually to assure that it is individually and collectively beneficial to students; be flexible so that a student's placement may be changed as the student needs change; be within a heterogeneous classroom grouping rather than a homogeneous grouping by class except in special education programs or other specialized program circumstances; reflect consideration of more than one measure of achievement and potential for learning; and not reflect reasons of culture, socioeconomic status, sex, racial or ethnic background.¹⁷¹

The policy also notes that the practices of grouping for the purpose of tracking students into entire blocks of the same courses will not be practiced in the Selma city schools.¹⁷² The criteria used for group assignment will be based on

achievement test scores, grade point average, and past and/or present academic performance in the classroom setting. Parental consent is required for final group placement, and if parents do not agree with the placement, they may file a request for change, relieving the school of responsibility for the outcome of the student's placement.¹⁷³

In response to allegations that the leveling system was an inappropriate tracking device, Dr. Alston Fitts in May 1990 conducted a cursory review of enrollment figures.¹⁷⁴ These figures represent the various levels in English and the racial makeup of students graduating with advanced diplomas, general diplomas, and certificates of attendance (mostly special education students). Statistics published in the *Selma Times-Journal* for those students graduating are shown in table 3.6.

These figures indicate that black students were underrepresented among those receiving advanced diplomas by 14.1 percent and overrepresented by 3.8 percent among those obtaining general diplomas. Mr. Carter indicated that one of his long range instructional goals is to increase the percentage of students receiving advanced diplomas by 20 percent.¹⁷⁵

In compiling the enrollment figures for students at the various levels in English, Dr. Fitts used a count of students enrolled in class, whose race and level could be determined, on May 7, 1990, but did not include special education students. The results are shown in table 3.7.

These statistics show that the percentage of black students in the level I English classes is lower than would be expected by 18.4 percentage points when viewed in relation to their percentage of the total number of students enrolled. Correspondingly, white students are

171 Selma City School Policy Manual, "Grouping for Instruction," Apr. 13, 1989.

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid.

174 "Facts and Figures on Levels," *Selma Times-Journal*, May 13, 1990.

175 James Carter, interview in Selma, Sept. 12, 1990.

TABLE 3.6 Selma High School Graduates, 1989-90 School Year

	Total		Black		White		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Advanced diploma	80	100	46	57.5	31	38.8	3	3.7
General diploma	244	100	184	75.4	57	23.1	3	1.2
Certificate	10	100	9	90.0	1	10.0		
TOTAL	334	100	239	71.6	89	26.6	6	1.8

Source: "Facts and Figures on Levels," *Selma Times Journal*, May 13, 1990.

**TABLE 3.7 Selma High School Student Enrollment in English on May 7, 1990
(Special Education and Asian Students Not Included)**

	Total		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Level I Advanced Studies	244	100	147	60.2	97	39.8
Level II General Studies	751	100	603	80.3	148	19.7
Level III Essential Studies	244	100	224	91.8	20	8.2
TOTAL	1239	100	974	78.6	265	21.4

Source: "Facts and Figures on Levels," *Selma Times Journal*, May 13, 1990.

represented in level I English at 17.4 points higher than would be expected. Expressed another way, 15.1 percent of the black students in English classes were in level I, compared to 36.7 percent of the white students in English classes. Correspondingly, 23.0 percent of black students in the English classes were in level III, compared to 7.5 percent of the white students in English classes.¹⁷⁶

Since the implementation of the new procedures, the number of black students in level I classes has increased.¹⁷⁷ The massive withdrawal of white students may have contributed

to the increase of black students in level I classes. However, there have been reports that some schools are not implementing the grouping procedures as stipulated in the policy.¹⁷⁸

The district's leveling system has not been reviewed for its compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.¹⁷⁹ The U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (OCR), Region IV, is preparing to conduct a compliance review of the district's grouping for instruction policies and practices. OCR is initiating this review based upon media reports it has received and information from concerned citi-

176 Ibid.

177 Stan Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," *Rethinking Schools* (October/November 1990), pp. 1, 10.

178 Penny Williams, coordinator of testing, interview in Selma, Sept. 26, 1990.

179 High Letter, Oct. 16, 1990. (Letter on file in the Central Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights) (CRO).

zens in Selma who have requested OCR's intervention.¹⁸⁰ In addition, OCR is investigating a Title VI complaint filed against the district regarding its implementation of the learning disability program and the gifted and talented program.¹⁸¹

Race Relations in Selma City Schools

Quality of education is a major concern to many persons in Selma. The level of harmony between blacks and whites in the broader community is directly related to the degree both groups come together on school issues. Much of the recent racial turmoil is caused by past unresolved issues related to the schools, such as desegregation, leveling, private schools, and discontent by blacks with a majority white school board. Although racial polarization in the community has also grown out of political and economic factors, the "school problem" has always been a major source of contention between the blacks and whites.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the subsequent court order for desegregation plans, the school board initiated what was called freedom-of-choice desegregation.¹⁸² The district's desegregation plan was approved by the U.S. Office of Education on May 15, 1965.¹⁸³ Students and teachers could transfer voluntarily to schools of the opposite race.¹⁸⁴

According to J.L. Chestnut, there was some resistance by both white and black teachers. Some white teachers did not want to teach in the black schools, and some black teachers did not feel comfortable in the white schools.¹⁸⁵ Dr. Pickard, the superintendent at that time, reported that black teachers were encouraged to transfer to previously all-white schools and those white teachers who refused to teach in the black schools were dismissed. Voluntary student transfers were also made. Five hundred black students were transferred to previously all-white schools.¹⁸⁶ However, Mr. Chestnut contends that few black students attended white schools during freedom of choice, and white school officials did not encourage it beyond the minimum number required by the court order.¹⁸⁷

In 1970-71 the high school and Westside Middle School were desegregated; however, Eastside Middle School and many of the elementary schools (Knox, Payne, Clark, Meadowview, East End, and Byrd) remained predominately black or white, and remain so to this day.¹⁸⁸ Despite some resistance and uncertainty among whites and blacks, the schools did desegregate peacefully.¹⁸⁹

The fact that blacks and whites had spent their entire educational lives in separate and unequal schools set the tone for race relations. Many whites abandoned the public school system for private schools.¹⁹⁰ The district remained

180 Information provided in telephone interview with Division Director, Elementary and Secondary Education, U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Jan. 8, 1991.

181 Ibid.

182 Letter to Parents from Dr. Joe Pickard on "Procedures for Desegregation," May 20, 1965; "School Compliance Approved for Selma." *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 17, 1965.

183 "Facts Regarding Desegregation of the Selma City Schools," August 1965.

184 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, p. 284.

185 Ibid.

186 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 57.

187 Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, p. 285.

188 Ibid., p. 286.

189 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 57-59.

190 Ibid., p. 58.

controlled by a majority white school board.¹⁹¹ Even in the 1980s, after the black student population had grown to 70 percent, whites retained majority control of the school board.¹⁹² Finally, the leveling system, which according to some whites was established to enhance education, was perceived by many blacks as a dual system of education that denied black students an equal educational opportunity.¹⁹³

Five years after court-ordered desegregation, the district still maintained dual homecoming queens, proms, student officers, and most popular student.¹⁹⁴ It was not until 1975 that efforts were made to integrate these school activities.¹⁹⁵ The only black valedictorian was in 1982.¹⁹⁶

Historically, the district has been plagued by "white flight," particularly when incidents occur that are perceived as racial. In 1965 and 1970, large numbers of whites left because of desegregation. In the late 1970s an incident involving two black teachers and a white administrator at a Selma public school resulted in threats of white flight. Finally, the most recent departure of whites appeared to be caused by protests and demonstrations in the schools.¹⁹⁷

In spite of racial polarization, in 1986 a survey by the University of Alabama for the Office of Economic and Community Affairs found that, overall, citizens have positive feelings about the

public schools in the Selma-Dallas County area.¹⁹⁸ The quality of public elementary schools is rated as excellent or good by about 59 percent of the respondents. Similar favorable evaluations are given to public junior high (53 percent) and high schools (53 percent). Selma residents and black respondents evaluate the public schools more favorably than do others. Parents of school-age children and nonparents give similar evaluations to the public schools.¹⁹⁹

In terms of racial balance, Selma High School and Westside Middle were affected most by the recent departure of whites from the district.²⁰⁰ Data provided by the district show that at Selma High School whites were 12 percent of the student population during the 1990-91 school year, versus 27.3 percent the preceding school year.²⁰¹ At Westside Middle School whites were 16 percent of the student population during the 1990-91 school year, versus 34.1 percent the preceding school year.²⁰²

A review of the racial composition of other schools indicates that certain schools remain segregated. This is due in large measure to neighborhood attendance zones.²⁰³ Payne, Knox, and Clark elementary schools are 100 percent black.²⁰⁴ Meadowview, Byrd, East End, and Eastside are racially identifiable.²⁰⁵ The remaining schools' racial enrollments are propor-

191 Ibid.

192 Stan Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," p. 10.

193 Dr. Joe Pickard, interview, Aug. 23, 1990; Otey Crisman, interview, Sept. 14, 1990; Martha Reeves, interview, Aug. 24, 1990.

194 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 173; Stan Karp, "Selma Students Tied to the Track," p. 10.

195 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 174.

196 Ibid., p. 185.

197 Bunny Gamble, interview, Nov. 7, 1990; Chestnut, *Black in Selma*, pp. 406-07.

198 Office of Economic and Community Affairs, University of Alabama, "Selma/Dallas County Economic Development Planning Report," November 1986, p. 34.

199 Ibid.

200 "First Day of School Relatively Calm," *Selma Times-Journal*, Aug. 21, 1990.

201 See table I of data supplied by district on enrollment figures, Jan. 16, 1991, on file at CRO.

202 Ibid.

203 J.L. Chestnut, Jr., *Black in Selma*, p. 286.

204 See table III of data supplied by district on enrollment figures, Jan. 16, 1991, on file at CRO.

205 Ibid.

tionate to districtwide population figures. In most of these schools (Meadowview, Payne, Knox, East End, and Eastside), staff and faculty also have an overrepresentation of one race.²⁰⁶ Meadowview, in particular, is viewed as the school of choice by whites and is considered by some as a "white segregated private school."²⁰⁷

Although Westside Middle School has retained an integrated student body, some whites still view the school as the "old black school."²⁰⁸ Apprehensions and fears raised in some whites regarding Westside have caused them to bypass the middle school level and attend private or other public schools.²⁰⁹ Martha Reeves of the school board stated, "white parents cannot handle their children being in an unsafe environment."²¹⁰

Another source of contention is the view among blacks that school facilities and equipment and supplies have not been fairly allocated to the so-called "black" schools.²¹¹ It is reasonable to assume that the continued existence of racially identifiable schools and the perception of disparities in the allocation of resources, as well as the stigma attached to certain schools, will continue to exacerbate race relations within the district.

Relations between white and black teachers were also affected by the school board contro-

versy.²¹² The Selma Teachers Association supported the renewal of Dr. Roussell's contract.²¹³ However, when the resolution supporting him was published in the *Selma Times-Journal*, support within the association split along racial lines.²¹⁴

Similarly, since the 1990 protests, relations between black and white students have deteriorated.²¹⁵ Although Selma High School held an integrated prom, some white parents planned a separate prom attended only by whites.²¹⁶ Interviews with selected high school students revealed that relations between black and white students are good but could be better.²¹⁷ Lida Fitts, Malika Sanders, and Brian Crisman all agreed that there was tremendous tension between white and black students during and after the protests.²¹⁸ They reported racial incidents occurring between students, such as fighting and name calling.²¹⁹ Since that time, amiable relations have gradually resumed.²²⁰

Malika Sanders, a black student, said there is limited contact between black and white students. She describes relations as superficial.²²¹ April Middleton, student council president, who is black, said black and white students get along very well and there is much interaction at the high school.²²² Lida Fitts and Brian Crisman, both white students, said that relations between

206 See table 3.5, on racial composition of staff, Jan. 16, 1991.

207 Penny Williams, interview, Sept. 26, 1990; Bruce Dozier, interview, Nov. 8, 1990.

208 Bunny Gamble, interview, Nov. 7, 1990.

209 Raymond Howard, interview, Nov. 9, 1990.

210 Martha Reeves, interview, Aug. 24, 1990.

211 Dr. Norward Roussell, interview, Sept. 11, 1990; Otelia Moss, interview, Sept. 12, 1990; Verdell Hines, interview, Sept. 28, 1990.

212 *Transcript*, p. vol. I, pp. 179-80.

213 *Ibid.*

214 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

215 *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

217 *Ibid.*, pp. 286-95; April Middleton, interview, Nov. 8, 1990.

218 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 287-90.

219 *Ibid.*, pp. 289-92.

220 *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 293-95.

221 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 285-86, 292.

white and black students have generally been good. Both interact socially with black students, and their relationship with their black friends has not been affected by the racial tensions.²²³ Unlike many other white students, Lida Fitts and Brian Crisman chose to remain at Selma High because they believe the district's educational program is better than the surrounding private and public schools.²²⁴

There was consensus among the student panel that student input on school issues is very limited.²²⁵ Malika Sanders said the district should establish a student group to address human relations on a racial and nonracial basis.²²⁶ There does not appear to be an ongoing effort to address issues related to racial harmony and understanding among whites and blacks in the schools.²²⁷

Although all the students interviewed believe the Selma schools are the best in the area, there were different perceptions regarding leveling. The white students interviewed believe the system is fair, while some blacks believed there are inequities.²²⁸

In some extracurricular activities, it was noted, whites do not participate to the same degree as blacks. One white student said that some white males do not attend Selma High because

they are not able to compete in sports at the level needed to make the team.²²⁹

Two community-based groups, BEST and PEST, both formed to address educational issues in the schools are also racially polarized. BEST was established in 1987 by a group of black parents and residents concerned about the leveling system and its effect upon black students.²³⁰ PEST was formed in 1990 by white parents and residents in opposition to positions taken by BEST and in support of the school board.²³¹ Although both groups support quality education, they appear to represent the interests of students on a racial basis.²³²

There is a major concern among some whites and blacks about "white flight" from the district and its effect upon the financial well-being of the district.²³³ The district lost 668 students.²³⁴ In a report to the school board, in January 1991, Mr. Carter said the district expects to lose approximately 25 teachers and over \$1 million in State funding due to reduced student enrollment.²³⁵ More important is the loss of financial and moral support from white parents and the business community. One example cited is the loss of financial support from band and football booster clubs.²³⁶

222 April Middleton, interview, Nov. 8, 1990.

223 *Transcript*, vol. 1, pp. 286-95.

224 *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96, 303.

225 *Ibid.*, pp. 304-05, 307-08.

226 *Ibid.*, pp. 304-05.

227 *Ibid.*, pp. 307-08.

228 *Ibid.*, pp. 284-310.

229 Lida Fitts, interview, Sept. 26, 1990.

230 Information provided by Rose Sanders, "Outline of Events Comprising Alleged Conspiracy to Deny African-American Citizens their Constitutional Rights to Protest Unfair Practices in the City of Selma, Alabama," Aug. 21, 1990, p. 1.

231 Otey Crisman, interview, June 22, 1990.

232 Otey Crisman, interview, Sept. 14, 1990; Dr. Clinton Wilkinson, interview, Aug. 22, 1990; Carl Barker, interview, Sept. 13, 1990.

233 John Farris, interview, Nov. 7, 1990; Quintella Harrell, interview, Nov. 8, 1990; "City System May Lose 25 Teachers," *Selma Times-Journal*, Jan. 18, 1991.

234 "City System May Lose 25 Teachers," *Selma Times-Journal*, Jan. 18, 1991.

