

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA

Introduction

The possibility of future population growth of a community is largely dependent on its economic development in relation to other communities. To an increasing degree population growth of a community will be at the expense of other communities. This is because of a long-range falling rate of population increase in the United States. Between 1900 and 1910 the population of this country was increasing by 1.93 per cent per year. The corresponding figure for the 1930's was only .70 per cent. The Bureau of the Census estimates that on the basis of present trends in birth and death rates the rate of population increase will continue to decrease during the next few decades, possibly disappearing as early as 1975.¹ This means that the sources of any future population increase in a given area will be limited largely to a surplus population on farms and a migration from other communities. The great expansion of urban population in America came when immigration was high and the native population had an excess of births over deaths. In short, the outlook for population growth indicates greater competition for people among communities in the future. Such competition will be largely in terms of economic opportunities and the manner in which the people evaluate these opportunities. For this reason, the introductory part of this study is devoted to a survey of the economic conditions relevant to future population trends.

In studies such as this, it should be kept in mind that predictions of future economic activity are based on certain assumptions, and although these assumptions seem logical at the time they are made, future developments may make them untenable. For example, the assumption is made that a high level of employment will continue, possibly not at the peak levels reached in 1947 and 1948, but at levels substantially above the average level of the 1930's. If such a level is not maintained the estimates included in this survey should be altered substantially. A further example is the assumption that present federal policies of expanding hydro-electric power and irrigation projects as rapidly as feasible will continue uninterrupted. Obviously, the recurrence of a war economy would upset these plans. No assumptions can be made on the bases of the development of inventions and scientific progress as such developments cannot be predicted. Consequently, estimates are based upon our present inventory of scientific achievement and industrial methods.

¹ Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Chief Economic Factors

The economic potential of Pasco and Kennewick rests on the trends of development of the Pacific Northwest and on factors which set Pasco and Kennewick apart from most communities in the region. Chief among these are: the proximity to large blocs of land to be irrigated, proximity to the expanding community of Richland, the presence of excellent railroad connections, and the favorable location in regard to the developing inland waterway of the Columbia River. All of these except the railroads are in the process of significant changes; consequently, the estimates of the future must rest on assumptions as to the pattern of development of each.

Development Trends of the Pacific Northwest

This subject has been treated comprehensively elsewhere by Maurice Lee¹ and by Margaret Schleaf.² Several points important for understanding the Pasco-Kennewick area will be indicated here. Economic activity in the Pacific Northwest has been related largely to the extractive industries such as mining, agriculture, and lumber. It has been a surplus area for this type of product and a deficit area for most finished goods other than lumber and food. Manufacturing in the Inland Empire has been concentrated in the fields of processing raw materials located in the area. In 1939 employment in logging, sawmills, and planing mills, furniture and miscellaneous wood products, non-ferrous metals, meat packing, fruit and vegetable processing, and flour and other grain mill products was higher relative to total employment than in the country as a whole. All of these industries concentrate in the region because of raw materials. Only one industry classification -- printing and publishing -- was concentrated in the Inland Empire which was not dependent on the location of raw materials.³

The low volume of employment in industries which are not dependent on the natural resources of the immediate area is due to many economic factors -- the two most important being the small population and the structure of freight rates. Population has not been sufficient to provide the size of market required for efficient manufacturing. Unit costs of many manufactured products are lowered by large-scale production. Without a large market available a new manufacturer is likely to have higher costs and is consequently at a competitive disadvantage. Many of the important materials such as steel and textiles used in basic manufacturing must be

¹ Appraisal of Pacific Northwest: Harvard Business Review, May 1948.

² Manufacturing Trends in the Inland Empire: Economic and Business Studies; Bulletin No. 4, December 1947 -- The State College of Washington.

³ Ibid., 7, 78.

shipped into the region; hence, the local manufacturer has no cost advantage based on location to offset the factor of size. Furthermore, many consumer and industrial products are priced on a delivered or zone basis. At the more distant points such a price may not reflect the full cost of transportation from the point of manufacture. The local plant, therefore, may have to pay full freight costs on materials and compete with prices on furnished goods which do not reflect the full freight costs on finished goods shipped into the area.¹

One method of increasing the volume would be to ship into eastern markets. The difficulty here is that the freight rates structure encourages the shipment of manufactured goods from east to west and raw materials and agricultural products from west to east. The western manufacturer is at a disadvantage in relation to freight rates of his competitors in the more densely populated areas of the East. Not only are the rates higher for eastward shipment, but selling in eastern markets includes a backhaul -- westward movement of materials and back movement of finished goods.

In view of these two important facts future industrial development of the Pacific Northwest and of the Inland Empire in particular will probably be gradual. As population expands and local markets become larger, industries of efficient size will come. One exception to this trend of development is the electro-process industries. The controlling factor in the location of these industries today is the availability of large blocks of power. Although the Pacific Northwest may not be the most efficient location in terms of its nearness to either the markets or the raw materials, future expansion of these industries will probably be greatest in this region. It is the only area that has a potential of power far in excess of present consumption. This, however, does not mean that fabricating industries based on the products of hydroelectric power industries will necessarily locate in the region. They may be located closer to the principal markets.

The Expansion of Irrigated Acreage in the Proximity of Pasco and Kennewick

Prior to World War II economic activity in Pasco and Kennewick was largely related to either agriculture or transportation. The development of the Columbia Basin and the enlargement of the Kennewick Division of the Yakima Project will materially improve this economic base -- increasing both the flow of agricultural products through the two cities and the market for merchandise. Before examining the possible influences of these developments a brief description of each is given.

¹ Lee, op. cit.

Columbia Basin

The entire Columbia Basin area -- that is the acreage which lies within the limits of irrigation -- is in excess of 1.5 million acres. This total includes a considerable amount of land which is not considered sufficiently productive to make irrigation economically sound. The better land, amounting to 1.2 million acreage, has been divided into three principal classifications, with numerous subclassifications, on the basis of soil fertility and topography. The acreage of these three classes for the several geographic subdivisions are clearly set forth in the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations.¹

The areas immediately to the north (Pasco slope) and to the east (Bur-bank Bench) of Pasco contain large amounts of land not considered for irrigation due to the extremely light soil texture.² The land which can be irrigated is largely in Classes 2 and 3 with very little land in the best class.

Although 1.2 million acres are considered irrigable, the actual number will be somewhat reduced under most favorable conditions. From this must be deducted acreage for additional roads, railroads, canals, non-farming housing, commercial enterprises, etc. Also, a considerable acreage on the east side of the Columbia River opposite Hanford will undoubtedly be retained for many years to come by the government for security and health reasons.³ These acreages must be eliminated from consideration for the next few years at least because of economic factors. During the last few years wheat has been very profitable in many sections of the dry farming area. Farms, which in the late 1930's were considered uneconomical for wheat have had a series of profitable years. The wheat prices during the past five years and the relatively high yields have not increased the desire to undertake the radical shift to irrigation farming.

