

## 7. A New Morality

By URIE BRONFENBRENNER

**P**ROBABLY in no sphere of human behavior has there been a greater change over the past quarter century than in the area of sexual conduct of young people in the United States and in other countries, too. Yet, for the most part, this phenomenon has not been examined systematically nor have its causes and consequences been seriously considered in the light of available scientific knowledge and methodology. What little work has been done has focused almost exclusively on the physical aspects of sex, without considering their psychological and social significance both for the young person himself and for the society of which he is a part.

That we are dealing here with no superficial phenomenon is attested by the fact that the change is perceptible in the biological as well as in the behavioral sphere. Thus there is evidence to indicate that females in American society

are menstruating as much as a year earlier than they did twenty-five years ago. Such changes, coupled with the daily increasing availability and simplicity of contraceptive devices, add further impetus to changing patterns of sexual behavior.

We are already aware of the public health impact of such changes in the rapid rise in venereal disease statistics over the past few years, but the psychological and social impact remains unexamined. Also, these same considerations apply certainly with equal force in the area of family planning, where it is important not only to conduct investigations on the medical and biological aspects of this phenomenon, but also its social and moral concomitants.

In order to deal with these and other problems of the family, we need much better knowledge of their nature, extent, and, above all, of the basic processes which underlie them. It is the responsibility of the National Institute



of Child Health and Human Development, delegated by Congress, to foster the acquisition of such knowledge. Although some progress has been made, it is of the most modest sort and falls far short of the national need.

In the sphere of extramural research—that which takes place outside the government, with official support—the level of funds and professional staff available to the institute have permitted the establishment of new research centers in only two problem areas: aging and mental retardation. Important as these areas are, they do not begin to encompass problems of the type which I have outlined. But the most serious limitation from which the institute suffers, the one principally responsible for its inability to make a major impact, is lack of sufficient manpower in the senior professional grades. Available positions are too few and not competitive at the levels at which the talent is needed. The problems our nation faces in this area are serious enough, in my judgment, to command the attention of the most competent biological and behavioral scientists in the country.

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## WHAT LIES BEYOND VIETNAM?

## 8. The Executive Negro

By IVAR OXAAL

**M**ANY PEOPLE believe that noteworthy progress has been made with regard to expanded job opportunities for American Negroes. Used as evidence to support this belief are reports from the Civil Service Commission, Plans for Progress firms, state government agencies, etc. It takes only a cursory look at the reports to substantiate the belief. But while it may be true that the overall job situation reflects an upward trend, it is not true that equal progress has been made at all levels of employment and manpower utilization. Still to be tackled is the job of major expansion at the top executive or management levels of employment. This is true in government, business, industry, education, or social service, except in those instances where the services or programs have been organized or run by Negroes.

It is clear that as the United States haltingly moves in the direction of a full implementation of the achievement-oriented, open-class model of social stratification, the number of Negro executives in the predominantly white business world will increase. It cannot be assumed, however, that the rate of Negro mobility into these occupational spheres will be an automatic result of rising educational and skill levels attained by Negro Americans. In the business world, as on the boundaries of the ghetto, there are barriers of tradition, culture, and (perhaps of equal importance) social and psychological inhibitions on the part of potentially mobile Negroes themselves. To come to grips with this problem in an experiment in directed social change, the following questions appear to be the basic ones:

► What is the present status of Negro workers at the management and

executive levels of employment in business and industry?

► What avenues were followed, what steps have been taken, and what experiences have those Negroes who have been successful had on their way to the present level of achievement?

► What can be done to stimulate greater progress in this area of employment, and, at the same time, provide a reservoir of information, techniques, and experiences that might be used by other employers as they seek ways to bring more Negroes into the work force at this level?

**W**ITH regard to the first two questions, it is tentatively proposed that forty or fifty Negroes be identified, in the thirty-five to fifty-year age group, who hold top management and executive jobs at present. After identification, we would interview these employees and representatives of their employers to study whatever situations and experiences contributed to their present success. Factors to be probed would include education, previous work experience, variety of jobs held with the present company, some information relating to personal and social experiences within and outside the company, an analysis of the paths followed by other workers



who have achieved the same result, and a study of specific duties and responsibilities to determine whether or not the worker is in a position in which he deals with a specific operation related to Negroes, e.g., the "Negro" market or Negro personnel. Some attention would also be given to further opportunities for the Negro executive's progress within his present company or other industry or business concerns and government.

In this ground-breaking stage of research on the Negro executive, the aim will be to produce a collective portrait of these leading executive pioneers in the white business world. The portrait would be readily recognizable to laymen—including Negro college students, educators, businessmen, and government officials.