235 *Ibid.*

236 John Farris, interview, Nov. 7, 1990; Quintella Harrell, interview, Nov. 8, 1990.

4. Selma City Government

City Council

From the Reconstruction period until 1972, blacks in Selma were not represented on the city council. Carl Morgan, president of the Selma City Council, told the Advisory Committee that when he came to Selma there were only 250 or 300 blacks who were registered to vote.¹ During this period, not only were blacks not represented on the council, but the city council passed numerous laws to keep the races segregated.²

Mr. Morgan stated that the city council makes appointments to boards (under the city's jurisdiction); however, there are some appointments reserved for the mayor. His nominations require city council approval but are generally accepted and approved.³ There appear to be no written qualifications or criteria that are used in appointments (e.g., the school board); only a stated interest by the applicant and an interview are used in the selection process.⁴

According to J.L. Chestnut, Jr., in contemporary Selma's city government black representation is found on most boards and commissions. However, not a single city board is controlled by blacks even though the city is 55 percent black populated.⁵ As an example, Mr. Chestnut pointed to the Selma school board. At the time of the Advisory Committee's meeting, the school board (which is appointed by the council) was

composed of six white members and five black members.⁶ Mr. Chestnut believes that the city council in Selma is determined to keep a white majority school board.⁷

With respect to blacks serving on boards and commissions, particularly the school board, Mr. Morgan observed:

[i]f we appointed a school board on the basis of the number of students enrolled in the schools, if you had 10 members, then you'd have 8 blacks and 2 whites. That's basically what you'd end up with. But we—I feel that as long as you've got white people who will serve and serve for the basis of a good educational system, then I think that you need to have a larger proportion of whites on the board than you do just 2.⁸

Office of the Mayor

According to Mayor Joe Smitherman, Selma has the oldest mayor-council form of government in the State of Alabama, dating back to the 1800s. The current office of the mayor is separate and apart from city council. The city of Selma has a strong mayor form of government.⁹ All 14 city department heads are appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council. The mayor does not vote on city council business and is not part of the legislative body.¹⁰ Although

1 *Transcript* of factfinding meeting of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Selma, Ala., Dec. 12-15, 1990, vol. II, pp. 207-08 (hereafter *Transcript*).

2 Selma Code, Ala., ch. 30-A, §627 et seq. (1956 Supp.).

3 *Transcript*, p. 216.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

5 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 9.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 22.

9 Randall Miller, interview, Sept. 14, 1990.

Mayor Smitherman tends to downplay the power, control, and influence of his office, several persons have different views. Mr. Fitts noted the instrumental role of Mayor Smitherman in the Selma Accord and in the method used for electing city council members.¹¹ One of the lawsuits forced the city to choose to have elections by wards or cut the number of council positions in half. Using the at-large method of election, the two predominantly black wards would always struggle to get black representatives on the city council. At the urging of Mayor Smitherman and Councilmember "Cap" Swift, the city council decided to hold elections by wards. In 1972 five blacks (the first since Reconstruction) and five whites were elected to city council, but control remained with whites with the at-large election of Carl Morgan as council president.¹²

With reference to Mayor Smitherman, Senator Hank Sanders was of the opinion that the mayor had been very keen politically. The mayor has been able to perceive situations, obtain information, and use the data to get things done, and this has made him a powerful leader, who controlled important decisions made in Selma.¹³ Yet, Senator Sanders stated that the mayor misjudged the nature of the Selma school protest and its importance. However, Dr. Roussell indicated that the mayor had enough influence to bring in the National Guard and to direct the police in controlling the protest.¹⁴

However, Mayor Smitherman stated that he does not control city government but that he works for the support and involvement of both blacks and whites.

City Departments

In the data collection phase of this Selma project on race relations, one of the procedures used was to request performance and program operations documents from the various participants, agencies, and organizations that made presentations, in order to analyze, verify, and reference comments made to the Advisory Committee. The city of Selma and the Selma Housing Authority provided limited data on employment patterns and public housing practices. After a few calls to city hall, it was determined that there was no table of governmental operations describing the functions of city departments and their relationship to the mayor and city council. The best information available was a listing of city officials published by the local chamber of commerce.¹⁵

According to Councilman Edwin Moss, city department heads report directly to the mayor or to city council committees that oversee department functions. The Public Works Department and the Selma Housing Authority are separate administrative entities, but they supposedly report to the city council and mayor through committees.¹⁶ Ultimately, every city agency reports to the mayor.

City Personnel Department

Randall Miller, the city personnel director, provided the Committee with employment data. Mr. Miller stated that the city work force is composed of 149 black males, 11 black females, 109 white males, and 30 white females. There are 3 white female department heads and 3 black department heads.¹⁷ The total number of employ-

10 Ibid.

11 Alston Fitts III, *Selma: Queen City of the Blackbelt* (Selma, Ala.: Clairmont Press, 1989), p. 160.

12 Ibid., p. 161.

13 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 275.

14 Ibid., vol. II, p. 26.

15 Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce Newsletter, Jan. 25, 1991, p. 5.

16 Edwin Moss, councilperson, telephone interview, Feb. 1, 1991.

ees fluctuates between 296 and 299. Blacks represent approximately 54 percent of the work force in city government. They are mostly represented in the Public Works Department (21 employees) and in the General Services Department (57 employees). However, the combination of black employees in the police (22) and fire (18) departments represents 14 percent of the city's work force, with blacks serving in key positions.

As of the Advisory Committee's meeting, the city's police and fire departments had several blacks serving in positions of rank. In the police department there were two lieutenants, six sergeants, four detectives, and an assistant police chief. In the fire department, there were two lieutenants, one temporary captain, eight fire engineers, two temporary lieutenants, and three temporary fire engineers.

According to Mr. Miller, the city was placed under a court order in 1973. The court order required the city to fill city government vacancies in a fair and equal manner.¹⁸ The court order required the city to post notices of job vacancies at city hall at least 10 days prior to filling each vacancy. The city was also required to establish a uniform salary structure for all employees with an employee classification system. The court order was lifted after the city adopted a merit system with appropriate rules and regulations for city employees. The merit system, adopted from the State of Alabama Merit System, provided for recruitment, hiring, grievance procedures, and salary structure.¹⁹

In Mr. Miller's opinion, the black community regards Selma's city government as a good place to work. He reported that the city is one of the

top employers in Dallas County and ranks about fourth in the number of persons it employs.²⁰

Mr. Miller is also responsible for maintaining the city's equal employment opportunity (EEO) program. He reported that the city's policy on recruitment and hiring practices is listed in a document, *Affirmative Action Program for Equal Employment Opportunity*, dated December 31, 1977, and updated in December 1980. The EEO policy statement is described as a fundamental policy that provides the city's applicants and employees assurance that there will be no discrimination against persons based on race, color, religion, national origin, or sex, including but not limited to recruitment and selection and placement. This policy document, which states that it bears the mayor's signature (his commitment), was communicated to all city department heads. All employees and new workers in city government are instructed and oriented on the nondiscrimination policy of the city.²¹

City recruitment sources include the State employment office, minority leaders, school administrators, and heads of minority group organizations. The above contacts are to be notified and provided with job vacancy notices and job descriptions and requirements with ample advance notice.

With reference to employment selection and placement, the city's policy briefly states that all applicants will be evaluated only on the basis of job-related criteria that predict the likelihood of satisfactory job performance. In addition, the city of Selma had no formal testing program at the time the update was written. Should there be a change, the city's testing procedures will be administered in accordance with EEOC testing guidelines.²²

17 *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 175-78.

18 *Ibid.*, 1975; see also *Tulton v. City of Selma*, 758 F.2d 585 (1985) (election of city council from five wards).

19 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 176.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

21 *City of Selma, Ala., Affirmative Action Program for Equal Employment Opportunity*, Dec. 31, 1980; and *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 172-73.

22 *Ibid.*

An undated document from Mr. Miller indicated that there are agility tests for police and fire department applicants. Written tests are scheduled for professional and technical positions, and applicants are notified of this in writing as one of the hiring procedures.²³ Under pay practices, the city's EEO policy states that there will be no pay differential between minority and nonminority employees performing essentially the same task.

As indicated, the city has an established affirmative action program. However, there are some concerns. Mr. Miller noted that blacks and whites do not mingle on the job. He said, "Each one [black and white employees] tends to his/her own job and stays in his/her own office most of the time."²⁴ Mr. Miller further said that in the future the city may well have to educate its employees on how to work and socialize together by using films and group discussions.²⁵

Mr. Miller further reported difficulty in hiring black firefighters and police officers. There are more white applicants than black. He said that many of the black applicants are eliminated in the background investigation process.²⁶ This process is used to check for criminal records, speeding tickets, and good character.

Mr. Miller also commented on young persons entering the job market, particularly for jobs in city government. He noted, "They [young persons] really don't know how to be interviewed, how to go prepared to be interviewed for a job."²⁷ He indicated that they should also be skilled in personal grooming and manners.²⁸

Public Housing and Community Development

[A] decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.²⁹

One of the most troubling civil rights issues that has faced this country has been housing segregation. Selma, like many other cities, during the 1960s and 1970s had segregated public housing sites.

In the 1960s, Selma had three federally assisted public housing sites. Nathan Forest Homes near Craig Air Force Base had 200 units that were occupied by service families but was integrated. However, the other two, George Washington Carver Homes with 216 units and Valley Creek Homes with 84 units, were segregated.³⁰ Carver Homes, located in east Selma, was black occupied and Valley Creek Homes, in west Selma, was white occupied.³¹

The Advisory Committee, in an attempt to ascertain what degree of change had occurred in segregated public housing in Selma, requested a breakdown of public housing units by race. Johnny Moss, Sr., the housing director, reported to the Advisory Committee that the Selma Housing Authority (SHA) has 613 units of public housing. These are located in six sites: Felix Heights, Valley Creek, Rangedale, Rangedale Annex, George Washington Carver (GWC), and Magnolia Court.³² The racial composition of tenant households in the units is as follows: GWC, 216 units, 215 black families and 1 Hispa-

23 Statement of Randall Miller, personnel director, undated.

24 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 177.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

29 Preamble, Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, Pub.L. No. 90-448, 82 Stat. 476.

30 School of Arts and Sciences, Auburn University, *Public Sector* (vol. 3, no. 1), Spring 1980, p. 1.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

32 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 189.

nic family; Valley Creek, 84 units, 1 black and 83 white families; Rangedale, 120 units with 109 blacks and 10 whites; Felix Heights, 127 units with 118 black and 9 white households; Wickerson Homes, 50 units with 44 black and 6 white households; and the sixth location, Magnolia Court, housing for the elderly, 16 units, with 9 black and 7 white households.

Tenant Assignment Practices

Mr. Moss described to the Committee the placement procedures or assignment practices used by the housing authority after an individual makes an application for a unit. Since 1987 the housing authority has used Federal guidelines governing the selection of eligible applicants. Basically, the system's first preference, the family which is involuntarily displaced, receives 32 points; the second preference is the applicant with substandard housing who receives 22 points; the third preference is the applicant family which spends 50 percent of its income on rent; and the fourth preference represents a broad range of incomes.³³ Mr. Moss mentioned that white and black applicants who are eligible for public housing are given the opportunity to live in the first available vacancy on the list. Applicants have the right to refuse available housing twice before they are taken off the eligible list.³⁴ Some eligible white applicants who have not accepted housing offers because of the black representation in the area's housing with the first vacancy have been disqualified from the program.³⁵

When questioned about the racial imbalance in some of the public housing sites, Mr. Moss told the Advisory Committee that some of the

original locations, such as Valley Creek and GWC, were built in the 1950s and reflected the racial makeup of the area. He said that at present the authority is attempting to correct the imbalance but that there are not a lot of white applicants.³⁶ However, Mr. Moss admitted that the authority has not made a concerted effort to integrate totally at least one site.³⁷ But he noted that this will change in the near future.³⁸

Section 8 Housing

The city of Selma's section 8 housing program, which is private sector leasing housing, has 1,006 units authorized for subsidized rent. In concept the eligible applicant should pay up to one-third of the fair marketplace rent, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) through the housing authority pays the landlord the balance of the rent.

According to Howard Strickland, SHA section 8 program coordinator, if SHA pays the entire rent, the applicant must be able to pay the utilities. If there is no income, the SHA helps pay the utilities. As section 8 program participants increase their income, they are required to pay according to program guidelines. Mr. Strickland said he does not collect figures, does not have black-white screening, but a good guess is that black section 8 participants are close to 75-80 percent of the total. With reference to the landlords in the section 8 program, the breakdown is approximately 60 percent white and 40 percent black.³⁹

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 190.

37 Ibid., p. 199.

38 Ibid., p. 199.

39 Howard Strickland, director of Selma Housing Authority, Section 8 Unit, telephone interview, Feb. 12, 1991.

Selma Housing Authority Staff

The Selma Housing Authority employs 40 staff members; 16 are black, and 24 are white. There are 14 females employed by the housing authority.⁴⁰

At the time of the Advisory Committee's meeting in December, at the Selma Housing Authority, blacks held the following administrative positions: a housing director, a project manager, an assistant project manager, and a tenant coordinator. The executive director, the fiscal officer, a secretary, and three project managers were the seven white administrative employees in the authority.⁴¹ In response to an Advisory Committee member's question, Mr. Moss, the current housing director, verified that he was the person who was going to be appointed by Mayor Smitherman as the executive director for the authority as indicated earlier in the mayor's presentation.⁴²

Procurement

The Selma Housing Authority has bidding procedures that call for contracts to be let to the lowest responsible bidder complying with the conditions of the invitation for bids, provided the bid is reasonable and it is to the interest of the housing authority to accept it.⁴³ With respect to minority set-aside contract provisions, the policy is:

The contractor acknowledges that this contract involves financial assistance through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Pursuant to Executive Order 12432, HUD had endorsed establishing funded programs. In recognition of this, the Local

Housing Authority (LHA) has established goals for minority business enterprise (MBE) involvement in local work. The contractor will be expected to take all reasonable, affirmative steps to assure that minority firms, women's business enterprises and labor surplus area firms are used when possible on the project. The contractor will also be expected to take all reasonable efforts to achieve the LHA's goal of expending at least 20 percent of the contract, for bona fide MBEs. For purposes of this contract, MBE means a business enterprise that is 51 percent or more owned, controlled and actively operated by one or more persons who are classified as part of a racial or ethnic minority group, including but not limited to black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, and Native Americans. The goal of 20 percent shall be considered in terms of dollar value of the portion of the contract and purchases awarded to such MBEs in relation to the total price to be paid to the contractor hereunder. . . . Within 10 days after awarding of the contract, staff of the Local Housing Authority will discuss with the successful contractor what types of good faith actions and data will be needed to implement the minority business program of the LHA.⁴⁴

Mr. Moss said that during his 13 years with the SHA he could only recall two black contractors who applied under the authority's set-aside provisions. However, the contractors did not receive contracts because of their inability to provide a surety bond. Mr. Moss further indicated that a current majority contractor engaged in work with the housing authority has gone on record as supporting a minority contractor for work under the set-aside provisions.⁴⁵ But in re-

40 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 196.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

43 Selma Housing Authority, *Bidding Procedures*, document provided to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Oct. 29, 1990.

44 Selma Housing Authority, *Procedures for Minority Set-Asides*, document provided to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Oct. 29, 1990.

ality, the minority set-aside contract provisions as established by the housing authority have not benefitted minority contractors.

45 *Transcript*, vol. II, pp. 193-94.

5. Voter Registration and Voting

If power and control are key elements in the quality of race relations existing in Selma, as is felt so strongly by many residents, both black and white, then political power is an important ingredient. As has been pointed out above in this report, though blacks in Selma and Dallas County have been elected in significant numbers to the city council, and to the county commission, and are represented in the State legislature, they do not perceive that they have proportionate political influence. Only on the county commission do they hold a majority. Increased opportunity for political influence will come as a result of the 1990 census redistricting if a majority black congressional district is formed as now envisioned.¹ Twice there were viable black candidates for mayor, but on both occasions they were defeated resoundingly. This happened despite a black population majority and a black majority of registered voters in both the city and county.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that on December 13, 1990, 10,223 (50.4 percent) of the 20,274 total voters in Selma were black, and in Dallas County, 19,292 (52.4 percent) of the total 36,795 registered voters were black. Table 5.3 shows that since 1972 the number and proportion of black voters in Dallas County has steadily increased, exceeding the number of white voters in 1988 and the years following.