It is not possible to predict how long this favorable condition for wheat farming will last. The future is dependent upon the behavior of wheat prices, yields in the area, and costs. All indications point today to a general wheat surplus. Our production has expanded almost 50 per cent over the 1930-39 average; and our domestic consumption has been, except for the war years, declining. Foreign wheat areas are now well on the way to recovering their prewar production levels. The foreign demand for United States wheat, especially that of the Pacific Northwest, is falling and will likely continue.

¹ See Types of Farming Problems, 2. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation.

² The soil is so light that water requirements would be greater than is considered economical. It should be pointed out, however, that the land classification was made several years ago. Current developments in sprinkler irrigation may require modification of this, especially under a prolonged period of high agricultural prices.

³ Recent statements indicate the possibility of turning some of this land back. This is now being considered by the Atomic Energy Commission.

These conditions in themselves would point to serious decline in wheat prices. So far the federal government has been supporting wheat prices at 90 per cent of parity. The Agricultural Act of 1948 made several important changes in this policy; however, the basic principles of government support to prices remain. If the wheat farmers of the nation choose an acreage allotment program, the support prices can be set as high as 90 per cent of the average prices for the past ten years, adjusted for changes in the prices paid by farmers. Such a program might seriously curtail acreage in the Basin if the base period used for allocating acreage was one of several years back.

It is clear that the relatively high yields during the past five years are due to both favorable weather conditions and improvements in cultivation practices. The improved equipment has made possible better timing of operations with resulting higher yields. This has offset, in part, higher wage rates and equipment costs. Consequently, it is difficult to say how low wheat prices would have to go to make it unprofitable in this area. It may not be the marginal area that it once was. It is frequently stated that the land will remain in wheat until prices drop drastically or there is one or more crop failures. The first does not appear likely during the next few years by reason of government policy toward support prices. This assumes that government policy can be made effective. The second may be offset in part by improved farm practices.

The Bureau of Reclamation has estimated that there would be 300,000 acres of irrigated land available by 1955 and 700,000 acres available by 1965. If all of the land now in wheat remains entirely out of irrigation this latter figure might drop considerably lower. The future of wheat lands is of particular importance to the Tri-City Area because some of it is within the potential market area and some effectively cuts off land in the southern end of the Basin from irrigation. As long as the area between Eltopia and Connel is in wheat, land in the southern parts of Franklin County may not be irrigated because the costs per acre of irrigated land would be too high. In short, under present conditions the area close to Pasco cannot be expected to develop into a rich irrigated agricultural area.

What types of agriculture will prove to be the most profitable in the Basin? The Joint Investigations made prior to the war point to a general type of farming with an emphasis on dairying and livestock. When the project is fully developed, milk and milk products are expected to be the largest factor in gross agricultural income -- nearly 30 per cent. Only in a few areas where both lands of high productivity and long growing seasons are found, is it likely that there will be intensive fruit and truck farming. A small area of this type is located from 12 to 24 miles to the northeast of Pasco. The rest of the irrigable land near Pasco is likely to be dairy and mixed livestock. With most of the land in Classes 2 and 3 these more extensive types of farming will be found more profitable. More emphasis on cash crops is likely in the vicinity of Eltopia.

The Bureau of Reclamation's policy is to provide as many farms as possible consistent with a suitable standard of living. The Secretary of Interior is directed by the Columbia Basin Project Act of 1939 to "segregate the lands in each irrigation block into farm units of sufficient acreage for the support of an average-sized family at a suitable living level, having in mind the character of soil, topography, location with respect to the irrigation system, and such other relevant factors as, in his judgment, enter into the determination of the area and boundaries thereof . . ."

In administering this Act, the Secretary of Interior must define "suitable living level." Several studies indicate that a new farm income between \$1,000 and \$1,249 provided a minimum acceptable living during pre-war years. This was increased by about 20 per cent for a target figure in determining the family size. The optimum sizes that are calculated to yield an average income of approximately \$1,400 (prewar level) for the several land classes are as follows:¹

TABLE 1

Land Classes, Optimum Size in Acres and Range in Acres,
As Set Forth By Columbia Joint Investigations.

Land Class	Optimum Size (Acres)	Range (Acres)
1	50	45 - 65
2T	55	50 - 70
2S	80	72.5 - 110
3T	90	80 - 120
3S	110	100 - 160

The typical farm in the Pasco vicinity -- when the area is opened up -- is likely to be close to 100 acres.

The rate of the development of the Basin area is of course dependent upon decisions of the U. S. Congress, and the immediate outlook is for rapid development. During the last few years food shortages and a desire to aid veterans wanting land have added incentive for development. In fact, the tendency today may be toward a rate of settlement too rapid to be either economical or sound in the long run. Settlement makes large demands upon the Reclamation Service in the way of construction work, laying out and allotting farms, giving aid to new settlers. A rapid rate does not allow the Bureau to have a fairly even and ordered use of personnel. Such rapid development reduces their ability to aid settlers in their primary adjustment problems.

¹ Joint Investigations: op. cit. Problem 6, p. 77.

Furthermore, and possibly of more importance for the communities in the area, a period of excessive prices during settlement is not conducive to the sound financial status of settlers. Many of the expenditures required during the first few years are for relatively permanent improvements. For the average settler these will be paid for out of future gross income. Today's high prices also make the initial investments quite high. Although current agricultural prices are high enough to compensate for these costs the outlook must include a strong possibility for lower prices and especially lower agricultural prices. Agricultural prices have increased over the 1936-39 level at least 50 per cent more than the prices of commodities purchased by farmers. Because of the characteristics of both the demand for food and agricultural production, prices for the latter tend to fluctuate much more widely than do industrial prices. If agricultural prices are likely to decline during the next decade, the settler with high investment costs will face extreme difficulty in meeting the original costs.

Such a development would depress net farm income and discourage expenditures in the communities. Merchants might be faced with large "accounts receivable" in a time when credit sources were not as good as usual. For this reason a conservative program of settlement might in the end be most beneficial to the communities.

The rate of development will vary for different sections of the project. The general rule appears to be that settlement in the areas where the cost to the government is the lowest per farm will be first. Settlement in the areas containing large blocks of non-irrigable land will be least rapid. On these principles it is clear that the area to the north of Pasco will be among the last sections to be opened up. The timetable for settlement is ever changing. It is thought likely that water out of the main irrigation channel will be available in the northern part of Franklin County within the next four or five years. The areas in the southern and eastern part of the county may be considerably later, perhaps not until 1965.