A census and questionnaire survey of Negro executives in, say, the top 500 U.S. corporations would be attempted in order to broaden the scope of the study and to provide comparative data

for the smaller, intensively studied group. Also, comparisons between comparable Negro and white executives might be assayed. This is clearly desirable because an investigation of Negro executives alone may lead to confounding the strains of executive life *sui generis* with the unique problems of the Negro executive.

It is hoped that the pilot phase of a project about to be undertaken jointly by the Russell Sage Foundation and the National Urban League, Inc., will lead to the formulation of an explicit policy-influencing program. If this pioneering experiment can be followed up by larger ones, then a significant breakthrough in the redefinition of the role and prospects of the Negro in American business and society will have been achieved.

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can an outbreak such as Watts be suppressed without resorting to the very force which may lead to intensification of the conflict?

The use of more sophisticated chemical incapacitators than tear gas may provide part of the answer. Tear gas is the standard riot-control weapon in most major police departments. A very small number of departments also maintain stocks of the so-called "super tear gas" and nausea gas. However, there is only one instance of the use of either of the latter two agents. "Super tear gas" was used to disperse a mob at Oxford, Mississippi, when tear gas proved completely ineffective.

We have not been able to identify any major study of the implications of the use of incapacitating agents by law enforcement agencies in the United States. A study of this type represents a definite need for decision-makers who must consider the use of these weapons. Serious studies of the operational and psychopolitical consequences and implications of incapacitant use have been confined primarily to the context of military operations; little attention has been devoted to police use except in counterinsurgency operations. The primary goal of any study, then, would be to determine the technical, operational, and political feasibility of the use of incapacitants in certain law enforcement operations, as an alternative to the more lethal weaponry currently in use. The study would assess the following critical elements:

- 1) The status of nonlethal chemical weapons, probable developments in the field, and the characteristics of agents appearing to offer the greatest potential for use in law enforcement.

- 2) The police utility of nonlethal chemical weapons in riot control operations and concepts for their exploitation.

- 3) The political, sociological, and psychopolitical implications of use of incapacitating weapons based on attitudinal studies of leadership elements in selected communities, together with an indication of probable public opinion.

The three authors of the above paper are members of the scientific staff of the Travelers Research Center, Inc., Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Fennessy is a research associate in the operations research division, Mr. Russo a research scientist in the mathematical statistics division; Dr. Ellis is deputy director of the mathematical sciences department. As their report indicates, the administration of justice in America involves shamelessly little application of scientific discoveries. Much remains to be done not only in lessening violent police methods but in making the punishment fit the crime, and in choosing parole candidates likely to go straight when they are freed from prison.

## WHAT LIES BEYOND VIETNAM?

# 9. Humane Policing



By E. F. FENNESSY, JR.,  
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A MAJOR police function is the control of large-scale domestic disorder. In recent years these disturbances have increased in scope and intensity. They have been confined primarily to heavily urbanized areas. Since 1960, the police have been called upon to quell major riots in the following cities: Los Angeles (Watts), New York City (Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant), Rochester, Cleveland (Hough), Chicago, San Francisco, Birmingham, Selma, Jackson, and Oxford. In all of these outbreaks, the police (and, in most cases, the National Guard) had to resort to firearms to control the disorder.

In the general course of a civil disorder the police use violence in an ascending scale in order to control the situation and restore order. The first stage generally consists of the implied use of force; i.e., loudspeakers will be used to threaten a mob and order it to disperse. If this has no effect, the next stage may be the use of trained riot-control squads armed with clubs, batons, yawara sticks, etc., against the mob. It

is during this phase that tear gas grenades or dispersers will be used against the mob. If these tactics are unsuccessful, and the danger to law enforcement personnel becomes extreme, the police will use conventional weapons against particularly dangerous members of the mob.

In the Watts riot, these tactics proved virtually useless because the character of urban mass violence had undergone a change. The rioters in Watts did not gather in a central location, small groups (ranging from two to four individuals up to 2,000 to 3,000 individuals) were dispersed over a wide area. Chief William Henry Parker 3rd of the Los Angeles Police Department summed up his frustrations when he said, "This is not a riot, it's guerrilla warfare!"

NUMEROUS studies of these riots have shown that the precipitating factor in most cases has been overly harsh police response to illegal activity. The Harlem riot, for example, began when an off-duty policeman was forced to shoot a sixteen-year-old Negro youth. The basic police problem, then, is how to control violence without resorting to the use of conventional weapons with their attendant lethality. How, for example,