Experience has shown that, as a rule of thumb, unless blacks have a 65 percent popula-

tion majority, they are not effective at the polls.² There has been considerable speculation as to why blacks have not been able to gain more political representation and influence. Mayor Smitherman attributes the difficulty in turning out the black vote to divisions within the black community. It is his observation that low-income blacks turn against other blacks who have moved up the economic spectrum, believing that they have sold out to the white establishment.³

Perry Varner believes that blacks are still intimidated in the voting process by such things as the location of polling places in the court house and other buildings that remain symbols of white authority and injustice, or by police cars parked at polling places, and that, because of the nature of their employment, many blacks are more inconvenienced than white voters by long waits in line to vote.⁴ Inadequate facilities and the inconvenient location of polling places may also contribute to low voter turnout. The county commission is considering moving several polling places to correct this situation.⁵ Varner said, however, that the problem is not merely one of getting out the vote, but also of educating the population.⁶

J.L. Chestnut, Jr., said that blacks are still subject to acts of violence and intimidation to discourage their political involvement. He used as an example the case of Cleophus Mann, a black mayoral candidate in 1988, whose home was sprayed with more than 30 bullets while his wife

1 "Minority District Likely," *Selma Times-Journal*, Sept. 12, 1990.

2 Alston Fitts III, interview, Aug. 21, 1990.

3 *Transcript* of factfinding meeting of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Selma, Ala., Dec. 12-15, 1990, vol. I, p. 109 (hereafter *Transcript*).

4 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 25-26.

5 "Commissioners Look at Alternative Polling Places," *Selma Times-Journal*, Aug. 22, 1990.

6 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 27.

TABLE 5.1 Selma Poll List Recap, December 13, 1990

Box location	B/B	W/M	W/F	Total white	B/M	B/F	Total black	Other	Total	Total Male	Total Female
W Dallas Ave	36/1E	545	683	1228	6	9	15	2	1245	553	692
Percentage		0.44	0.55	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
W Dallas Ave	36/1W	744	809	1553	4	6	10	0	1563	748	815
Percentage		0.48	0.52	0.99	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	1.00	0.48	0.52
Summerfield Rd	36/2N	407	450	857	107	136	243	0	1100	514	586
Percentage		0.37	0.41	0.78	0.10	0.12	0.22	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
Cahaba Rd	36/2S	533	636	1169	66	156	222	0	1391	599	792
Percentage		0.38	0.46	0.84	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.00	1.00	0.43	0.57
Lapsley St	36/3N	528	738	1266	163	278	441	0	1707	691	1016
Percentage		0.31	0.43	0.74	0.10	0.16	0.26	0.00	1.00	0.40	0.60
Lauderdale St	36/3S	332	414	746	64	86	150	1	897	396	501
Percentage		0.37	0.46	0.83	0.07	0.10	0.17	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
Rear Entrance	36/4E	191	305	496	122	225	347	2	845	313	532
Percentage		0.23	0.36	0.59	0.14	0.27	0.41	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.63
Woodrow	36/4W	649	766	1415	131	189	320	2	1737	780	957
Percentage		0.37	0.44	0.81	0.08	0.11	0.18	0.00	1.00	0.45	0.55
Office Bldg	36/5E	64	78	142	439	670	1109	0	1251	503	748
Percentage		0.05	0.06	0.11	0.35	0.54	0.89	0.00	1.00	0.40	0.60
Lapsely St	36/5W	227	301	528	241	366	607	1	1136	468	668
Percentage		0.20	0.26	0.46	0.21	0.32	0.53	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.59
Corner Etheridge & Church	36/6E	72	61	133	260	342	602	0	735	332	403
Percentage		0.10	0.08	0.18	0.35	0.47	0.82	0.00	1.00	0.45	0.55
Church	36/6W	16	13	29	668	941	1609	0	1638	684	954
Percentage		0.01	0.01	0.02	0.41	0.57	0.98	0.00	1.00	0.42	0.58
Broad St.	36/7E	8	8	16	448	693	1141	0	1157	456	701
Percentage		0.01	0.01	0.01	0.39	0.60	0.99	0.00	1.00	0.39	0.61
Bldg	36/7W	47	53	100	471	767	1238	0	1338	518	820
Percentage		0.04	0.04	0.07	0.35	0.57	0.93	0.00	1.00	0.39	0.61
Selma Ave	36/8E	93	76	169	483	732	1215	0	1384	576	808
Percentage		0.07	0.05	0.12	0.35	0.53	0.88	0.00	1.00	0.42	0.58
GWC Homes	36/8W	112	84	196	319	634	953	0	1149	431	718
Percentage		0.10	0.07	0.17	0.28	0.55	0.83	0.00	1.00	0.38	0.62
Presbyterian Church D3/6W		0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
Percentage		0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
		4568	5475	10043	3993	6230	10223	8	20274	8563	11711

Source: Information supplied by Debbie Barnes, Chairman, Dallas County Board of Registrars, Dec. 14, 1990.

TABLE 5.2 Dallas County Poll List Recap, December 13, 1990

Box location	B/B	W/M	W/F	Total white	B/M	B/F	Total black	Other	Total	Total Male	Total Female
(Martins Store)	01/01	162	185	347	67	97	164	0	511	229	282
Percentage		0.32	0.36	0.68	0.13	0.19	0.32	0.00	1.00	0.45	0.55
(Community Center)	02/01	242	262	504	106	145	251	0	755	348	407
Percentage		0.32	0.35	0.67	0.14	0.19	0.33	0.00	1.00	0.46	0.54
(F.O.P. Lodge)	03/01	25	28	53	69	84	153	0	206	94	112
Percentage		0.12	0.14	0.26	0.33	0.41	0.74	0.00	1.00	0.46	0.54
(Valley Grande Fire)	03/02	642	714	1356	148	174	322	0	1678	790	888
Percentage		0.38	0.43	0.81	0.09	0.10	0.19	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
(High School)	04/01	186	209	395	580	940	1520	0	1915	766	1149
Percentage		0.10	0.11	0.21	0.30	0.49	0.79	0.00	1.00	0.40	0.60
	04/02	2	3	5	115	167	282	0	287	117	170
Percentage		0.01	0.01	0.02	0.40	0.58	0.98	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.59
(Old Strong Marine)	05/01	423	471	894	1057	1666	2723	2	3619	1481	2138
Percentage		0.12	0.13	0.25	0.29	0.46	0.75	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.59
(Waterworks)	05/02	240	270	510	99	144	243	0	753	339	414
Percentage		0.32	0.36	0.68	0.13	0.19	0.32	0.00	1.00	0.45	0.55
(Community Center)	06/01	123	116	239	127	141	268	0	507	250	257
Percentage		0.24	0.23	0.47	0.25	0.28	0.53	0.00	1.00	0.49	0.51
(Norris' Store)	07/01	35	42	77	61	60	121	0	198	96	102
Percentage		0.18	0.21	0.39	0.31	0.30	0.61	0.00	1.00	0.48	0.52
(Willis's Store)	08/01	230	245	475	133	190	323	2	800	364	436
Percentage		0.29	0.31	0.59	0.17	0.24	0.40	0.00	1.00	0.46	0.55
(Armory)	09/01	499	527	1026	79	116	195	0	1221	578	643
Percentage		0.41	0.43	0.84	0.06	0.10	0.16	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
Dallas Aircondition	10/01	517	559	1076	127	175	302	0	1378	644	734
Percentage		0.38	0.41	0.78	0.09	0.13	0.22	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
(Community House)	11/01	60	58	118	110	183	293	0	411	170	241
Percentage		0.15	0.14	0.29	0.27	0.45	0.71	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.59
(Experiment Station)	12/01	87	82	169	139	170	309	0	478	226	252
Percentage		0.18	0.17	0.35	0.29	0.36	0.65	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
(Justice's Store)	13/01	190	209	399	339	481	820	0	1219	529	690
Percentage		0.16	0.17	0.33	0.28	0.39	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.43	0.57
New Friendship Ch	14/01	25	23	48	96	118	214	0	262	121	141
Percentage		0.10	0.09	0.18	0.37	0.45	0.82	0.00	1.00	0.46	0.54
(Old High School)	15/01	79	70	149	237	338	575	0	724	316	408
Percentage		0.11	0.10	0.21	0.33	0.47	0.79	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
Office Bldg	36/5E	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
Percentage		0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00

(continued)

TABLE 5.2 Dallas County Poll List Recap, December 13, 1990 (continued)

Box location	B/B	W/M	W/F	Total white	B/M	B/F	Total black	Other	Total	Total Male	Total Female
Selma Ave	36/8E	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Percentage		0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	D1/3S	299	398	697	52	73	125	0	822	351	471
Percentage		0.36	0.48	0.85	0.06	0.09	0.15	0.00	1.00	0.43	0.57
	D1/8E	108	78	186	517	789	1306	0	1492	625	867
Percentage		0.07	0.05	0.12	0.35	0.53	0.88	0.00	1.00	0.42	0.58
	D1/8W	114	86	200	321	629	950	0	1150	435	715
Percentage		0.10	0.07	0.17	0.28	0.55	0.83	0.00	1.00	0.38	0.62
	D3/4E	192	303	495	120	226	346	2	843	312	531
Percentage		0.23	0.36	0.59	0.14	0.27	0.41	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.63
	D3/4Q	319	378	697	28	34	62	0	759	347	412
Percentage		0.42	0.50	0.92	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.00	1.00	0.46	0.54
	D3/4W	723	881	1604	208	300	508	3	2115	931	1184
Percentage		0.34	0.42	0.76	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
Building	D3/5E	64	78	142	442	674	1116	0	1258	506	752
Percentage		0.05	0.06	0.11	0.35	0.54	0.89	0.00	1.00	0.40	0.60
Presbyterian Church	D3/6W	72	69	141	899	1232	2131	0	2272	971	1301
Percentage		0.03	0.03	0.06	0.40	0.54	0.94	0.00	1.00	0.43	0.57
Fire Station	D3/7E	7	8	15	444	690	1134	0	1149	451	698
Percentage		0.01	0.01	0.01	0.39	0.60	0.99	0.00	1.00	0.39	0.61
	D5/1E	538	678	1216	6	8	14	2	1232	546	686
Percentage		0.44	0.55	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
	D5/1W	562	631	1193	3	6	9	0	1202	565	637
Percentage		0.47	0.52	0.99	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.53
	D5/2S	775	888	1663	299	502	801	0	2464	1074	1390
Percentage		0.31	0.36	0.67	0.12	0.20	0.33	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.56
	D5/3N	602	799	1401	656	1055	1711	1	3113	1258	1655
Percentage		0.19	0.26	0.45	0.21	0.34	0.55	0.00	1.00	0.40	0.60
		8142	9349	17491	7685	11607	19292	12	36795	15831	20964

Source: Information supplied by Debbie Barnes, Chairman, Dallas County Board of Registrars, Dec. 14, 1990.

TABLE 5.3 Dallas County Voter Registration Totals

	Black	White	Other	Total
1972	11,783	15,552		27,335
1974	12,761	16,158		28,919
1976	13,059	16,774		29,883
1978	13,937	17,525		31,462
1980	14,797	18,140		32,937
1982	15,130	18,071		33,201
1984	18,591	19,648		38,396
1986	19,113	19,544		38,657
1988	20,558	20,360	9	40,927
1989* (June)	20,724	20,197	9	40,930
1990	19,292	17,491	12	36,795

*Voter update program began April 1989.

Source: Information supplied by Debbie Barnes, Chairman, Dallas County Board of Registrars, Dec. 14, 1990.

and children were present. The case remains unsolved.⁷ Mr. Mann also alleged that he lost the election because of fraudulent voting practices, including the tampering with 18 voting machines.⁸

Although the Advisory Committee received few complaints of voting irregularities, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the voter registration process, especially with the updating, or purging, of voter registration rolls. The registration process in Dallas County seems quite liberal, with volunteer deputy registrars allowed to accept applications from potential voters at any location and at any time. Dallas County currently has 96 deputy registrars, 70 percent of whom are black, though Federal law requires only 18 in one county.

The Dallas County Board of Registrars is composed of three persons: Debbie Barnes, a white member serving as chairman of the board,

appointed by the Governor; Marie Majors, a white member appointed by the Commissioner of Agriculture and Industry; and Marie Foster, a black member appointed by the State Auditor. Ms. Foster is a Democrat and the other two members are Republican. Ms. Barnes is also chairman of the Dallas County Republican Party.⁹ The criticism was made that serving as head of the county Republican Party creates a conflict of interest, or a disincentive, for Ms. Barnes to register blacks who are mostly Democrats.¹⁰ Ms. Barnes responded by saying that it was no more a conflict of interest for her to serve on the Board of Registrars than it is for Ms. Foster to serve and be a founding member of the New South Coalition and a member of the Democratic Party Executive Committee. She also sought to refute this charge by pointing to the large majority of deputy registrars who are black.¹¹

7 "Activists at Risk." *Selma Times-Journal*, Dec. 9, 1990.

8 Interview, Sept. 24, 1990.

9 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 61.

10 Perry Varner, interview, Aug. 22, 1990.

11 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 63.

The Board of Registrars is currently working to meet the requirements of a 1989 State law which mandates that voter registration rolls be updated by December 10, 1992.¹² The task is a huge one, as it is for most other counties in Alabama. In September 1990, Dallas County had about 36,000 persons on its voter list, whereas the voting age population numbered only 35,000.¹³ Ms. Barnes illustrated the problem by giving an example of one man who was removed from the voter list in November 1990: he was born in 1874 and had been dead for 37 years.¹⁴

John W. Jones, Jr., the Dallas County Probate Judge, is responsible for maintaining the voting rolls, incorporating deletions, additions, and corrections as they are provided by the Board of Registrars.¹⁵ Polling officials to supervise county elections are appointed by the Election Appointing Board, which is composed of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, the Sheriff, and the Probate Judge.¹⁶ At present these are all white and all Democrats.¹⁷ Judge Jones reported that, though Dallas County is no longer under court order requiring that polling officials reflect the racial makeup of the county population, there are currently more black officials than white.¹⁸ Table 5.4 shows that at the last county election, in November 1990, 60.2 percent of poll officials in the county were black. At specific polling places this percentage ranged from 14.3 to 100 percent. Comparison with population statistics

in those precincts was not possible because of the lack of information.

As a result of *Harris v. Siegelman*,¹⁹ a class action suit that challenged the treatment of voters at polling places across Alabama and the manner in which poll officials had been appointed, the State of Alabama was ordered to provide training programs for polling officials.²⁰ The State contracted with Auburn University to fulfill this order, and last year 135 workshops were conducted in the State for 13,700 poll officials.²¹

Poll workers for city of Selma elections are appointed by the city council. Hugh A. Wall, city clerk, supplied a list of 118 city poll workers but stated that he did not know which of these were black and which were white. His guess was that they were 50-50 percent. Mr. Wall, whose responsibility is to confirm the results of city elections, was not aware of any requirements regarding the racial makeup of city polling officials.²²

There were allegations that voting machines in the city and county were a serious problem in that they broke down frequently, necessitating the use of handwritten ballots. Some of the machines are old and temperamental, difficult to operate, and malfunction when polling officials do not reset them properly.²³ Judge Jones said, however, that the machines, though old, worked properly. He reported that during the last primary election eight machines broke down at one time. Two of these incidents were due to me-

12 Ibid., p. 69. See also Act No. 89-649 (S.21—Senator Bennett).

13 Debbie Barnes, interview, Sept. 13, 1990.

14 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 71.

15 Ibid., p. 96.

16 Judge John W. Jones, Jr., interview, Sept. 27, 1990.

17 Perry Varner, interview, Sept. 28, 1990.

18 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 102.