The influences of the development of the Columbia Basin on communities in the area will be quite different during the developmental period. During the next ten to twenty years or more the communities within and near the Basin will serve as important distribution points for supplies. During this period there will be a large amount of construction on farms and for community services.

Kennewick Division

Further development of the Kennewick Division of the Yakima Irrigation Project will add an estimated 1,100 to 1,500¹ people to the outlying

¹ The statistics used in these paragraphs are taken from the Bureau of Reclamation Project Planning Report No. 1-535-1 and Appendix Report--Yakima Project, Kennewick Division, Washington, July 1947.

market area of Kennewick and Pasco. The Bureau of Reclamation has indicated that the addition of 16,693 acres will represent 365 new farms. The average size of farm families in the Kennewick Highlands is 3.1. This average would mean an added population of a little over 1,100 people on 365 full-time farms. It is quite probable, however, that the number will be somewhat higher due to a considerable number of smaller farms, worked part time. In the area already irrigated, the average size is only 19.2 acres, as compared to 45 acres which the Bureau of Reclamation estimated for the new area in 1945-46. The average farm in the present area is not sufficient to maintain an adequate standard of living. Off-farm employment is essential.

If off-farm employment opportunities remain favorable, a considerable amount of part-time farming may be expected in the new area. The effect of part-time farming on the population can be seen if the average size of present farms is projected for the new area -- a population increase of at least 2,500. The opportunities for off-farm work should be relatively good. An estimate of 1,500 is not unreasonable.¹

A part of this projected increase will offset the loss of irrigated land in Richland in 1943. An estimated 7,000 acres was removed by the Hanford Project. Furthermore, it is expected that the McNary Dam, when completed, will reduce irrigable land by another 1,000 acres. In fact, one of the strongest arguments advanced in justification of the development has been that it is needed to replace these areas. A part of the prewar economy of Kennewick was dependent on the full area. There were sharp reductions in the supply of asparagus and soft fruits for shipment and processing of as much as 50 per cent. Grapes for processing have been urgently needed to maintain the prewar level of production and to meet the expanding demand.

The land in the new area is, in general, favorable to the development of intensive crops. The Bureau has used a four-fold classification of irrigable land based on soil fertility, topography and drainage. The results of this classification are shown below:

TABLE 2

Gross Amount of Irrigable Land in Columbia Basin Area²

Land Class	Average	Per Cent
1	6,262	29.9
2	7,838	37.4
3	5,423	25.9
4F	1,438	6.8

¹ This estimate is the writer's. The Bureau of Reclamation does not indicate any specific estimate except that of 1,100.

² Source: Bureau of Reclamation Project Planning Report No. 1-535-1.

Class 1 and 2 lands--the best quality--represent 67 per cent of total irrigable land. This is considerably lower than for the Highlands where 90 per cent of the irrigable land is in the two top classifications. The larger area, however, compares very favorably to most sections of the Columbia Basin Project.

Because of this high percentage of better land the type agriculture will likely be much more intensive than in most parts of the Basin. The largest acreage planted to any single crop will likely be grapes. The Bureau of Reclamation estimates that grape acreage will constitute almost 25 per cent of the expanded acreage of the Division. This estimate was based largely on indications that the Church Grape Juice Company in 1945 was in a position to contract 3,000 to 4,000 additional acres.

General field crops will be more important on the new land. When the Bureau of Reclamation made its estimates it was assumed that the existing market would absorb all the fruit and truck crops which could be grown in the area. Consequently, the relative acreage of field crops would be approximately double that in the Highlands, and the production would serve as a basis for a considerable amount of dairying. It is possible that the expanded local and northwest markets may encourage some additional acreage in truck crops.

No separate figure is indicated for cannery crops. Acreage for commercial cannery and truck crops other than asparagus is expected to increase from 148 to 1,265 acres. Undoubtedly more than half of this increase will be in cannery crops. At any rate, it is clear that farming in the area will be much more intensive than in most of the Basin.

Transportation

Pasco and Kennewick are located at an important point on the transportation system of the Pacific Northwest. Pasco is a division point on both the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle and the Northern Pacific Railways. These lines give the two cities direct connections with the three metropolitan communities of the region. In addition, the Union Pacific Railway's line from Wallula to Yakima gives Kennewick rail connections at Pendleton with the transcontinental line of the Union Pacific between Portland and Chicago, through Boise. Branch lines of the three railroads connect the two cities with a large area in eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and northeastern Oregon. There is little question that Pasco and Kennewick have rail facilities excelled only by the metropolitan communities. An examination of a railroad map provides sufficient proof of this.

The two cities are also on a river transportation point. With completion of McNary Dam slack water up to the mouth of the Snake with a channel controlling depth of nine feet will be created. If the program submitted by

the Corps of Engineers in Report 308 as revised this year becomes a part of the national policy, the most serious impediment to barge transportation -- the Celilo rapids and locks will be eliminated. This will make efficient barge transportation from the two cities to Portland and other points possible. The long-range development also calls for improvements and dams on the Snake to permit year around water transportation as far inland as Lewiston.

The Channel improvements made during the 20's resulted in a tremendous increase in tonnage passing through locks to the mouth of the Snake River. The flow of traffic increased from 143 tons in 1936 to 391,867 tons in 1941.¹ Petroleum products -- fuel oil and gasoline -- have been the most important products in upstream traffic and wheat in downstream traffic. The upstream traffic has been far greater than the downstream traffic. This lack of balance between shipment downstream and upstream makes operating costs higher. If conversion units can be placed on tankers to make downstream shipments of grain practical, lower rates on wheat and oil shipments might result.²

Traffic on the river will continue to be chiefly petroleum products and wheat. Bulk materials which do not require rapid transportation usually make up the chief classes of freight. Sometimes building materials, sugar and canned goods move by water. It is quite possible, however, that the increases in rail freight rates during the past three years will encourage more water freight for commodities with higher values per pound.

A part of the increase in traffic which will come in the next few years will influence Pasco and Kennewick. Grain storage and eventually flour milling will probably be one influence. Not all the increase in grain storage, however, will go to Pasco or Kennewick. Other ports will also be benefited. Another may be building materials for construction work in the Columbia Basin. The improvement of the Snake River will increase the volume of traffic passing through Pasco and Kennewick and thereby increase the employment possibilities in repairing and maintenance of equipment. This development does, however, open the possibility of new ports on the Snake River competing with Pasco and Kennewick as transshipment points. For example, one person interviewed pointed to Central Ferry as transshipment center for wheat originating in Whitman and Spokane counties.

¹ Annual Reports of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, Part 2, 1937-42. Given in summary form in the Economic Base for Power Markets in Benton and Franklin Counties, Washington. Bonneville Power Administration -- November 1945.

² See remarks by Col. Theron D. Weaver, C. E. U. S. A. Division Engineer North Pacific Division before Inland Empire Waterways Association, Lewiston, Idaho, December 15, 1948 (mimeographed). Copies of this, which highlights "308", have been available in both Walla Walla and Portland offices of the Corps of Engineers.

The importance of water transportation to Pasco and Kennewick will be greatly enhanced if joint and through rail-water freight rates are established by the Interstate Commerce Commission under the Dennison Act of 1928. This act permits the Commission to set rates on application for rail-water and water-rail hauls which are lower than the sum of the rate to port and the rail rate from port of interior point. Joint rates have been extended to two miles of rail freight for each mile of water freight. An application for such rates is now pending. If the application is acted upon favorably, there is little question that there would be sharp increase in river traffic. Pasco and Kennewick would become an important transshipment point. Wheat from an area stretching across into Montana, Idaho, and Oregon would funnel into the cities. Also, those products which are moved economically to coast points by ocean freight could be shipped through Pasco and Kennewick.

The availability of a large all-weather airport in Pasco and the inclusion of Pasco on regional air routes may become an important factor in the growth of the cities. With no large civilian airport available in Richland, Pasco logically becomes the center of air transportation for the area; but if air transportation becomes a factor in economic location, both cities will be aided. In its present state the location adds and probably will add more in the future to employment. Possibly 75 to 100 families will eventually be dependent on the airport and airlines for employment.

Richland and Hanford

The most important single factor influencing the growth of Pasco and Kennewick has been and in all probability will in the foreseeable future continue to be the Hanford project. Up to now the presence of Hanford has been most keenly felt in the fields of housing and community services, including retail establishments and traffic. A large amount of this impact appears to be temporary. Once the present wave of construction work has subsided and housing facilities are provided in Richland for all who are eligible and desire to live there, and community facilities are made adequate, much of the present strain on the two cities will be removed. This, of course, is based on the assumption that no new large expansion program is undertaken.

For reasons quite obvious, it is difficult to project the future influence of the Hanford project on any other assumptions. Information is restricted, scientific developments move at a rapid pace in directions difficult to predict, and there is the final question of policy decisions in the federal government. The questions of policy decisions in regard to Richland are probably of just as great importance as are those concerning the Hanford project itself. At the present time the Atomic Energy Commission has under consideration a "Master Plan" for the future policies in regard to Richland. Whatever plan is ultimately followed, it will have important implications for the two cities.

On the basis of observations of recent developments at the present, the following points pertinent to estimates of future development of Pasco and Kennewick may be set forth in tentative fashion.

1. The expansion of retail outlets in Richland will bring a sharp curtailment of buying by Richland residents in Pasco and Kennewick stores.
2. The expansion may in time bring trade to Richland from Pasco and Kennewick.
3. The population growth in the area and the resulting increase in retail trade provides a basis for an expanding wholesale trade.
4. Wholesaling would tend to locate in either Pasco or Kennewick.
5. Local manufacturing will tend to go into either Pasco or Kennewick.
6. If the housing shortage becomes much less acute in Pasco and Kennewick and if prices of new homes are considered more favorably, some Richland and Hanford employees may be expected to live in Kennewick. This might go as high as 5 to 7 per cent. Most of this would be concentrated in Kennewick.¹

Agricultural Processing

As the production of the area increases, these communities will be the location of food processing industries and sources of supplies, such as feed and farm machinery, as well as consumer goods. For example, it is estimated that 10 to 16 creameries will be needed for dairy processing throughout the area. Four or more sugar beet processing plants will probably be needed. Also, there may be some fruit and vegetable processing, seed cleaning and shipping plants. The location of these various processing plants will reflect the types of farming in the various sections. It is not likely, however, that a large proportion of the processing will be located at Pasco or any other single point. Most processing is done close to the source of supply because of the perishability of the product, and the cost of transporting bulky raw materials.

Will there be any processing industries located in Pasco-Kennewick? Most persons think that there will be. The original joint investigations include an estimate of potential butter fat production -- 3,400 pounds per day

¹ There may also be some tendency toward suburban development in the areas around Richland in the direction of Kennewick. Some indication of this may be seen from the fact that almost one-third of Pasco and Kennewick residents who want new homes would prefer to locate outside the cities.

for the Pasco slope and 3,000 pounds for the nearby part of the eastern uplands. This quantity would support one butter plant or from 1 to 4 cheese plants, depending on their size. This estimate was made prior to the phenomenal population growth in the Tri-City area. In all probability, this expansion of the market for fresh milk will encourage greater milk production in the area. Although Eastern Washington now faces a shortage of fluid milk due to fewer milch cows and expanding population, the area near Pasco will probably not be a supply area for communities other than Pasco, Kennewick, and Richland. Other parts of the Basin nearer the major markets will probably meet this need when the area is fully developed. Consequently, it is quite likely that Pasco and Kennewick will be a location for a butter plant. If the estimates cited above are realized, one plant would be capable of handling the supply. Economies are closely related to volume of production. To spread the supply among too many plants would result in inefficiency and even bankruptcy.

Seed cleaning and shipping is frequently mentioned by people as a possible enterprise for Pasco. Transportation of the field run seed is not such an important factor in costs. It is an industry which is being mechanized to an increasing extent. The average plant employs, usually, less than 50 people, including shipping labor and clerks. Location of one or more plants would not alter greatly the employment pattern of the city.

Meat packing has been mentioned as a possible enterprise for Pasco and Kennewick. It is true that there will be a considerable increase in livestock numbers in the area. The estimate in joint investigations for all classes of animals is 885,000 head per year. This, however, does not seem sufficient reason to expect the development of a meat packing industry in the area for the following reasons:

1. The quantity in any one area will not be large enough to permit economical processing on a year-around basis.
2. The presence of large stockyards and packing plants at Portland, Seattle and Spokane, which already draw on the area for supplies.

There will be small local slaughter houses, possibly one in Pasco, to meet local needs. Surplus livestock will probably be shipped out of the area liveweight.

Another possibility is sugar beet processing plants. This development is almost completely dependent on the production of sugar beets in the immediate area. A plant requires a minimum of 11,000 acres of beets for economical production. It is usually considered advantageous to have this acreage with a 25 mile radius to keep hauling costs low. This fact alone might discourage location in Pasco-Kennewick area. The mild climate, however, might reduce risk of loss of stored beets after harvest. On this fact rests

a possibility of a sugar beet plant. If such a plant is located in the area, it will likely be outside the cities. Quite frequently the plants are located close to farms and are at least partially dependent upon local farmers for plant labor. Much of the work comes after harvest.