19 700 F. Supp. 1083 (M.D. Ala. 1988).

20 Civ. A. No. 84-T-595-N. U.S. District Court, N.D. Alabama, N.D., June 30, 1988.

21 Robert Mountjoy, Auburn University, interview, Nov. 6, 1990.

22 Letter to William F. Muldrow, CRO, Nov. 6, 1990.

23 Perry Varner, interview, Sept. 28, 1990.

TABLE 5.4 Racial Makeup of Dallas County Election Officials, November 6, 1990

Election district	Black		White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No.1 Plantersville	2	50.0	2	50.0	4	100
2 Summerville	2	50.0	2	50.0	4	100
3 Woodlawn, F.O.B. Lodge	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	100
3 Woodlawn, Valley Grande	2	15.4	11	84.6	13	100
4 Orrville	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	100
4 Beloit	4	100.0	-	0.0	4	100
5 Selmont, Strong Mar. Bldg.	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	100
5 Selmont, Water Works	3	75.0	4	25.0	7	100
6 Tyler	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	100
7 Pleasant Hill	2	50.0	2	50.0	4	100
8 Burnsville	4	57.1	3	42.9	7	100
9 Union, Armory	3	42.9	4	57.1	7	100
10 Union, Dallas Roofing	5	55.6	4	44.4	9	100
11 Safford	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	100
12 Marion Junction	4	57.1	3	42.9	7	100
13 Sardis	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	100
14 Browns	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	100
15 Minter	5	71.4	2	28.6	7	100
17 SELMA:						
1-35 Courthouse	2	28.6	5	71.4	7	100
1-8E Eastend	10	90.9	1	9.1	11	100
1-8W Carver Center	9	100.0	-	0.0	9	100
3-4E Selma Mall	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	100
3-4Q Queen of Peace	1	14.3	6	85.7	7	100
3-4W Woodrow Avenue	4	36.4	7	63.4	11	100
3-5E Rangedale Center	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	100
3-6W Northern Heights	12	92.3	1	7.7	13	100
3-7E Broad Street	9	100.0	-	0.00	9	100
D5-1E Memorial Stadium	3	33.3	6	67.7	9	100
5-1W Armory	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100
5-2S Cahaba Road	2	18.2	9	81.8	11	100
5-3N Byrd School	10	90.1	1	9.1	11	100
Absentee ballot	3	50.0	3	50.0	6	100
Total	151	60.2	100	39.8	251	100

Source: Information provided by Dallas County Probate Judge John W. Jones, Jr., Feb. 7, 1991.

chanical problems, and the others were the result of poll officials not pushing the reset lever far enough. The biggest problems, he said, are people problems rather than mechanical problems. He stated that none of the problems were of sufficient magnitude to skew election results.²⁴

In response to allegations that absentee ballots were misused, Judge Jones said that the use of absentee ballots was managed by the Clerk of

Courts and that there were six election officials, three white and three black, designated to count the ballots. He saw no possibility for problems in counting the ballots, but said that questions do exist as to what happens to the absentee ballots in getting them from the absentee voters back to the court house. In a big election in Dallas County, there are about 800 requests for absentee ballots, with 80 to 600 actually being used.²⁵

24 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 103-05.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

6. Business and Industry Involvement

Economic power for blacks is directly related to their ability to gain employment or to start businesses of their own. Mayor Smitherman said that jobs, along with education, are the answer to good race relations, but that Selma is losing jobs.¹ Alston Fitts III also noted that there are limited jobs for skilled labor in Selma and that economic progress for blacks has been limited. At present, he said, this is true for all of Selma.² Some believe that it is difficult for blacks to achieve economic leverage in other areas as well.³ A number of persons who were interviewed during the course of the Advisory Committee's background investigation, or who participated in the December factfinding meeting, felt that opportunities for black entrepreneurs in Selma are very limited.

Fred Williams, a black businessman, whose family has operated a successful mortuary and flower business in the city since 1905, observed that in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s Selma had many black entrepreneurs, who included owners of drugstores, grocery stores, and a cab company. These either sold out or died, leaving no heirs to carry on the business. Young blacks, he said, do not come back to Selma to live because they feel there is a lack of opportunity for them. However, he said, race has never been a consideration or a problem in his business, which is dependent upon both white and black clientele.⁴ Tom Bolton reported that there are several

black entrepreneurs in the construction business, probably more than in any other enterprise, but that the banking climate in Selma, as in the rest of Alabama and in the Nation, is not favorable to establishing a business.⁵

Other people felt this was especially true for black entrepreneurs. Norward Roussell, who at the time of the factfinding meeting was attempting to start a business of his own, said that business opportunities for most blacks in Selma are limited because they are not encouraged, in part because they find it difficult to get serious cooperation from the banks.⁶ J.L. Chestnut, Jr., also stated that four small black businesses in Selma had closed because they could not go to the banks and get the same kind of loan consideration their white competition did.⁷

Yvonne Hatcher, cochair of the One Selma organization, also believes that it is easier for a white person to get a loan in Selma than for a black person. One reason for this, she said, is because there are more black people without collateral. However, she also believes that there are racist elements to difficulties blacks have in obtaining credit. More specifically, she said that all the bankers are white, and therefore a black person must go to a white person to obtain a loan. Her own experience proved this to be difficult. At first she tried to obtain a loan to purchase a mobile home and was rejected within 5 minutes after she sat down to talk to the loan of-

1 *Transcript* of factfinding meeting of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Selma, Ala., Dec. 12-15, 1990, vol. I, p. 114 (hereafter *Transcript*).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

4 Interview, Nov. 6, 1990.

5 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 199.

6 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 28.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

ficer. In the second instance, she tried to obtain a construction loan to build a house. This time the loan officer looked at the plans and rejected her request saying, "This is bigger than my house. Why does your house have to be so big?" She argued that in neither case was her credit background evaluated.⁸

Frederick W. Reese believes that though there has been some opposition to granting loans for small businesses, the white power structure is more apt to share economic benefits now than it ever has been. He said that the chances of blacks getting a fair share of benefits resulting from better opportunity is greater now than it ever has been. He also said that there is need to improve Selma's economic status in general, and that the races have not worked together as much as they could in achieving this.⁹

Carl Barker, a banker and former president of the Selma Board of Education, does not believe that there is anything in the Selma community that would restrict a black entrepreneur. He said that his bank has made numerous loans to black- and minority-owned firms in the Selma trade area, and has made a number of these in the last 2 years. Those loans, he said, are made basically on the ability of the customer to repay them, and that those decisions are made by his bank.¹⁰ Richard Morthland believes that black entrepreneurs, or small businessmen, do indeed experience slowdowns faster than larger businessmen. However, he claims that his bank has made a special effort to build small businesses, and that it has more than half of the black business in Selma.¹¹

Jamie Wallace reported that there is a credit crunch for small minority enterprises nation-

wide. Some banks in Alabama, he said, are making a special effort to provide credit for minority businesses and race does not provide an additional barrier.¹² He emphasized also that the Selma/Dallas County Chamber of Commerce treats all businesses alike—minority, white, large, and small. He declared that the chamber, in fact, goes overboard to respond to requests from minority businesses that may have unique problems not faced by white entrepreneurs.¹³ The chamber lists 43 black-owned businesses as members out of a total 500 members. One of the chamber's five vice presidents for the past 3 years was a minority person. A black person won the prize in a contest for recruiting the most members, signing up a total of 16. Mr. Wallace said, however, that there is not as much involvement by the black community in the work of the chamber as he would like. In addition to working with individual entrepreneurs, the chamber works in cooperation with such entities as local certified public accountants, the Southern Development Council, and the Small Business Center at the University of Alabama to assist small businesses with accounting, financing, and problem resolution.¹⁴

In years past a certain stigma was attached to chambers of commerce nationally as being predominantly white, male conservative organizations. Mr. Wallace said there had been some charges of keeping high-paying jobs out of the area in order to keep prevailing wage scales low. He emphasized, however, that this has not been his experience since he has been involved in the work of the Chamber either as an earlier volunteer or now as its executive vice president.¹⁵ He said that the perception by some Selma citizens

8 Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 55-58.

9 Interview, Sept. 12, 1990.

10 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 74.

11 Ibid., vol. III, pp. 127-28. (See also app. C.)

12 Interview, Sept. 19, 1990.

13 *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 169.

14 Ibid., pp. 170-74.

that the city does not wish to attract industry because it would upset wage scales is inaccurate.¹⁶

Major industries contacted in the Selma area have had increasing problems in recruiting professional employees due to the negative image Selma has acquired because of the recent racial turmoil. Ben McDavid, personnel manager for the Bush Hog Division of the Allied Product Corporation, said that prospective employees with school-age children are not willing even to talk with his company about coming to Selma. Still, to this point, the company has been able to meet its recruitment needs adequately.¹⁷

George E. Stainback also said it is very difficult to attract professional employees to Selma, especially those with medical specialties that are in short supply nationwide, such as radiology technologists, laboratory technologists, ultrasound specialists, and certified registered nurses. It is even more difficult to recruit physicians. At present the Selma Medical Center is recruiting a cardiologist, and though eight physicians with this specialty, five of whom were black, expressed interest in the position, none would come for an interview when they learned that the opening was in Selma. Such recruiting difficulties have far-reaching effects on the medical center and the delivery of health services. Services have to be curtailed and the general public must go elsewhere for some medical care—to Birmingham, Montgomery, or Mobile.¹⁸

The financial impact is also considerable, for salaries in some specialties must be offered 20-30 percent higher than those in neighboring States. A salary \$20,000 per year higher than

that paid in Atlanta was recently offered to a nurse anesthetist to come to Selma.¹⁹

Both Mr. McDavid and Mr. Stainback said that the racial controversy in Selma during the past year had not adversely affected race relations among their own employees, and tensions in the community did not carry over into the workplace.²⁰ Mr. McDavid said that the controversy made the company more sensitive to racial concerns, and Bush Hog encouraged its employees to participate in the anniversary commemoration of the Selma-Montgomery civil rights march.²¹ However, none of the major industries in the Selma area who were contacted during the Advisory Committee's investigation was willing to provide statistics on the racial makeup of their work force or information on their affirmative action and equal opportunity policies.

Company officials also reported many efforts by industry to enhance positive race relations and provide employment and educational advantages for minority persons. Ben McDavid served in One Selma and its Better Selma Task Force, and he said that as chair of the United Way Campaign he made it a point to involve blacks in leadership positions. His company has also agreed to donate labor for Habitat Selma housing projects. It is also in the process of setting up a training program at the Wallace Community College of Selma to remediate reading and mathematical deficiencies among employees. The company cooperates in the Governor's intern teacher program to acquaint teachers with their business operations.²² By providing scholarships and speakers to schools, the Selma Medical Center encourages students to seek medical

15 Ibid., p. 160.

16 Interview, Sept. 19, 1990.

17 Interview, Sept. 21, 1990.

18 *Transcript*, vol. III, pp. 110-13.

19 Ibid., p. 119.

20 George E. Stainback, interview, Aug. 24, 1990.

21 Interview, Sept. 29, 1990.

22 Interview, Sept. 29, 1990.

careers.²³ Battaiya Rajanna, an administrator at Selma University, which has a predominantly black student body and faculty, reported that

local industry provides from \$10,000 to \$20,000 support to his institution each year.²⁴

23 George E. Stainback, interview, Aug. 24, 1990.

24 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 113.

7. Conclusion

The Advisory Committee believes that it is time for the citizens of Selma to work earnestly on improving race relations. There has been enormous progress towards political equality in Selma. Blacks now serve as elected officials not only in Selma but most noticeably in Dallas County. Nonetheless, although the city's population is majority black, there remains a sense of powerlessness among some blacks. Because the city's economic power is held primarily by those in the white community, some whites feel they must maintain political control.

Several persons in Selma expressed the view that behind the racial tensions that exist in the city there is a struggle for power. An elected official voiced the opinion that the real problem is

not so much who controls the power in Selma but that there is no equitable distribution of power between blacks and whites in Selma. Others felt that the biggest division in the community falls along economic rather than racial lines.

The Advisory Committee recognizes that the city of Selma has played and will continue to play an important role in the awareness of what civil rights means to this nation. Yet, Selma is so well known in a negative sense to the outside world. It is the Advisory Committee's hope, through its findings and recommendations, that the people of Selma will find new ways to work together for a common destiny of an open city for harmonious race relations.

8. Findings and Recommendations

The following findings and recommendations are submitted under the provision of section 703.2(e) of the Commission's regulations, empowering the Advisory Committee to initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters that the State Committee has studied.

General Race Relations

Finding 1

The Advisory Committee finds that in spite of integration in the schools, housing, and the workplace, there remain two Selmas: black and white. There is, in Selma, an environment open to ideas to improve race relations. Nonetheless, that environment has yet to find an effective outlet to address race and human relations issues. There have been attempts made by such groups as One Selma and the Inter-Baptist Fellowship of the Selma Baptist Association to reach across racial barriers and provide opportunities for interracial understanding.

Recommendation 1

The Advisory Committee strongly recommends that a group and/or organization be established to develop and coordinate a comprehensive program regarding race and human relations in the city of Selma. The group and/or organization should be community based and represent all key leadership groups such as government, business, church, schools, media, and grassroots organizations. This group should establish itself as a voluntary coordinator on community and public policy issues, particularly in the area of race and human relations. Some suggested objectives of the group would be:

to develop an agenda with goals and milestones for race and human relations in the city;

to serve as a facilitator and as an advisor on race relation issues and their effect on general public policy and quality of life;

to support the activities of other groups with complementary agendas and stress the need for cooperation among various interests;

to report to the community on progress or lack of it in enhancing race and human relations.

Recommendation 1a

The Advisory Committee urges religious leaders to play a greater role in community affairs, particularly in race and human relation problems, and to establish joint activities and programs aimed at moderating views and enhancing racial understanding.

Education

Finding 2

The Advisory Committee finds that some blacks are concerned about the Selma School District's placement of black students in special education, particularly the program for emotionally and mentally impaired students, and the low number of blacks placed in the gifted and talented program. Complaints have been filed with the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, by parents alleging discrimination in the special education and gifted and talented programs. The Committee's data analysis of the student enrollment figures in special education and the gifted and talented program showed that blacks are overrepresented in the educable mentally retarded program and underrepresented in the gifted and talented program. Though not in and of themselves evidence of discrimination, these data do suggest the need to ascertain and to ensure that assignments are made in a nondiscriminatory manner and to reassure all elements of the community that a nondiscriminatory policy is in fact in force.

Recommendation 2

The Advisory Committee urges the Commission to suggest to the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education to undertake a comprehensive review of the Selma School District's special education and gifted and talented programs to determine whether or not students are placed in these programs without regard to race.

Finding 3

The Advisory Committee finds that a source of racial polarization within the community has been the Selma School District's "grouping for instruction" procedures. Most whites view grouping as a good and fair educational tool to enhance learning, while some blacks view it as being unfairly administered, causing the placement of black students in lower ability groupings.

In May of 1990, Dr. Alston Fitts conducted a cursory statistical review of student enrollments by race representing the various levels in English. His analysis showed that the percentage of black students in level 1 classes is lower than would be expected by 18.4 percent and that white students represented in level 1 at 17.4 percent is higher than would be expected. Further, in the 1989-90 school year black students were underrepresented among those receiving advanced high school diplomas by 14.1 percent and overrepresented by 3.8 percent among those obtaining general diplomas.

Recommendation 3

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Selma School District's administration annually monitor and publicly report statistics of each school's implementation of the grouping policy as well as issue a statement of how each school's implementation is being applied fairly and consistently.

Recommendation 3a

The Advisory Committee recommends that as a good faith effort the Selma School District should establish a task force to include school administrators, teachers, and selected officials from area college and universities to review and study other practical alternatives to ability grouping that the Selma School District may use to help students reach their academic potential.