Fruit and vegetable processing is another potential industry for Pasco and Kennewick, from fruit and vegetable production in Columbia Basin northwest and northeast of Pasco and in the expanded Kennewick division of the Yakima Project. A single line cannery can probably be operated efficiently if it has a minimum of 70 to 80 acres of vegetables, such as carrots and tomatoes. It may require more than 1,000 acres of lima beans. Other fruits and vegetables are largely within these limits. It seems very likely that such supplies will be obtainable, but several other factors may discourage fruit and vegetable processing, at least for the next few years.

The general picture for processed fruits and vegetables has been quite unsettled in recent years. In the years just prior to the World War II, and during that war, the increase in the consumption of frozen fruits and vegetables was tremendous. This increase is partly the result of improved production and distribution techniques and partly the result of the higher level of consumer incomes. Unquestionably, there have been many consumers shifting from lower cost canned and fresh produce to frozen foods, which are relatively expensive. Because this development has not gone through a period of low incomes, it is impossible to estimate the future levels of the frozen food industry. During recent years there have been large inventories of frozen foods late in the spring, with frequent sales of distress merchandise. Some of this represents the poor selection of items to freeze and some of it probably indicates that without a considerable expansion of the outlets¹ the supply has already reached the saturation point.

The canning trade has also been in some confusion during the past few years. The per capita consumption of canned fruits and vegetables in 1946 was approximately one-third above the prewar level. To what extent this increase constitutes a long-range change in dietary habits and a shift from home canning and to what extent it reflects higher consumer income is not clear. During the early depression years, consumption declined somewhat and then increased fairly consistently until the war. After rationing controls were lifted in 1945, consumption reached the highest levels in history.²

¹ It is frequently stated that if frozen foods were handled by almost all retail outlets, the added volume would cut costs to a point where competition with canned goods would be much closer.

² Long Range Agricultural Policy: A Study of Selected Trends and Factors Relating to the Long-Range Prospect for American Agriculture, Committee on Agriculture, U. S. House of Representatives, March, 1948.

There are certain factors of special significance in the location of a fruit and vegetable processing industry in the Pasco-Kennewick area. The location of a plant should not be based on the presence of periodic and fluctuating surpluses of fruits and vegetables from the fresh market. The price of fruit and vegetables going into processing is significantly lower than that for fresh market produce. A sustained supply, usually under contract arrangement with growers, has been found necessary for continued successful operation in this field. This means that full-scale fruit processing, other than the already existent enterprise, will not come for several years after the new irrigation areas are opened.

The second factor is the availability of reliable seasonal labor at low wage rates. Wage rates in agricultural processing industries as a whole are lower than in other industries. When employment opportunities are good in other industries, the wage differentials may make it extremely difficult for a low wage industry to secure adequate labor. In 1944, for example, the average wage in Benton and Franklin counties during the third quarter reported by Employment Security Department was \$116 per month for food products -- the lowest -- and \$398 for construction -- the highest. The average wage for those covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1944 was \$337. The difference between the average wage in the food industry and that for all covered industries is largely accounted for by the seasonal labor. To fill this large seasonal labor requirement, the processors frequently rely on married female labor. It is certainly open to question whether an expanded fruit and vegetable processing industry could secure enough labor today in view of the high wage rates in the area. Although other employment opportunities for married women have not kept pace with opportunities for male labor, the high wage structure may have reduced the desire for supplementary family income. Even when the employment at Hanford and Richland is greatly reduced and wages resume their normal relationships to wage rates in other Pacific Northwest communities, possible recurrence of construction and expansion programs may be a part of the risk involved in plant location. Some well-informed persons in Pasco and Kennewick have suggested that the development of Hanford has eliminated the possibility of successful fruit and vegetable processing except in the case of grape juice, where unique conditions combine to at least partially offset the unfavorable wage picture.

A third factor which should be born in mind is the increasing capital and credit requirements in the industry. The Federal Trade Commission has indicated that the small independent canner is frequently in a weak position to meet these credit demands and the risk. It says:

The canning process itself is highly seasonal while the distribution of canned goods is spread throughout the year. This makes the financing of production and the storage of products important factors in the trade. Financing of production often involves the financing by the canner of farmers who produce the products canned. Especially in vegetable canning, this

takes the form of advancing credit to growers to insure the production of desired acreages, and the furnishing of seeds or seedlings of particular varieties of vegetables to obtain uniformity of size, color and quality of produce. In addition, the canner must provide working capital for supplies, wages, and other costs involved in canning and packing goods for sale and shipment. The small local canner often is in a weak position to meet these requirements and assume the risk of crop failure which may disrupt his plans. Larger canners, operating in several producing areas, tend to spread the risk in the sense that loss from a crop failure in one area may be offset by successful operations in other areas.

Out of conditions such as these have grown certain trade practices of particular importance to small canners. One is the sale of quantities of each year's pack at, or soon after, the canning season, for delivery as needed by the purchaser. Another is the practice of brookers in financing the individual canner's operation, and loan becoming a lien on the canner's stock of finished goods.

Representatives of the canning industry, in discussing the distribution of canned goods, and especially the weak position of the small canner in marketing his product to advantage, declared that in recent years there has been a distinct decrease in the quantity of canned fruits and vegetables that can be sold on firm orders for future delivery. This, they explained, has developed because buyers, in pursuit of minimum inventories, have adopted hand-to-mouth buying to increasing extent, thus forcing the canner or middleman to whom he may sell to store and carry the goods until sold. With other factors tending to create a buyers' market, orders not only have become smaller and more frequent, but the order for future delivery has frequently become little more than an option of the buyer to take goods, if he wished, at whatever market price prevailed when he ordered them shipped.

Flour milling has been frequently suggested as an industry for either Pasco or Kennewick. Ever since the Pillsbury Flour Mills purchased a site location in Kennewick, attention has been focused on the two cities as a milling point. There is little question that Pasco and especially Kennewick is one of the most favorable points for milling in the region.

In the first place, the two cities are at an important rail point. The rail lines which come into the cities cover the important wheat areas of the Northwest. The Northern Pacific Railway; Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railway; and the Union Pacific Railroad can bring wheat into the cities from the dry farming areas of eastern Washington and Northern Oregon and the Palouse area. Also, more distant areas are reached and types of flour not

produced in the areas closer can be brought in for blending.

Kennewick is in a slightly more favorable location on this count, by virtue of the Yakima Branch of the Union Pacific. Wheat originating in areas served only by the Union Pacific would have to be switched into Pasco via the Northern Pacific. Also, Kennewick is within trucking distance from the Horse Heaven Hills, an area which is not completely served by rail freight.

Both cities are favorably located for shipment of flour out -- either east or west. This is due to the presence of water transportation, freight rate structures, and the milling in transit privilege. During prewar years, export shipments of wheat and flour constituted a large proportion of the total shipments outside the Pacific Northwest.

The estimates given in the table below were secured by Lewis D. Cannell from several sources and cannot be taken as absolute measures.¹ They do, however, indicate the relative importance of the three types of markets for Pacific Northwest wheat and flour.

The bulk of shipments to markets outside of the Pacific Northwest were by water during this period. Intra-regional shipments were primarily by rail. Consequently, a location which is favorable to both rail and water transit has advantages over other points.

Milling-in-transit privileges are important in intra-regional shipping. Milling-in-transit is a privilege granted millers by railroads. It is essentially a legal construction which furnishes a basis for freight charges so that the shipment of wheat into the mill and shipment of flour out are to be considered one haul. For example, if milling-in-transit privileges were granted Pasco and Kennewick, a miller could receive wheat shipped from Moscow, Idaho, and ship flour to Seattle at the through rate from Moscow to Seattle. Such a rate would be considerably lower than the sum of the rates from Moscow to Pasco and from Pasco to Seattle.

Although milling-in-transit privileges are customarily granted to all milling points to equalize freight costs, a milling point in the vicinity of Pasco and Kennewick might have special advantage in that the transit privileges could be used to ship in any direction. Wheat would be moving into the mill from many points, giving transit balances to reduce freight costs on flour and mill feed moving both east and west.

The potential of Pasco and Kennewick for flour milling is greatly enhanced by the water transportation. Roughly one-half of the shipments to markets outside the region during the 1930's were flour. It is likely that

¹ Lewis D. Cannell: The Freight Rate Structure and Its Effect on the Price and Movement of Northwest Wheat, State College of Washington, 1945, p. 57.

the water rates would be somewhat lower than rail rates. This would be especially true if joint rail-water rates are established.

TABLE 3

Estimates of Disposition of Pacific Northwest Wheat and Flour

Year	Total Supply carry-over July 1 Production in-shipments	Used as Food or feed in region	Carry- over June 30	Domestic Shipments	Exports
1930-31	103,916	29,833	25,675	13,632	48,477
1931-32	95,696	29,650	14,371	17,805	48,171
1932-33	96,391	30,526	33,270	21,023	12,264
1933-34	107,644	30,310	26,880	25,440	29,892
1934-35	89,716	33,018	17,107	31,736	8,051
1935-36	91,353	48,562	15,193	27,035	2,888
1936-37	93,645	53,022	10,239	21,897	14,975
1937-38	95,531	44,022	16,218	21,660	23,492
1938-39	111,675	36,005	19,314	13,252	44,531
1939-40	93,523	38,793	17,775	18,959	24,036

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The potential of Pasco and Kennewick for flour milling is greatly enhanced by the water transportation. Roughly one-half of the shipments to markets outside the region during the 1930's were flour. It is likely that the water rates would be somewhat lower than rail rates. This would be especially true if joint rail-water rates are established.

In spite of these locational factors favoring a milling point at Pasco and Kennewick, the immediate construction of a mill in either city does not seem probable. The present outlook for expansion in the milling industry is not very bright. This is due to the excess milling capacity, chaotic conditions in the export market, especially the Chinese market, and a declining per capita consumption of flour in this country.

There has been a gradual decline in the consumption of wheat for many years. The per capita consumption in 1947 was the lowest on record. Domestic demand of wheat for food dropped from 3.95 bushels in 1930 to less than 3.50 bushels in 1947 -- a reduction of 12 per cent. The magnitude

of this change offsets the effects of an increase in the population. The total consumption of wheat for food today is approximately the same as it was 20 years ago. The Department of Agriculture estimates that the per capita consumption of wheat may increase slightly by 1965, over the very low level of 1948.

The decline in flour consumption is even more striking. Between 1900 and 1939 per capita flour consumption declined from 230 pounds to 154 pounds -- a reduction of 33 per cent in 40 years.

The export market for American wheat and flour declined drastically during the 1930's. In 1930 and 1931 our exports of wheat and flour were around 120,000,000 bushels each year; in 1935, the comparable figure was only 7,096,000 bushels. Although exports recovered substantially in 1937 under the impetus of government programs, the average for the decade was below that of the 20's. Exports from the Pacific Northwest during the 30's were only one-third as large as the exports during the 20's.

Exports of wheat and flour during the late war years and the postwar years reached the highest levels in history as a result of the various foreign aid programs of the federal government. The magnitude of these shipments is declining and will continue to decline. Without large programs of foreign aid, the foreign demand will probably decline to a level somewhat above the lowest point of the 1930's but far below recent levels. If the United States becomes signatory to the International Wheat Agreement, the figure would be raised greatly. Even the most optimistic hopes for a revival of international trade in wheat and flour do not envisage a return to the high level of total wheat and flour sales of the early 20's.

For many years the milling industry has been characterized by a tremendous excess capacity. Not even during the war when the demand for flour mills was greatly increased to meet the needs of the armed forces could the capacity of flour mills be considered as a controlling factor in supplying this demand. There was plenty of milling capacity to meet the increased demands except for very brief periods. The trend in the number of mills operating is in part a reflection of this state. The Bureau of the Census reported 11,691 mills operating in 1909 and only 2,143 in 1939. The smaller mills tended to drop out. Small mills wearing out or burning down were frequently not replaced.

On the basis of these trends, it is safe to say that there will be no general trend of expansion in milling capacity in this country. New mills will be built, but new construction will be either replacement or shifts to more efficient locations. There is no impending shortage which requires immediate action. Creation of milling capacity in Pasco and Kennewick could be due to either of these factors. If the mill owner believes that the savings in transportation costs will offset the losses involved in closing a mill which is not completely depreciated and higher costs of amortization on a plant

built at this time, then he might build. Present construction costs, however, act as a deterrent to building a new plant. High construction costs would influence milling costs over a long period of years and therefore offset to some degree any savings accruing from the favorable transportation facilities. The tendency, however, is to wait for lower construction costs. Eventually Pasco and especially Kennewick may become a milling point when costs are reduced, as mills elsewhere become fully depreciated, or are destroyed, and if the export market improves.

Wholesale and Retail Trade

The location of agricultural processing industries, with a few exceptions, is largely determined by the availability and costs of raw materials and labor supply. On the other hand, the distributive trades are influenced greatly by the size of the population and its income level. Retail trade follows population shifts almost automatically. If the population and income of an area increase sharply, it is safe to say that retail sales will go up at approximately the same rate and employment will follow. Wholesale sales are not as closely related to population, but the linkage is much closer than between wholesale sales and the size of the area.