Finding 4

The Advisory Committee finds that the faculties at Cedar Park, Meadowview, Payne, Knox, and Eastside are racially identifiable. Cedar Park, Meadowview, and Payne had an overrepresentation of white faculty. Knox and Eastside had an overrepresentation of black faculty.

Recommendation 4

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Selma School District review and monitor its student and teacher assignment practices at the above schools to ensure that these practices are racially neutral.

Finding 5

The Advisory Committee finds that written standards for employment and personnel procedures such as salary schedules, promotions, and job vacancies were either nonexistent or very loosely administered.

Recommendation 5

The Advisory Committee recommends that if it has not already done so, the Selma School District should establish written uniform standards for salary schedules, promotions, and job vacancies to be implemented districtwide. Job vacancy announcements should be routinely published and made available to employees and the general public.

Finding 6

The Advisory Committee finds that both BEST and PEST, formed to address educational

issues in the schools, appear to represent the interest of students on a racial basis.

Recommendation 6

The Advisory Committee strongly urges BEST and PEST to come together on the educational issues they may have in common.

City Personnel Department

Finding 7

The Advisory Committee finds that blacks represent approximately 54 percent (160) of the work force in Selma city government. However, approximately half of those workers are concentrated in the Selma Public Works and General Services Departments.

Recommendation 7

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Mayor and the director of personnel conduct an aggressive campaign to recruit and develop upward mobility programs to ensure equal job opportunities for all citizens, black and white, throughout city government.

Finding 8

The Advisory Committee finds that, although the city of Selma has an affirmative action plan, a city official reported difficulty in recruiting blacks as firefighters and police officers. Many black applicants are eliminated in the background investigative process.

Recommendation 8

The Advisory Committee urges the Selma City Department of Personnel to review its entire application process for firefighters and police officers to ensure that all citizens have equal access to employment opportunities.

Public Housing and Community Development

Finding 9

The Advisory Committee finds that Selma Public Housing Authority has several public housing sites that are racially identifiable.

Recommendation 9

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Selma Housing Authority (SHA) seek to correct the racial imbalance in the Valley Creek and George Washington Carver sites. The SHA should seek technical assistance from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Atlanta, Georgia, Regional Office.

Business and Industry

Finding 10

The Advisory Committee finds that although some business people reported that there are no barriers to business opportunities and economic development for blacks, black participation in the Selma marketplace is limited. Factors cited as contributing to this problem were an inability by blacks to obtain financing and an absence of a black-white economic/social network, as well as a general economic slowdown in Selma.

The Advisory Committee further finds that some major industries have had increasing problems in recruiting professional employees due to the negative image Selma had acquired because of recent racial turmoil regarding the Selma schools.

Recommendation 10

The Advisory Committee urges the business and banking community to take a more proactive role in increasing black participation by developing a business and economic strategy and network to include, among other things, mentoring or technical assistance programs for minority businesses. Specific assistance is needed in the areas of bonding and financing.

Recommendation 10a

The Advisory Committee urges the business community to work in partnership with the

Selma School District to develop programs, including public relations, to better race relations in the Selma School District.

Appendix A

Alabama Advisory Committee
to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Race Relations in Selma Factfinding Meeting
December 12-15, 1990

AGENDA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1990

9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m. OPENING REMARKS

--Dr. William Barnard, Chair
Alabama Advisory Committee

--Melvin L. Jenkins, Director
Central Regional Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

--Arthur A. Fletcher, Chairman
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

--Wilfredo J. Gonzalez, Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

SESSION I

9:15 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. --Kenny Johnson, Program Director
Southern Regional Council

9:45 a.m. - 10:15 a.m. --Dr. Alston Fitts III
Edmundite Mission

10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. --J.L. Chestnut, Jr., Attorney
Chestnut, Sanders & Sanders

10:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. --Dr. Joe Pickard, Former Superintendent
Selma Public Schools

11:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m. --Hon. Joseph T. Smitherman
Mayor of Selma

11:45 a.m. - 1:15 p.m. LUNCH

SESSION II

- 1:15 p.m. - 1:45 p.m. --Dr. C.A. Lett
Selma Board of Education
- 1:45 p.m. - 2:15 p.m. --Rose Sanders, Attorney
Chestnut, Sanders & Sanders
- 2:15 p.m. - 2:45 p.m. --Otey Crisman, President
Crisman Golf Company
- 2:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. --Nancy Sewell, Head Librarian
Selma High School
- 3:15 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. BREAK

SESSION III

- 3:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. --Penny Williams, Director of Testing
and Evaluation, Selma School District
- 4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m. --Terry Merritt, Teacher
Selma High School
- 4:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. --Bruce Dozier, Teacher
Westside Middle School
- 5:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. --Otelia Moss, Director of Counseling
Selma School District
- 5:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. --Almyra Smith, Guidance Counselor
Westside Middle School
- 6:00 p.m. - 7:15 p.m. DINNER

SESSION IV

- 7:15 p.m. - 8:15 p.m. Student Panel:
--Brian Crisman, Student
Selma High School
--Lida Fitts, Student
Selma High School
--Malika Sanders, Student
Selma High School
--Erica Woodson, Student Council
Secretary, Selma High School

8:15 p.m. - 8:45 p.m. --Hon. Hank Sanders
State Senator

8:45 p.m. - 9:30 p.m. OPEN SESSION

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1990

9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m. OPENING REMARKS
--Dr. William D. Barnard, Chair
Alabama Advisory Committee

SESSION V

9:15 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. --Dr. Norward Roussell
Former Superintendent of Schools

9:45 a.m. - 10:15 a.m. --Dr. Frederick W. Reese, Principal
Selma High School

10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. --Ross Hobbs, Principal
Byrd Elementary School

10:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. --Carl Barker, President
Selma Board of Education

11:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m. --Ralph Hobbs, Attorney for
Selma Board of Education

11:15 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. LUNCH

SESSION VI

1:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. --Dr. Bettaiya Rajanna, Academic Dean
Selma University

1:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m. --Dr. Julius Brown, President
Wallace Community College

2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m. --Don Smiley, Citizen

2:30 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. --Randall Miller, Personnel Director
City of Selma

3:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. BREAK

SESSION VII

3:15 p.m. - 3:45 p.m. --Johnny Moss, Director
Selma Housing Authority

3:45 p.m. - 4:15 p.m. --Edwin L. Moss
Selma City Council

4:15 p.m. - 4:45 p.m. --Carl Morgan, President
Selma City Council

4:45 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. DINNER

SESSION VIII

7:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. --Carolyn Gaines-Varner
Managing Attorney, Legal Services
Corporation

7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. OPEN SESSION

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1990

9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m. OPENING REMARKS
--Dr. William D. Barnard, Chair
Alabama Advisory Committee

SESSION IX

9:15 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. --Perry Varner
Dallas County Commissioner

9:45 a.m. - 10:15 a.m. --Marie Foster
Board of Voter Registrars

10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. --Debbie Barnes, Chairman
Board of Voter Registrars

10:45 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. --John W. Jones, Probate Judge
Dallas County

11:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m. --George E. Stainback, C.E.O.
Selma Medical Center

11:45 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. LUNCH

SESSION X

1:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. --Ben McDavid, Personnel Manager
Division of Allied Products Corp.

1:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m. --Richard Morthland, President
Peoples Bank of Selma

2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m. --Fred Williams
Fred's Flower & Gift Shop

2:30 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. --Jamie Wallace, Executive V.P.
Selma Chamber of Commerce

3:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. BREAK

SESSION XI

3:15 p.m. - 3:45 p.m. --Tom Bolton, President
Cooper Brothers Construction Co.

3:45 p.m. - 4:15 p.m. --The Rev. Grady Perryman
First Presbyterian Church

4:15 p.m. - 4:45 p.m. --The Rev. Joseph Rembert
Brown Chapel A.M.E.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1990

9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m. OPENING REMARKS
--Dr. William D. Barnard, Chair
Alabama Advisory Committee

SESSION XII

9:15 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. --Dr. Rex Morthland, Chairman Emeritus
Peoples Bank of Selma

9:45 a.m. - 10:15 a.m. --Dr. David Hodo, Psychiatrist
10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. --Yvonne Hatcher, Co-Chair
One-Selma

10:45 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. BREAK

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. OPEN SESSION

A 1

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 1 - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

AREA NAME: Alabama	STATE: 01	AL	MA:	COUNTY:	MCD/CCD:	PLACE:	TRACT/GMA:	BG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 040
P1. PERSONS									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%							
P6/8/10. RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
	TOTAL PERSONS	PCT	NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT	HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT			
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%	4,015,958	100.0%	24,629	100.0%			
WHITE	2,975,797	73.6	2,960,167	73.7	15,630	63.5			
BLACK	1,020,705	25.3	1,017,713	25.3	2,992	12.1			
AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO OR ALEUT	16,506	0.4	16,221	0.4	285	1.2			
ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISL.	21,797	0.5	21,217	0.5	580	2.4			
OTHER RACE	5,782	0.1	640	0.0	5,142	20.9			
PERSONS BY URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE ARE NOT AVAILABLE IN STATE									
P2. SEX									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%							
MALE	1,936,162	47.9							
FEMALE	2,104,425	52.1							
P7. RACE									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%							
WHITE	2,975,797	73.6							
BLACK	1,020,705	25.3							
AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT	16,506	0.4							
AMERICAN INDIAN	16,212	0.4							
ESKIMO	105	0.0							
ALEUT	89	0.0							
ASIAN OR PAC. ISL.	21,797	0.5							
ASIAN:									
CHINESE	3,929	0.1							
FILIPINO	1,816	0.0							
JAPANESE	2,028	0.1							
ASIAN INDIAN	4,348	0.1							
KOREAN	3,454	0.1							
VIETNAMESE	2,274	0.1							
CAMBODIAN	427	0.0							
HAWAIIAN	8	0.0							
LAOTIAN	799	0.0							
THAI	526	0.0							
OTHER ASIAN	1,479	0.0							
PACIFIC ISLANDER:									
POLYNESIAN:									
HAWAIIAN	343	0.0							
SAMOAN	77	0.0							
TONGAN	2	0.0							
OTHER POLYNESIAN	3	0.0							
MICRONESIAN:									
GUAMANIAN	247	0.0							
OTHER MICRONESIAN	13	0.0							
MELANESIAN	5	0.0							
PAC. ISL., OTHER	19	0.0							
OTHER RACE	5,782	0.1							
P9. HISPANIC ORIGIN									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%							
NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN	4,015,958	99.4							
HISPANIC ORIGIN	24,629	0.6							
MEXICAN	9,509	0.2							
PUERTO RICAN	3,553	0.1							
CUBAN	1,463	0.0							
OTHER HISPANIC	10,104	0.3							
P11/12. PERSONS BY SEX BY AGE									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS)									
	AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE					
TOTAL		4,040,587	1,936,162	2,104,425					
UNDER 1		48,457	24,867	23,590					
1 - 2		119,738	61,336	58,402					
3 - 4		115,100	59,196	55,904					
5		58,310	29,850	28,460					
6		57,578	29,372	28,206					
7 - 9		177,699	90,672	87,027					
10 - 11		122,405	62,765	59,640					
12 - 13		119,453	60,728	58,725					
14		57,555	29,359	28,196					
15		60,241	30,830	29,411					
16		60,348	30,937	29,411					
17		61,904	31,799	30,105					
18		65,825	33,065	32,760					
19		72,108	35,879	36,229					
20		67,624	33,327	34,297					
21		62,666	31,105	31,561					
22 - 24		175,112	86,474	88,638					
25 - 29		319,562	157,212	162,350					
30 - 34		328,918	159,598	169,320					
35 - 39		305,847	148,622	157,225					
40 - 44		277,740	135,558	142,182					
45 - 49		224,862	108,997	115,865					
50 - 54		194,559	92,239	102,320					
55 - 59		183,677	86,192	97,485					
60 - 64		71,033	32,499	38,534					
65 - 69		109,277	49,343	59,934					
70 - 74		168,309	73,630	94,679					
75 - 79		132,909	54,938	77,971					
80 - 84		105,571	39,683	65,888					
85+		67,693	22,752	44,941					
MEDIAN		46,507	13,318	35,189					
		33.0	31.5	34.4					
P28. GROUP QUARTERS									
(UNIVERSE: PERSONS IN GROUP QUARTERS)									
TOTAL IN GROUP QUARTERS	92,402	100.0%							
PERSONS IN INSTITUTIONS:	51,583	55.8							
CORRECTIONAL INSTS.	19,226	20.8							
NURSING HOMES	24,031	26.0							
MENTAL (PSYCHIATRIC)									
HOSPITALS	2,555	2.8							
JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS	1,924	2.1							
OTHER INSTITUTIONS	3,847	4.2							
OTHER PERSONS IN GROUP QUARTERS:	40,819	44.2							
COLLEGE DORMITORIES	28,859	31.2							
MILITARY QUARTERS	6,085	6.6							
EMERGENCY SHELTERS FOR HOMELESS	1,530	1.7							
VISIBLE IN STREET LOCALES	364	0.4							
OTHER NONINSTITUTIONAL GROUP QUARTERS	3,921	4.3							

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 3 - HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

AREA NAME: ALABAMA STATE: 01 AL MA: COUNTY:		MCD/CCD:	PLACE:	TRACT/BNA:	BG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 040	
P12/3/15/17/17A PERSONS, HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES		P14. SEX BY MARITAL STATUS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 15 YEARS AND OVER)		TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL PERSONS	4,640,587	TOTAL	3,164,292	100.0%	1,488,017	100.0%	1,676,275
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS	3,948,185	NEVER MARRIED	754,868	23.9	406,140	27.3	348,728
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	1,504,790	NOW MARRIED					
PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD	2.62	EXCEPT SEPARATED	1,791,644	56.6	898,827	60.4	892,817
PERSONS IN FAMILIES	3,450,421	SEPARATED	68,002	2.1	26,921	1.8	41,061
TOTAL FAMILIES	1,103,835	WIDOWED	276,267	8.7	40,619	2.7	235,648
PERSONS PER FAMILY	3.13	DIVORCED	273,511	8.6	115,510	7.8	158,001
P15. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)		P20. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 65+)		P21. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)			
TOTAL	4,040,587	100.0%	TOTAL	522,969	100.0%	TOTAL	1,058,788
IN HOUSEHOLDS	3,948,185	97.7	IN HOUSEHOLDS	498,971	95.4	IN HOUSEHOLDS	1,054,807
IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	3,487,577	86.3	IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	337,443	64.5	HOUSEHOLDER/SPOUSE	2,068
HOUSEHOLDER	1,103,835		HOUSEHOLDER	190,352		OWN CHILD:	935,089
SPOUSE	858,327		SPOUSE	109,673		IN MARRIED FAM.	766,164
CHILD			OTHER RELATIVES	35,314		IN OTHER FAMILY:	226,925
NATURAL-BORN/ADOPT.	1,197,874		NONRELATIVES	2,104		MALE HOUSEHOLDER,	
STEP	76,364		IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	161,528	30.9	NO WIFE PRESENT	27,929
GRANDCHILD	104,753		MALE HOUSEHOLDER:	32,422		FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER,	
OTHER RELATIVES	109,468		LIVING ALONE	30,583		NO HUS. PRESENT	200,996
NONRELATIVES	36,956		NOT LIVING ALONE	1,839		OTHER RELATIVES	105,933
IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	460,608	11.4	FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER:	126,025		NONRELATIVES	11,717
HOUSEHOLDER LIV. ALONE	358,078		LIVING ALONE	123,608		IN GROUP QUARTERS:	3,981
HOUSEHOLDER NOT ALONE	44,877		NOT LIVING ALONE	2,417		INSTITUTION. PERS.	2,817
NONRELATIVES	57,653		NONRELATIVES	3,081		OTHER PERS. IN GROUP	
IN GROUP QUARTERS:	92,402	2.3	IN GROUP QUARTERS:	24,018	4.6	QUARTERS	1,164
INSTITUTION. PERSONS	51,583	1.3	INSTITUTION. PERS.	23,426	4.5	COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF	
OTHER PERS. IN GROUP			OTHER PERS. IN GROUP				
QUARTERS	40,819	1.0	QUARTERS	592	0.1		
COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY			COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY				
P22. RELATIONSHIP AND AGE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)		-----IN HOUSEHOLDS-----				-----IN GROUP QUARTERS-----	
	TOTAL	IN HOUSEHOLDS	OWN CHILD	OTH. RELATIVE	NONRELATIVES	IN GROUP QUARTERS	INSTITUTION
UNDER 18	1,054,720	1,052,739	935,089	105,933	11,717	3,981	2,817
UNDER 3 YEARS	168,195	167,904	140,044	26,208	1,652	289	150
3 AND 4 YEARS	115,100	114,972	100,194	13,490	1,292	124	31
5 YEARS	58,310	58,242	51,671	5,908	663	68	23
6 TO 11 YEARS	357,682	357,088	322,428	30,752	3,908	594	412
12 TO 13 YEARS	119,453	118,972	108,601	9,143	1,228	481	370
14 YEARS	57,555	57,119	52,212	4,314	593	436	350
15 TO 17 YEARS	180,425	178,434	159,937	16,118	2,381	1,989	1,481
HOUSEHOLDER OR SPOUSE	2,068						
COUNT ADJUSTMENT							
X UNDER 3 YEARS	15.9%	15.9%	15.0%	24.7%	14.1%	7.3%	5.3%
X 3 AND 4 YEARS	10.9	10.9	10.7	12.7	11.0	3.1	7.1
X 5 YEARS	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.7	1.7	0.8
X 6 TO 11 YEARS	33.8	33.9	34.5	29.0	33.4	14.9	14.6
X 12 TO 13 YEARS	11.3	11.3	11.6	8.6	10.5	12.1	13.1
X 14 YEARS	5.4	5.4	5.6	4.1	5.1	11.0	12.4
X 15 TO 17 YEARS	17.1	16.9	17.1	15.2	20.3	50.0	52.6
							1,164
							0.4
							0.3
							0.1