There is little question that the population increase is and will probably continue to result in more retail establishments and enlargement of existing facilities. A minimum Tri-City population of 35,000 to 40,000 people is more than enough for a complete trade center for consumer goods. Whereas now the evidence points to some retail trade going to Yakima, Walla Walla, and even to Spokane, Seattle and Portland, within a few years this trade will undoubtedly be concentrated within the local area. Moreover, with this immediate base, the concentration of retail establishments in the Tri-City area will be sufficient to compete with other cities for a larger rural market area.

The important question is whether the expanded retail and wholesale sales in the area will result in the location of significant wholesale business in the area. The location of wholesale houses is concentrated in the largest cities. The ten largest cities of the country account for nearly one-half of the wholesale trade. Cities with less than 50,000 population probably account for no more than 10 per cent of the trade. In the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane account for the bulk of the wholesale trade. In 1939, the wholesale trade for these four cities represented more than three-fourths the total for the two states. In the same year, Yakima, Walla Walla, and Wenatchee were the only other wholesaling centers east of the Cascades.

The reason for the concentration of wholesale business in the large cities is easy to see if the place and functions of the wholesaler in our economic system are understood. In many lines of merchandising the retailer cannot carry sufficient inventories to allow purchasing from the manufacturer or processor in large quantities such as carlots. He might not sell a

carlot of any one line during several seasons. Furthermore, he usually must carry merchandise of several manufacturers. Wholesaling has developed to meet this need by purchasing in large quantities, maintaining a fairly large inventory, and breaking up these purchases into lots small enough for retailers to handle. The largest retailers, including chain stores, usually buy direct from the processor, but they maintain warehouses to service a considerable number of retail outlets.

A market must be large to make this operation of quantity buying and selling in smaller lots feasible. If the market is small, the wholesaler finds his position in buying little better than a retailer, and his turnover will be very slow, thus increasing his costs. The size of a market needed for successful wholesaling varies from one line of merchandising to another, depending upon the bulkiness and sales volume of the merchandise.

In recent years, there has been a trend toward more integration of the wholesale function with manufacturing and processing. More and more manufacturers are establishing branch warehouses to provide sources of supply convenient to retailers. This has been customary in meat distribution for some time. Sales to retailers are shipped from the branch warehouse. Drug companies and paper products, for example, frequently maintain this type of distribution outlet.

Pasco and Kennewick are favorably located for some types of wholesale operations, including branch warehousing. With a population of over 100,000 in the area which could be served, there would probably be sufficient market for dry grocery, produce, meat wholesaling, and paper products. Delivery costs would be less from Pasco or Kennewick than from either Yakima or Walla Walla. It is quite likely that this development would take the form of branches of wholesale establishments already in operation. During the past 15 years there has been a definite trend toward consolidation. The entrance of one large regional wholesaler into Pasco during the past year is probably indicative of the type which might be expected in the future.

Pasco and Kennewick are a favorable location for wholesaling and warehousing of other types of consumer goods and farm equipment. The Pacific Northwest is a deficit area for most types of consumer goods other than food and farm equipment. Consequently, there is a heavy shipment of these goods into the area from the East by rail. Spokane is the largest receiving point in the eastern part of the State. Some of this freight could move on directly to Pasco and Kennewick for storage and re-shipment to points having lower truck and rail freight rates from Pasco-Kennewick than from Spokane, Seattle, or Portland. The carlot rates are the same to all of these points from eastern points. For example, it would be more economical in terms of freight to move farm machinery from midwest production centers to Pasco and transship to Connel by truck or rail than to transship to Spokane. The area in which Pasco has a freight advantage extends to the vicinity of Lind to the northeast, Wenatchee in the northwest, and

slightly beyond Prosser to the west. The southern boundary of the potential trading area is not as clearly defined because there is no large wholesaling center in either eastern Oregon or central Idaho. If the wholesale services develop in Pasco and Kennewick, there would be a large area to the south and southeast with a population approaching 100,000 which might be covered. The development of Umatilla, however, might in time lead to the growth of wholesaling in Pendleton.

There is also a likelihood that Pasco and Kennewick may develop more and more as a warehousing point in the distribution of consumer and industrial goods. Several possibilities in this field are especially important. Chain stores, mail order houses, and variety stores frequently have centrally located warehouses to service their stores in surrounding areas. Large inventories may be kept at these points to provide for the immediate needs of the outlets. This frequently can be done without sacrificing through freight rates, by securing the storage in transit privilege. For example, a chain having outlets in Yakima, Portland, and Seattle could warehouse merchandise in Pasco or Kennewick and move it on short notice to outlet points at the through rates. It is obvious that the rail routes make Pasco and Kennewick a point for this type of operation. Many large manufacturers either maintain their own warehouses or make use of public warehouses to provide "spot" stocks to meet immediate needs. Frequently, branch offices consist of no more than a sales staff. Orders are filled from the centrally located warehouse.

As the population and industrial activity of the Pacific Northwest expands, there will be an increasing need for greater storage facilities and larger wholesale service. More specifically, the population increase in Benton and Franklin counties will call for an expansion of these in the Tri-City Area. The wholesale and warehouse function has not kept up with the expansion of retailing which has taken place. A comparison of employment figures for Benton and Franklin counties with those of the three cities having important wholesale trade in eastern Washington shows this lag. The data in the following table are taken from the published reports of the Employment Security Department of "Employment and Payrolls in Washington State by Area and by Industry. Industries Covered by the Unemployment Compensation Act." These reports contain the clarifications of Transportation and Allied Industries, Wholesale Trade and Wholesale and Retail Trade Combined (not elsewhere classified). The first of these is largely warehousing and trucking except in the largest cities. Railroad labor is excluded. For comparisons the three classifications are combined below.

It will be noted that employment in the wholesale trades in Benton and Franklin counties has lagged behind the sharp increase in the retail trade. Assuming that the population of 1947 is no greater than may be expected as a long term stable population, a ratio of close to one person in wholesale trade to every two employed in retail trade might be expected. During the fourth quarter of 1947, the populations of Walla Walla area (including Asotin, Columbia, and Garfield counties) and of Benton and Franklin counties were

nearly equal. The retail employment figures were also quite close. The wholesale employment in Benton and Franklin counties was far lower. Gradually, wholesale employment figures should build up to a similar ratio. Such a ratio would mean an increase of 400 jobs over the level of the fourth quarter of 1946. A population of 65,000 in the two counties -- close to the present figure -- might mean an additional 350 jobs.