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 4 - HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

AREA NAME: Alabama	STATE: AL	COUNTY: MA	MCD/CCD:	PLACE:	TRACT/SMA:	BG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 040															
P16. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)			P24/25. HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE/TYPE BY AGE OF MEMBERS (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)																			
1 PERSON: 358,078			TOTAL PCT HOUSEHOLD						1 PERSON 2-OR-MORE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS													
MALE HOUSEHOLDER 138,220			HOUSEHOLDS WITH:						FAMILY NON-FAMILY													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER 219,858			1 OR MORE PERSONS 60 YEARS AND OVER 491,671 32.6%						183,614 302,020 6,637													
2 OR MORE PERSONS: 1,148,712			NO PERSONS 60 YEARS AND OVER 1,015,119 67.4						175,044 801,815 38,240													
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:			1 OR MORE PERSONS 45 YEARS AND OVER 382,345 25.4						154,191 223,060 5,094													
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:			NO PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER 1,124,445 74.6						203,887 880,775 39,783													
WITH RELATED CHILDREN 117,950																						
NO RELATED CHILDREN 440,377																						
OTHER FAMILY:			P77. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)																			
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:			CUM.																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN 21,736			TOTAL 358,078 23.8%						FAMILY PCT 358,078 88.9%													
NO RELATED CHILDREN 22,552			1 PERSON 479,623 31.8						NONFAMILY PCT 36,297 9.0													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:			2 PERSONS 284,321 18.9						M.A. N.A.													
WITH RELATED CHILDREN 132,896			3 PERSONS 235,891 15.7						443,326 40.2%													
NO RELATED CHILDREN 68,324			4 PERSONS 95,307 6.3						278,673 25.2													
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:			5 PERSONS 32,435 2.2						233,752 21.2													
MALE HOUSEHOLDER 27,045			6 PERSONS 21,145 1.4						94,800 8.6													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER 17,812			7+ PERSONS TOTAL 1,506,790 100.0%						32,258 2.9													
			TOTAL 1,506,790 100.0%						21,026 1.9													
									402,955 100.0%													
P19/20. RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)			AMERICAN IND./ESKIMO ALEUT PCT						ASIAN OR PAC. ISL. PCT		OTHER RACE PCT		HISPANIC ORIGIN PCT									
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS: 1,103,835 100%			WHITE PCT 851,196 100%						BLACK PCT 243,088 100%		AMERICAN IND./ESKIMO ALEUT PCT 4,168 100%		ASIAN OR PAC. ISL. PCT 4,170 100%		OTHER RACE PCT 1,213 100%		HISPANIC ORIGIN PCT 5,346 100%					
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:			WITH RELATED CHILDREN 417,950 37.9						338,230 39.7		74,513 30.7		2,136 51.2		2,379 57.1		692 57.0		2,551 47.7			
NO RELATED CHILDREN 440,377 39.9			360,084 45.8						47,780 19.7		1,163 27.9		1,084 26.0		266 21.9		1,636 30.6					
OTHER FAMILY:			MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:						WITH RELATED CHILDREN 21,736 2.0		13,534 1.6		7,923 3.3		132 3.2		87 2.1		58 4.8		160 3.0	
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:			NO RELATED CHILDREN 22,552 2.0						14,766 1.6		7,564 3.3		64 3.2		112 2.1		46 4.8		139 3.0			
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:			WITH RELATED CHILDREN 132,896 12.0						53,291 6.3		78,671 32.4		480 11.5		353 8.5		101 8.3		599 11.2			
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:			NO RELATED CHILDREN 68,324 6.2						41,289 4.9		26,637 11.0		193 4.6		155 3.7		50 4.1		261 4.9			
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:			HOUSEHOLDER LIVING ALONE 402,955 100%						308,007 100%		91,425 100%		1,120 100%		1,907 100%		436 100%		2,027 100%			
HOUSEHOLDER LIVING ALONE 358,078 88.9			273,453 88.8						82,023 89.7		951 84.9		1,366 71.6		285 65.4		1,598 78.8					
HOUSEHOLDER NOT LIVING ALONE 44,877 11.1			34,614 11.2						9,402 10.3		169 15.1		541 28.4		151 34.6		429 21.2					
P1A. AGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)			TOTAL PCT						WITH PERSONS UNDER 18 PCT		WITHOUT PERSONS UNDER 18 PCT		P26. HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)									
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS: 1,103,835 100.0%			574,688 100.0%						529,147 100.0%		HOUSEHOLDS WITH 1 OR MORE NONRELATIVES 75,603											
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY 858,327 77.8			419,503 73.0						438,824 82.9		HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO NONRELATIVES 1,431,187											
OTHER FAMILY:			MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT 44,288 4.0						21,981 3.8		22,307 4.2											
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:			FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT 201,220 18.2						133,204 23.2		68,016 12.9											
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:			NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS: 402,955 100.0%						3,562 100.0%		399,393 100.0%											
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:			MALE HOUSEHOLDER 165,285 41.0						2,812 78.9		162,473 40.7											
MALE HOUSEHOLDER:			FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER 237,670 59.0						750 21.1		236,920 59.3											

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 4 - HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

AREA NAME: Dallas County STATE: 01 AL MA: COUNTY: 01047 MCD/CCD: PLACE: TRACT/DNA: BG: COUNTY: Dallas SUMMARY LEVEL: US0

P16. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)		P24/25 HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE/TYPE BY AGE OF MEMBERS (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)				
		TOTAL	1 PERSON PCY HOUSEHOLD	2-OR-MORE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS		
				FAMILY	NON-FAMILY	
1 PERSON:	4,322					
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	1,820					
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	2,702					
2 OR MORE PERSONS:	12,711					
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:						
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:						
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	3,929	6,359 37.3X	2,544	3,731	84	
NO RELATED CHILDREN	3,841	10,674 62.7	1,778	8,671	225	
OTHER FAMILY:						
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:						
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	296	5,024 29.5	2,163	2,793	68	
NO RELATED CHILDREN	298	12,009 70.5	2,159	9,609	241	
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:						
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	2,949					
NO RELATED CHILDREN	1,089					
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:						
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	174					
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	135					

P27. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)		TOTAL	PCT	CUM. PCT	FAMILY	PCT	NONFAMILY	PCT
1 PERSON	4,322	4,322	25.4X	25.4	N.A.	N.A.	4,322	93.3X
2 PERSONS	4,762	4,762	28.0	53.3	4,506	36.3X	256	5.5
3 PERSONS	3,001	3,001	17.4	70.7	2,966	23.9	35	0.8
4 PERSONS	2,562	2,562	15.0	85.7	2,552	20.6	10	0.2
5 PERSONS	1,261	1,261	7.4	93.1	1,257	10.1	4	0.1
6 PERSONS	568	568	3.3	96.4	565	4.6	3	0.1
7+ PERSONS	557	557	3.3	100.0	556	4.5	1	0.0
TOTAL	17,033	17,033	100.0X		12,402	100.0X	4,631	100.0X

P19/20. RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)		TOTAL	PCT	WHITE	PCT	BLACK	PCT	AMERICAN IND./ESKIMO ALEUT	PCT	ASIAN OR PAC. ISL.	PCT	OTHER RACE	PCT	HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	12,402	100X	5,854	100X	4,505	100X	11	100X		31	100X	1	100X	25	100X
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:															
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	3,929	31.7	2,225	38.0	1,676	25.8	7	63.6		20	64.5	1	100	9	36.0
NO RELATED CHILDREN	3,841	31.0	2,785	47.4	1,046	16.1	3	27.3		7	22.6	0	0.0	4	16.0
OTHER FAMILY:															
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:															
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	296	2.4	74	1.3	221	3.4	0	0.0		1	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
NO RELATED CHILDREN	298	2.4	101	1.3	196	3.4	0	0.0		1	3.2	0	0.0	3	0.0
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:															
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	2,949	23.8	362	6.2	2,586	39.8	1	9.1		0	0.0	0	0.0	7	28.0
NO RELATED CHILDREN	1,089	8.8	307	5.2	780	12.0	0	0.0		2	6.5	0	0.0	2	8.0
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	4,631	100X	2,235	100X	2,383	100X	8	100X		5	100X	0	100X	13	100X
HOUSEHOLDER LIVING ALONE	4,322	93.3	2,097	93.8	2,215	93.0	5	62.5		5	100	0	69.2	12	92.3
HOUSEHOLDER NOT LIVING ALONE	309	6.7	138	6.2	168	7.0	3	37.5		0	0.0	0	30.8	1	7.7

P18. AGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)		WITH PERSONS UNDER 18			WITHOUT PERSONS UNDER 18			P26. HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)	
	TOTAL	PCT	UNDER 18	PCT	UNDER 18	PCT			
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	12,402	100.0X	7,201	100.0X	5,201	100.0X			
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY	7,770	62.7	3,937	54.7	3,833	73.7			
OTHER FAMILY:									
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT	594	4.8	303	4.2	291	5.6			
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT	4,038	32.6	2,961	41.1	1,077	20.7			
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	4,631	100.0X	35	100.0X	4,596	100.0X			
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	1,794	38.7	28	80.0	1,766	38.4			
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	2,837	61.3	7	20.0	2,830	61.6			

P26. HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)	
HOUSEHOLDS WITH 1 OR MORE NONRELATIVES	762
HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO NON-RELATIVES	16,271

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 4 - HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

AREA NAME: Alabama	STATE: AL	COUNTY:	MCD/CCD:	PLACE:	TRACT/DMA:	BG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 040							
P16. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
1 PERSON:	358,078													
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	138,220													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	219,858													
2 OR MORE PERSONS:	1,148,712													
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:														
MARRIED COUPLE FAMILY:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	117,950													
NO RELATED CHILDREN	440,377													
OTHER FAMILY:														
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	21,736													
NO RELATED CHILDREN	22,552													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	132,896													
NO RELATED CHILDREN	68,324													
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	44,877													
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	27,065													
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	17,812													
P24/25. HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE/TYPE BY AGE OF MEMBERS (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
		TOTAL	PCT	1 PERSON	2-OR-MORE-PERSON									
HOUSEHOLDS WITH:				HOUSEHOLD	FAMILY	NON-FAMILY								
1 OR MORE PERSONS 60 YEARS AND OVER	491,671	32.6%	183,614	302,020	6,637									
NO PERSONS 60 YEARS AND OVER	1,015,119	67.4%	175,064	801,815	38,246									
1 OR MORE PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER	382,345	25.4%	154,191	223,060	5,094									
NO PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER	1,124,445	74.6%	203,887	880,775	39,783									
P77. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
		TOTAL	PCT	FAMILY	PCT	NONFAMILY	PCT							
1 PERSON	358,078	23.8%	358,078	100.0%	358,078	88.9%	88.9%							
2 PERSONS	479,623	31.8%	443,326	40.2%	36,297	9.0%	9.0%							
3 PERSONS	284,321	18.9%	278,673	25.2%	5,648	1.4%	1.4%							
4 PERSONS	235,891	15.7%	233,752	21.2%	2,129	0.5%	0.5%							
5 PERSONS	95,307	6.3%	94,800	8.6%	507	0.1%	0.1%							
6 PERSONS	32,435	2.2%	32,258	2.9%	177	0.0%	0.0%							
7+ PERSONS	21,145	1.4%	21,026	1.9%	119	0.0%	0.0%							
TOTAL	1,504,790	100.0%	1,103,835	100.0%	402,955	100.0%								
P19/20. RACE/MISPANIC ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
	TOTAL	PCT	WHITE	PCT	BLACK	PCT	AMERICAN IND, ESKIMO	PCT	ASIAN OR PAC. ISL.	PCT	OTHER RACE	PCT	HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	1,103,835	100%	851,196	160%	243,088	100%	4,168	100%	4,170	100%	1,213	100%	5,346	100%
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	417,950	37.9%	338,230	39.7%	74,513	30.7%	2,136	51.2%	2,379	57.1%	692	57.0%	2,551	47.7%
NO RELATED CHILDREN	440,377	39.9%	360,084	45.8%	67,780	19.7%	1,163	27.9%	1,084	26.0%	266	21.9%	1,636	30.6%
OTHER FAMILY:														
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	21,736	2.0%	13,534	1.6%	7,923	3.3%	132	3.2%	87	2.1%	58	4.8%	160	3.0%
NO RELATED CHILDREN	22,552	2.0%	14,744	1.6%	7,564	3.3%	64	3.2%	112	2.1%	46	4.8%	139	3.0%
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:														
WITH RELATED CHILDREN	132,896	12.0%	53,291	6.3%	78,671	32.4%	480	11.5%	353	8.5%	101	8.3%	599	11.2%
NO RELATED CHILDREN	68,324	6.2%	41,289	4.9%	26,637	11.0%	193	4.6%	155	3.7%	50	4.1%	261	4.9%
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	44,877	100%	308,067	100%	91,425	100%	1,120	100%	1,907	100%	436	100%	2,027	100%
HOUSEHOLDER LIVING ALONE	358,078	88.9%	273,453	88.8%	82,023	89.7%	951	84.9%	1,366	71.6%	285	65.4%	1,598	78.8%
HOUSEHOLDER NOT LIVING ALONE	44,877	11.1%	34,614	11.2%	9,402	10.3%	169	15.1%	541	28.4%	151	34.6%	429	21.2%
P18. AGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
	TOTAL	PCT	WITH PERSONS UNDER 18	PCT	WITHOUT PERSONS UNDER 18	PCT								
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	1,103,835	100.0%	574,688	100.0%	529,147	100.0%								
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY	858,327	77.8%	419,523	73.0%	438,824	82.9%								
OTHER FAMILY:														
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT	44,288	4.0%	21,981	3.8%	22,307	4.2%								
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT	201,220	18.2%	133,204	23.2%	68,016	12.9%								
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:	402,955	100.0%	3,562	100.0%	399,393	100.0%								
MALE HOUSEHOLDER	145,285	41.0%	2,812	78.9%	162,473	40.7%								
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER	237,670	59.0%	750	21.1%	236,920	59.3%								
P26. HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)														
							HOUSEHOLDS WITH 1 OR MORE NONRELATIVES	75,603						
							HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO NON-RELATIVES	1,431,187						

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

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1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPES FILE 1A
 PROFILE 3 - HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

203

AREA NAME: Dallas County STATE: 01 AL MA: COUNTY: 01047		MCD/CCD:	PLACE:	TRACT/GNA:	BG:	COUNTY: Dallas SUMMARY LEVEL: CUG				
P12/3/15/17/17A PERSONS, HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES		P14. SEX BY MARITAL STATUS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 15 YEARS AND OVER)		TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE			
TOTAL PERSONS	48,130	TOTAL	35,674	100.0X	15,680	100.0X	19,994			
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS	47,196	NEVER MARRIED	10,872	30.5	5,229	33.3	5,643			
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	17,033	NOW MARRIED								
PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD	2.77	EXCEPT SEPARATED	16,478	46.2	8,261	52.7	8,217			
PERSONS IN FAMILIES	41,611	SEPARATED	1,427	4.0	470	3.0	957			
TOTAL FAMILIES	12,402	WIDOWED	4,063	11.4	628	4.0	3,435			
PERSONS PER FAMILY	3.36	DIVORCED	2,834	7.9	1,092	7.0	1,742			
P15. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)		P23. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 65+)		P21. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)						
TOTAL	48,130	TOTAL	6,613	100.0X	TOTAL	15,105	100.0X			
IN HOUSEHOLDS	47,196	IN HOUSEHOLDS	5,364	81.1	IN HOUSEHOLDS	14,959	99.0			
IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	42,172	IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	4,105	62.1	HOUSEHOLDER/SPOUSE	9	0.1			
HOUSEHOLDER	12,402	HOUSEHOLDER	2,305		OWN CHILD:	12,339	81.7			
SPOUSE	7,770	SPOUSE	1,169		IN MARRIED FAM.	6,887				
CHILD		OTHER RELATIVES	597		IN OTHER FAMILY:	5,452				
NATURAL-BORN/ADOPT.	16,407	NONRELATIVES	34		MALE HOUSEHOLDER,	374				
STEP	727	IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	2,259	34.2	NO WIFE PRESENT					
GRANDCHILD	2,382	MALE HOUSEHOLDER:	491		FOEMALE HOUSEHOLDER,					
OTHER RELATIVES	1,923	LIVING ALONE	470		NO MUS. PRESENT	5,078				
NONRELATIVES	561	NOT LIVING ALONE	21		OTHER RELATIVES	2,432	16.1			
IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	5,024	FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER:	1,732		NONRELATIVES	179	1.2			
HOUSEHOLDER LIV. ALONE	4,322	LIVING ALONE	1,693		IN GROUP QUARTERS:	146	1.0			
HOUSEHOLDER NOT ALONE	309	NOT LIVING ALONE	39		INSTITUTION. PERS.	122	0.8			
NONRELATIVES	393	NONRELATIVES	36		OTHER PERS. IN GROUP	24	0.2			
IN GROUP QUARTERS:	934	IN GROUP QUARTERS:	249	3.8	QUARTERS					
INSTITUTION. PERSONS	566	INSTITUTION. PERS.	246	3.7	INSTITUTION. PERS.					
OTHER PERS. IN GROUP		OTHER PERS. IN GROUP			QUARTERS					
QUARTERS	368	QUARTERS	3	0.0	COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF					
COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY		COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY								
P22. RELATIONSHIP AND AGE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)		IN HOUSEHOLDS				IN GROUP QUARTERS				
UNDER 18	15,096	TOTAL	14,950	OWN CHILD	12,339	179	146	122	24	
UNDER 3 YEARS	2,323	IN HOUSEHOLDS	2,321	OTH. RELATIVE	2,432	27	2	0	2	
3 AND 4 YEARS	1,547		1,544	NONRELATIVES	179	25	3	2	1	
5 YEARS	824		822		27	4	2	1	1	
6 TO 11 YEARS	5,169		5,142		44	27	23	14	4	
12 TO 13 YEARS	1,759		1,744		24	15	14	14	1	
14 YEARS	834		812		100	13	22	20	2	
15 TO 17 YEARS	2,640		2,565		367	42	75	62	13	
HOUSEHOLDER OR SPOUSE	9									
COUNT ADJUSTMENT										
X UNDER 3 YEARS	15.4X		15.5X		14.2X	22.1X	15.1X	1.4X	0.0X	8.3X
X 3 AND 4 YEARS	10.2		10.3		9.8	12.6	14.0	2.1	1.6	4.2
X 5 YEARS	5.5		5.5		5.5	5.8	2.2	1.4	0.8	4.2
X 6 TO 11 YEARS	34.2		34.4		35.2	31.0	24.6	18.5	18.9	16.7
X 12 TO 13 YEARS	11.7		11.7		12.1	9.3	13.4	10.3	11.5	4.2
X 14 YEARS	5.5		5.4		5.7	4.1	7.3	15.1	16.4	8.3
X 15 TO 17 YEARS	17.5		17.2		17.5	15.1	23.5	51.4	50.8	54.2

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 2 - PERSONS BY AGE, RACE, SEX AND HISPANIC ORIGIN

AREA NAME: Dallas County

STATE: 01 AL MA:

COUNTY: 01047 MCD/CCO:

PLACE:

TRACT/GNA:

66:

County: Dallas
 SUMMARY LEVEL: 050

P12. PERSONS BY AGE, RACE AND SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)												P13. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: HISPAN. PERSONS)	
AGE	WHITE		BLACK		AM IND, ESK, ALEU TOTAL	ASIAN / PAC ISL TOTAL	FEMALE	OTHER RACE		TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE				TOTAL	FEMALE				
TOTAL	20,121	10,611	27,825	15,489	41	22	129	63	14	8	131	78	
UNDER 1	203	100	451	223	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	
1 - 2	552	279	1,107	581	1	1	4	2	0	0	4	2	
3 - 4	488	252	1,052	516	0	0	7	2	0	0	2	0	
5	261	146	559	290	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	
6	271	130	594	312	1	1	2	1	0	0	3	3	
7 - 9	820	409	1,755	835	0	0	7	2	0	0	7	3	
10 - 11	524	242	1,189	607	1	1	3	0	0	0	4	2	
12 - 13	504	254	1,250	607	2	2	4	2	0	0	4	2	
14	244	116	586	279	0	0	3	2	0	0	4	2	
15	278	142	615	300	1	1	1	4	0	0	1	1	
16	257	141	595	302	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	
17	270	118	627	349	1	1	1	0	1	1	7	3	
18	293	131	584	286	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	
19	285	129	565	291	1	1	5	3	1	0	8	4	
20	235	111	451	247	2	2	4	3	1	1	3	2	
21	212	109	374	186	0	0	2	0	2	1	3	1	
22 - 24	621	311	1,191	489	2	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	
25 - 29	1,389	702	1,988	1,151	3	2	9	6	0	0	4	1	
30 - 34	1,406	724	2,049	1,200	4	2	17	9	2	1	14	9	
35 - 39	1,452	753	1,738	1,008	3	1	17	9	0	0	6	4	
40 - 44	1,488	712	1,432	823	4	2	12	4	0	0	7	6	
45 - 49	1,192	614	1,095	614	1	1	2	2	0	0	13	6	
50 - 54	1,150	581	1,016	604	3	2	12	3	0	0	7	2	
55 - 59	1,082	587	899	562	0	0	2	2	0	0	5	3	
60 - 61	438	232	361	224	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	
62 - 64	710	394	594	371	2	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	
65 - 69	1,148	687	856	544	2	1	2	2	0	0	3	2	
70 - 74	915	516	491	422	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	
75 - 79	688	446	728	485	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	4	
80 - 84	406	275	444	294	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
85+	339	246	389	287	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	

P12. PERSONS BY AGE, RACE AND SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)												P13. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: HISPAN. PERSONS)	
SCHOOL AGE:	WHITE		BLACK		AM IND, ESK, ALEU TOTAL	ASIAN / PAC ISL TOTAL	FEMALE	OTHER RACE		TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE				TOTAL	FEMALE				
5 - 11	1,876	927	4,097	2,044	2	2	16	4	2	1	17	9	
12 - 14	748	370	1,836	886	2	0	7	6	0	0	5	3	
15 - 17	805	401	1,837	951	2	0	3	1	2	2	13	9	
WORKING AND VOTING AGE:													
16+	15,976	8,541	18,667	10,939	33	17	93	48	10	7	98	57	
16 - 64	12,480	6,351	15,559	8,907	26	13	91	47	10	7	87	47	
18+	15,449	8,282	17,445	10,288	32	17	91	47	8	5	89	52	
18 - 64	11,953	6,092	14,337	8,256	25	13	89	46	8	5	78	42	
OTHER AGE GROUP:													
0 - 4	1,243	631	2,610	1,320	3	3	12	5	2	0	7	5	
5 - 17	3,429	1,698	7,770	3,881	6	2	26	11	4	3	35	21	
18 - 44	7,381	3,682	10,372	5,881	19	9	70	36	7	4	56	34	
45 - 64	4,572	2,410	3,965	2,375	6	4	19	10	1	1	19	8	
62+	4,206	2,584	3,702	2,403	9	5	4	3	0	0	14	12	
65+	3,496	2,190	3,108	2,032	7	4	2	1	0	0	11	10	

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 1 - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

AREA NAME: Dallas County STATE: 01 AL MA: COUNTY: 01047 MCD/CCD: PLACE: TRACT/BNA: BG: County: Dallas SUMMARY LEVEL: ()

P1. PERSONS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)		PCT	P6/B/10. RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)						
TOTAL	48,130	100.0X	TOTAL PERSONS	PCT	NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT	HISPANIC ORIGIN	PCT	
PERSONS BY URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE ARE NOT AVAILABLE IN STF1A			TOTAL	48,130	100.0X	47,999	100.0X	131	100.0X
			WHITE	20,121	41.8	20,054	41.8	67	51.1
			BLACK	27,825	57.8	27,768	57.9	57	43.5
			AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO OR ALEUT	41	0.1	41	0.1	0	0.0
			ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISL.	129	0.3	129	0.3	0	0.0
			OTHER RACE	14	0.0	7	0.0	7	5.3
P5. SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)		PCT	P9. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)			P11/12. PERSONS BY SEX BY AGE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)			
TOTAL	48,130	100.0X	TOTAL	48,130	100.0X	AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
MALE	21,937	45.6	NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN	47,999	99.7	TOTAL	48,130	21,937	26,193
FEMALE	26,193	54.4	HISPANIC ORIGIN	131	0.3	UNDER 1	657	331	326
			MEXICAN	60	0.1	1 - 2	1,666	803	863
			PUERTO RICAN	1	0.0	3 - 4	1,547	777	770
			CUBAN	9	0.0	5	824	387	437
			OTHER HISPANIC	41	0.1	6	868	424	444
						7 - 9	2,584	1,337	1,247
						10 - 11	1,717	867	850
						12 - 13	1,759	896	863
						14	834	435	399
						15	895	453	442
						16	854	410	444
						17	900	431	469
						18	884	465	419
						19	855	431	424
						20	692	333	359
						21	587	291	296
						22 - 24	1,818	813	1,005
						25 - 29	3,389	1,528	1,861
						30 - 34	3,478	1,542	1,936
						35 - 39	3,210	1,439	1,771
						40 - 44	2,936	1,395	1,541
						45 - 49	2,291	1,057	1,234
						50 - 54	2,181	991	1,190
						55 - 59	1,983	832	1,151
						60 - 61	800	343	457
						62 - 64	1,308	540	768
						65 - 69	2,008	775	1,233
						70 - 74	1,609	670	939
						75 - 79	1,418	485	933
						80 - 84	850	281	569
						85+	728	175	553
						MEDIAN	31.1	28.6	33.0

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

AREA NAME Selma city	STATE 01 AL	MA:	COUNTY:	MCD/CCD:	PLACE: 1555	TRACT/GNA:	BG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 100											
P16. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)				P24/25 HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE/TYPE BY AGE OF MEMBERS (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)															
1 PERSON:				TOTAL		PCT HOUSEHOLD		1 PERSON		2-OR-MORE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS:									
MALE HOUSEHOLDER				2,561				FAMILY		NON-FAMILY									
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER				861				1,904		45									
2 OR MORE PERSONS:				1,700				4,111		112									
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				6,170				1,370		36									
MARRIED COUPLE FAMILY:								1,191		119									
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				1,734				4,586											
NO RELATED CHILDREN				1,815															
OTHER FAMILY:																			
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT:																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				132															
NO RELATED CHILDREN				138															
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				1,573															
NO RELATED CHILDREN				623															
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				155															
MALE HOUSEHOLDER				83															
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER				72															
P27. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)				TOTAL		PCT		FAMILY		NONFAMILY									
1 PERSON				2,561		29.3X		N.A.		2,561									
2 PERSONS				2,410		27.6		2,263		127									
3 PERSONS				1,466		16.8		1,446		20									
4 PERSONS				1,205		13.8		1,199		6									
5 PERSONS				376		6.6		376		0									
6 PERSONS				268		3.1		266		2									
7+ PERSONS				245		2.8		245		0									
TOTAL				8,731		100.0X		6,015		2,716									
P19/20. RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)				TOTAL		PCT		WHITE		BLACK		AMERICAN IND, ESKIMO ALEUT		ASIAN OR PAC. ISL.		OTHER RACE		HISPANIC ORIGIN	
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				6,015		100X		2,768		3,215		6		25		1		15	
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY:																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				1,734		28.8		970		744		3		16		1		6	
NO RELATED CHILDREN				1,815		30.2		1,313		494		2		6		0		4	
OTHER FAMILY:																			
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				132		2.2		26		105		0		1		0		0	
NO RELATED CHILDREN				138		2.3		45		92		0		1		0		3	
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT:																			
WITH RELATED CHILDREN				1,573		26.2		240		1,332		1		0		0		1	
NO RELATED CHILDREN				623		10.4		174		448		0		1		0		1	
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				2,716		100X		1,349		1,360		4		3		0		9	
HOUSEHOLDER LIVING ALONE				2,561		94.3		1,293		1,263		2		3		0		9	
HOUSEHOLDER NOT LIVING ALONE				155		5.7		56		97		2		0		0		0	
P18. AGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)				TOTAL		PCT		WITH PERSONS UNDER 18		WITHOUT PERSONS: UNDER 18		P26. HOUSEHOLD TYPE (UNIVERSE: HOUSEHOLDS)							
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				6,015		100.0X		3,451		2,564		HOUSEHOLDS WITH 1 OR MORE NONRELATIVES		383					
MARRIED-COUPLE FAMILY				3,549		59.0		1,737		1,812		HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO NON- RELATIVES		8,348					
OTHER FAMILY:																			
MALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO WIFE PRESENT				270		4.5		135		135									
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER, NO HUSBAND PRESENT				2,196		36.5		1,579		617									
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS:				2,716		100.0X		17		2,699									
MALE HOUSEHOLDER				944		34.8		13		931									
FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER				1,772		65.2		4		1,748									

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for
Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 3 - HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

AREA NAME: Selma CITY		STATE: AL	COUNTY:	HCB/CCD:	PLACE: 1555	TRACT/EAA:	GG:	SUMMARY LEVEL: 10:							
P12/3/15/17/17: PERSONS, HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES				P14. SEX BY MARITAL STATUS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 15 YEARS AND OVER)											
TOTAL PERSONS	23,755	TOTAL		TOTAL	17,814	100.0%	MALE	7,496	100.0%	FEMALE	10,318	PCT	100.0%		
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS	23,038	NEVER MARRIED			5,507	30.9		2,571	34.3		2,936		28.5		
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	8,731	NOW MARRIED													
PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD	2.64	EXCEPT SEPARATED			7,550	42.4		3,782	50.5		3,768		36.5		
PERSONS IN FAMILIES	19,839	SEPARATED			760	4.3		240	3.2		520		5.0		
TOTAL FAMILIES	6,015	WIDOWED			2,378	13.3		339	4.5		2,039		19.8		
PERSONS PER FAMILY	3.90	DIVORCED			1,619	9.1		564	7.5		1,055		10.2		
P15. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)				P23. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS 65+)				P21. HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)							
TOTAL	23,755	PCT	100.0%	TOTAL	3,775	PCT	100.0%	TOTAL	7,190	PCT	100.0%				
IN HOUSEHOLDS	23,038		97.0	IN HOUSEHOLDS	3,526		93.4	IN HOUSEHOLDS	7,097		98.7				
IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	20,127		84.7	IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	2,107		55.8	HOUSEHOLDER/SPOUSE	5		0.1				
HOUSEHOLDER	6,015			HOUSEHOLDER	1,167										
SPOUSE	3,549			SPOUSE	594										
CHILD				OTHER RELATIVES	326			OWN CHILD:	5,858		81.5				
NATURAL-BORN/ADOPT.	7,825			NONRELATIVES	20			IN MARRIED FAM.	3,061						
STEP	330			IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	1,419		37.6	IN OTHER FAMILY:	2,797						
GRANDCHILD	1,113			MALE HOUSEHOLDER:	284			MALE HOUSEHOLDER,							
OTHER RELATIVES	1,007			LIVING ALONE	273			NO WIFE PRESENT	166						
NONRELATIVES	288			NOT LIVING ALONE	11			FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER,							
IN NONFAM. HOUSEHOLDS:	2,911		12.3	FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER:	1,118			NO HUS. PRESENT	2,631		16.0				
HOUSEHOLDER LIV. ALONE	2,561			LIVING ALONE	1,097			OTHER RELATIVES	1,151		16.0				
HOUSEHOLDER NOT ALONE	155			NOT LIVING ALONE	21			NONRELATIVES	83		1.2				
NONRELATIVES	195			NONRELATIVES	17										
IN GROUP QUARTERS:	717		3.0	IN GROUP QUARTERS:	249		6.6	IN GROUP QUARTERS:	93		1.3				
INSTITUTION. PERSONS	351		1.5	INSTITUTION. PERS.	246		6.5	INSTITUTION. PERS.	69		1.0				
OTHER PERS. IN GROUP QUARTERS	366		1.5	OTHER PERS. IN GROUP QUARTERS	3		0.1	OTHER PERS. IN GROUP QUARTERS	24		0.3				
COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY	.		.	COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF ANY	.		.	COUNT ADJUSTMENT-IF	.		.				
P22. RELATIONSHIP AND AGE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS UNDER 18)				-----IN HOUSEHOLDS-----					-----IN GROUP QUARTERS-----						
UNDER 18	7,185	IN HOUSEHOLDS	7,092	OWN CHILD	5,858	OTN. RELATIVE	1,151	NONRELATIVES	83	IN GROUP QUARTERS	93	INSTITUTION	69	OTHER	24
UNDER 3 YEARS	1,100		1,098		835		248		15		2				2
3 AND 4 YEARS	730		729		567		152		10		1				1
5 YEARS	370		369		310		57		2		1				1
6 TO 11 YEARS	2,476		2,462		2,071		368		23		14		10		4
12 TO 13 YEARS	854		845		719		117		9		9		8		1
14 YEARS	411		397		350		42		5		14		12		2
15 TO 17 YEARS	1,244		1,192		1,006		167		19		52		39		13
HOUSEHOLDER OR SPOUSE	5														
COUNT ADJUSTMENT															
% UNDER 3 YEARS	15.3%		15.5%		14.3%		21.5%		18.1%		2.2%		0.0%		8.3%
% 3 AND 4 YEARS	10.2		10.3		9.7		13.2		12.0		1.1		0.0		4.2
% 5 YEARS	5.1		5.2		5.3		5.0		2.4		1.1		0.0		4.2
% 6 TO 11 YEARS	34.5		34.7		35.4		32.0		27.7		15.1		14.5		16.7
% 12 TO 13 YEARS	11.9		11.9		12.3		10.2		10.8		9.7		11.6		4.2
% 14 YEARS	5.7		5.6		6.0		3.6		6.0		15.1		17.4		8.3
% 15 TO 17 YEARS	17.3		16.8		17.2		14.5		22.9		55.9		56.5		54.2

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 1 - PERSONS BY AGE, RACE, SEX AND HISPANIC ORIGIN

AREA NAME: Seale City
 STATE: AL COUNTY: MA

COUNTY

MCD/COO.

PLACE: ISS

TRACT/DNA:

66.

SUMMARY LEVEL 100

P12. PERSONS BY AGE, RACE AND SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)

AGE	WHITE		BLACK		AM IND, ESK, ALEU		ASIAN / PAC ISL		OTHER RACE	
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
TOTAL	9,739	5,383	3,882	7,863	22	14	102	49	10	6
UNDER 1	87	46	250	120	2	2	1	1	0	0
1 - 2	260	123	496	266	0	0	3	2	0	0
3 - 4	226	118	498	237	0	0	6	2	1	0
5	130	72	237	124	0	0	3	0	0	0
6	131	65	276	144	1	1	2	1	0	0
7 - 9	376	199	886	425	0	0	5	2	0	0
10 - 11	240	115	554	277	1	1	3	0	0	0
12 - 13	235	135	616	308	0	0	3	0	0	0
14	124	62	285	144	0	0	2	2	0	0
15	132	69	283	143	0	0	1	0	0	0
16	110	58	290	147	0	0	1	0	1	1
17	132	60	297	167	0	0	1	0	1	1
18	145	64	288	158	1	1	4	1	1	1
19	119	59	314	166	0	0	4	0	1	1
20	105	53	244	136	2	2	2	3	1	1
21	89	52	195	92	0	0	0	0	2	1
22 - 24	268	133	586	350	1	1	0	0	0	0
25 - 29	626	327	930	542	2	2	3	3	0	0
30 - 34	624	340	1,002	591	1	1	13	7	1	0
35 - 39	664	339	876	512	1	1	14	7	0	0
40 - 44	707	345	746	421	2	1	10	4	0	0
45 - 49	532	276	544	312	0	0	1	1	1	1
50 - 54	518	276	502	305	1	1	11	3	0	0
55 - 59	504	289	488	309	0	0	2	2	0	0
60 - 61	220	120	192	122	0	0	1	1	0	0
62 - 64	353	207	322	215	1	1	1	1	0	0
65 - 69	623	391	459	298	2	1	2	1	0	0
70 - 74	500	294	374	237	3	1	0	0	0	0
75 - 79	415	285	392	272	1	1	0	0	0	0
80 - 84	283	198	234	155	0	0	0	0	0	0
85+	261	211	226	168	0	0	0	0	0	0

P13. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: HISPAN. PERSONS)

	TOTAL	FEMALE
TOTAL	68	36
UNDER 1	1	1
1 - 2	0	0
3 - 4	0	0
5	0	0
6	0	0
7 - 9	2	2
10 - 11	0	0
12 - 13	2	2
14	1	1
15	1	1
16	1	1
17	1	1
18	1	1
19	5	5
20	2	2
21	0	0
22 - 24	0	0
25 - 29	2	1
30 - 34	6	3
35 - 39	4	2
40 - 44	3	3
45 - 49	8	2
50 - 54	6	2
55 - 59	1	0
60 - 61	2	1
62 - 64	0	0
65 - 69	3	2
70 - 74	1	1
75 - 79	3	2
80 - 84	1	1
85+	0	0

P12. PERSONS BY AGE, RACE AND SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS)

SCHOOL AGE:	WHITE		BLACK		AM IND, ESK, ALEU		ASIAN / PAC ISL		OTHER RACE	
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE
5 - 11	877	451	1,953	970	2	2	13	3	1	1
12 - 14	359	197	901	452	0	0	5	4	0	0
15 - 17	374	187	876	457	0	0	3	1	2	2
WORKING AND VOTING AGE:										
16+	7,798	4,379	9,501	5,675	18	10	73	37	8	5
16 - 64	5,716	3,000	7,816	4,545	12	7	71	36	8	5
18+	7,556	4,261	8,914	5,361	18	10	71	36	6	3
18 - 64	5,474	2,882	7,229	4,231	12	7	69	35	6	3
OTHER AGE GROUP:										
0 - 4	573	267	1,244	623	2	2	10	5	1	0
5 - 17	1,610	835	3,724	1,879	2	2	21	8	3	3
18 - 44	3,347	1,714	5,181	2,968	10	5	53	27	5	2
45 - 64	2,127	1,168	2,048	1,263	2	2	16	8	1	1
62+	4,435	1,586	2,007	1,345	7	4	3	2	0	0
65+	2,082	1,379	1,635	1,130	6	3	2	1	0	0

P13. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: HISPAN. PERSONS)

	TOTAL	FEMALE
5 - 11	7	4
12 - 14	3	2
15 - 17	5	3
16+	55	28
16 - 64	49	23
18+	51	26
18 - 64	45	21
0 - 4	2	1
5 - 17	15	9
18 - 44	33	16
45 - 64	12	5
62+	9	7
65+	6	5

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING - SUMMARY TAPE FILE 1A
 PROFILE 1 - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

AREA NAME, STATE, COUNTY, MED/CCD, PLACE, TRACT, BG	SUMMARY LEVEL 1990	
P1. PERSONS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) TOTAL 23,755 100.0%	P6/B/10. RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) TOTAL 23,755 100.0% WHITE 9,739 41.0% BLACK 13,882 58.4% AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO OR ALEUT 22 0.1% ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISL. 102 0.4% OTHER RACE 10 0.0%	
P5. SEX (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) TOTAL 23,755 100.0% MALE 10,440 43.9% FEMALE 13,315 56.1%	P9. HISPANIC ORIGIN (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) TOTAL 23,755 100.0% NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN 23,687 99.7% HISPANIC ORIGIN 68 0.3% MEXICAN 28 0.1% PUERTO RICAN 1 0.0% CUBAN 6 0.0% OTHER HISPANIC 33 0.1%	
P7. RACE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) TOTAL 23,755 100.0% WHITE 9,739 41.0% BLACK 13,882 58.4% AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT 22 0.1% AMERICAN INDIAN 22 0.1% ESKIMO 0 0.0% ALEUT 0 0.0% ASIAN OR PAC. ISL. 102 0.4% ASIAN: 8 0.0% CHINESE 0 0.0% FILIPINO 0 0.0% JAPANESE 9 0.0% ASIAN INDIAN 47 0.2% KOREAN 7 0.0% VIETNAMESE 0 0.0% CAMBODIAN 22 0.1% HONGKONG 0 0.0% LAOTIAN 1 0.0% THAI 1 0.0% OTHER ASIAN 9 0.0% PACIFIC ISLANDER: 0 0.0% POLYNESIAN: 0 0.0% HAWAIIAN 0 0.0% SAMOAN 0 0.0% TONGAN 0 0.0% OTHER POLYNESIAN 0 0.0% MICRONESIAN: 3 0.0% GUAMANIAN 0 0.0% OTHER MICRONESIAN 3 0.0% MELANESIAN 0 0.0% PAC. ISL., OTHER 0 0.0% OTHER RACE 10 0.0%	P11/12. PERSONS BY SEX BY AGE (UNIVERSE: PERSONS) AGE TOTAL MALE FEMALE UNDER 1 340 171 169 1 - 2 760 369 391 3 - 4 730 373 357 5 370 174 196 6 410 199 211 7 - 9 1,268 641 627 10 - 11 798 405 393 12 - 13 854 409 445 14 411 203 208 15 416 204 212 16 402 196 206 17 431 202 229 18 439 214 225 19 436 209 229 20 355 165 190 21 284 140 144 22 - 24 858 372 486 25 - 29 1,561 687 874 30 - 34 1,641 703 938 35 - 39 1,555 696 859 40 - 44 1,465 694 771 45 - 49 1,076 488 588 50 - 54 1,032 447 585 55 - 59 994 394 600 60 - 64 413 170 243 65 - 69 677 253 424 70 - 74 1,086 395 691 75 - 79 677 345 332 80 - 84 808 250 558 85+ 517 164 353 MEDIAN 32.3 29.2 34.6	
P8. GROUP QUARTERS (UNIVERSE: PERSONS IN GROUP QUARTERS) TOTAL IN GROUP QUARTERS 717 100.0% PERSONS IN INSTITUTIONS: 351 49.0% CORRECTIONAL INSTS. 4 0.6% NURSING HOMES 268 37.4% MENTAL (PSYCHIATRIC) HOSPITALS 0 0.0% JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS 79 11.0% OTHER INSTITUTIONS 0 0.0% OTHER PERSONS IN GROUP QUARTERS: 366 51.0% COLLEGE DOMINIUMS 278 38.8% MILITARY QUARTERS 0 0.0% EMERGENCY SHELTERS FOR HOMELESS 28 3.9% VISIBLE IN STREET LOCALS 0 0.0% OTHER NONINSTITUTIONAL GROUP QUARTERS 60 8.4%		

Information supplied by the University of Alabama, Center for Business and Economic Research, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on file at CRO.

Appendix C

the Peoples Bank and Trust Company

P O Box 799
Selma, Alabama 36702-0799
(205) 875-1000

August 7, 1991

people make the difference

Mr. Melvin L. Jenkins
Director
Central Regional Division
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Old Federal Office Building
911 Walnut Street, Rm. 3103
Kansas City, Missouri 64106



Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me 13 pages of the Alabama Advisory Committee's draft report on Race Relations in Selma, Alabama. These are pages in which I was quoted or in which you thought I would have special interest - and indeed I did, and welcomed the opportunity to review them before publication.

I have no corrections on the pages sent to me and only one comment. It relates to pages 114-118. I believe that the matter of race as an impediment to obtaining financing for a new business enterprise is overemphasized. The problems of starting a new business are not ones of race, but a lack of one or more of several essential ingredients. These can be summarized under four or five main headings.

1. Knowledge and experience in several areas of business management are essential. It is not enough to be a good salesman, a good technician, a good supervisor and personnel manager, an advertiser, a good controller of inventory, or a good financial manager. Success in a new, small enterprise requires some knowledge and experience in all of these areas.
2. A good track record in handling the prospective entrepreneur's own personal finances or finances of another business - including good credit reports - is very important.
3. A financial institution looks for personal characteristics of industriousness, reliability, integrity, among personal traits.
4. Some capital to invest in the new enterprise also is very essential. The relative amount needed will depend upon all the factors listed here and the relative riskiness of the type of enterprise that an individual wants to start.
5. Experience in financial management is listed separately because of its importance. It is involved in several of the aspects mentioned above, but is reviewed here for emphasis. The owner/manager has to plan the operation, keep it to a scale commensurate with the resources available, maintain accurate records, and use the records

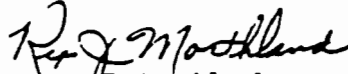
Mr. Melvin L. Jenkins
Page 2
August 7, 1991

as a tool of management and not merely as a historical record for paying income taxes and filing other business reports. This experience seems to be missing in a number of new, small business ventures.

The above brief list and discussion is not based on textbooks. It is a list compiled by jotting down problems encountered in more than 35 years in trying to finance the operation of newly established enterprises of all types. The problems were not those of race, but of the absence of one or more - and frequently more - of the above attributes.

Thank you again for your efforts in trying to help us in Selma. I have been impressed by the interested, impartial, and patient way in which your activities have been conducted.

Sincerely,


Rex J. Morthland
Chairman Emeritus

RJM:jp