TABLE 4
Average Employment in Wholesale and Retail Trade for
Selected Periods in Various Washington Counties

County	Fourth Quarter 1946			Fourth Quarter 1947		
	Average			Average		
	Wholesale	Retail	Ratio	Wholesale	Retail	Ratio
Benton and Franklin Walla Walla, Asotin	599	1,392	2.4	386	2,026	5.2
Columbia, Garfield	1,241	2,119	1.7	1,169	2,291	2.0
Yakima	2,290	5,503	2.2	2,538	5,425	2.1
Spokane	7,820	12,057	1.5	8,342	12,727	1.5
Eastern Washington	14,261	27,784	2.0	15,274	29,415	1.9

These figures are based on a minimum assumption of wholesaling. That is, that Pasco and Kennewick have no greater concentration of wholesaling than does Walla Walla at the present time. For reasons indicated above, it is quite likely that the area will become relatively more important in wholesaling and warehousing than is indicated by the size of the population in the immediate area. Note that the ratio for Spokane, the major wholesale center for Eastern Washington, is only 1.5 retail employees for each wholesale employee. As the population of the area expands, a lower ratio may be expected. Such development might lead to several hundred more jobs.

Although both Pasco and Kennewick will probably experience an expansion of warehousing and wholesaling, Kennewick's expansion will be greater in the warehousing and transportation of locally produced agricultural commodities, because of its location relative to the larger area of fruit and vegetable production for both processing and the fresh market. This function is already well developed in Kennewick. The probable increase in fruits and vegetables for the fresh market will make Kennewick an assembly, grading, packaging, and shipping point. Also, warehousing and trucking for canned and frozen fruits and vegetables will expand with the processing industry. On the other hand, Pasco is likely to increase as the wholesaling center. Rail and truck connections to both the major sources of supply and

to the larger part of the potential market are better from Pasco. A larger area is available for expansion of warehouse facilities. Wheat storage for shipment to ports will be a notable exception to this division. Expansion of grain storage on both sides of the river is almost a certainty.

It should be pointed out, however, that location of these various wholesaling and warehousing functions is tied in part to the local highway facilities and to future plans in Richland. If a highway and bridge system is developed which makes Pasco and Kennewick equally accessible from both sides of the river it would tend to shift the centers of economic activity -- retail and wholesale -- toward the center of the area. If Richland's policy shifts away from its policy of maintaining only enterprises directly related to the needs of the Richland people as consumers, some of the expansion of wholesaling and warehousing indicated above might go to Richland rather than Pasco or Kennewick, although this appears very unlikely at the present time.

Retail Trade

The retail trade in Benton and Franklin counties has expanded rapidly to meet the needs of a growing population. The expansion has not been equal for different types of retailing. The changes which have taken place between 1946 and the latest Census estimates (1948) are seen in the table below.

The over-all increase in employment in retail establishments corresponds quite closely to the increase in population. This increase, however, has been much greater in eating and drinking places, automotive, and filling stations. The other types of retailers have lagged behind the expanding population.

This change in retailing is in sharp contrast to wholesaling. The post-construction adjustment probably will not require an increase in the total employment in this field; rather, it will probably bring increases in selected lines, such as food and general merchandise including clothing. This does not take into account the increases which have already been mentioned as the results of the expanding market in the trading area.

The figures below are for the two counties together. Pasco and Kennewick retail establishments have expanded greatly as the result of the growth in Richland and North Richland. The pattern of retailing in the Tri-City Area cannot be expected to continue as it has existed during the past 18 months. It is the intention of the store expansion in Richland to reduce the dependency of the Richland shoppers on Pasco and Kennewick stores. To the extent that present plans materialize and become effective, retailers in Pasco and Kennewick will have reduced sales.

TABLE 5

Employment in Retail Establishments Benton and Franklin Counties 1946 - 1948

Type of Retail	Fourth Quarter 1946	Second Quarter 1947	Fourth Quarter 1947
General Merchandise	184	192	214
Food and Liquor Store	150	161	185
Automotive	151	194	224
Apparel and Accessories	62	51	79
Eating and Drinking Places	535	491	836
Filling Stations	68	68	96
Other	309	273	385
Total	1,459	1,230	2,019

Conclusions as to Population Increase. In the preceding paragraphs the various factors relating to the possible population changes have been examined. The influences of these factors may be summarized with their indicated effects on population increase as follows:

1. The development of the Columbia Basin within the next fifteen to twenty years will bring an additional 3,000 people within the immediate trading area of Pasco and Kennewick. The two cities are likely to be the secondary or metropolitan area for most of Franklin County with an increase of 7,000 to 8,000 people. These two phases will probably support an additional population of 3,000 in the two cities in the wholesale and retail trades, processing and shipping of agricultural products and business and professional services.
2. Further development of the irrigated lands in the Kennewick Division of the Yakima Project will bring 365 additional farms. This will represent an additional population of 1,300 in the Pasco-Kennewick trading area. This is weighting part-time farming by .5. Applying a similar ratio of city population to new farm population an increase of between 1,000 and 1,300 is indicated for Pasco and Kennewick.
3. The expansion of population in the two counties has provided a market for a growing wholesale trade. Without any further increase in the area's population there is a possibility for 400 jobs and a population increase of 1,200 people.

4. The favorable rail and water transportation facilities may gradually make Pasco and Kennewick an important accumulation, distribution, and transshipment center with a large warehousing business. This development would be encouraged greatly by the establishment of joint rates for the railroads, truck lines and barge lines connecting at the two cities and by various transit privileges of the rail companies for that point. Undoubtedly, the willingness of community interests to provide adequate public warehousing facilities would be another important factor. This whole development might eventually add as much as 1,000 jobs to the two cities. This would mean an increase in population of around 3,500 people. Such an increase, however, is not to be expected immediately. It may come only gradually over a period of many years. A figure of 300 jobs is an estimate given in the Bonneville study for the two counties. If this number of jobs materializes some 900 to 1,000 people might be added to the population.
5. The direct influence of employment opportunities in Richland and Hanford is difficult to estimate. Undoubtedly there are many families now living in Richland who, at present, believe they prefer to live outside that city; the most frequently suggested reason for desiring to move is the desire for home ownership. Approximately 7 per cent of the Richland households returning questionnaires indicated that they would like to live in Kennewick if they could find suitable housing. This cannot be interpreted as meaning that 7 per cent will eventually move. Some of those who say they would like to move will change their minds when they begin to figure the outlay for down payment, the risks involved in ownership, the costs of commuting to jobs, etc. In spite of this, there will probably be a permanent population in Kennewick who work in Richland. If real estate values in Pasco and Kennewick suffer a sharp decline there would be increased incentive for Richland residents to live in the two cities.

The results of the survey indicate little desire to live in Pasco. This differential is in part due to highway conditions. In time there may, of course, be a new bridge across the river in the vicinity of Richland and Pasco, and the area west of Pasco might become an important suburban residential alternative to Richland. This, at the present time, is pure conjecture.

6. In addition there are many families who have moved to Pasco and Kennewick during the past five years who expect to stay for at least two more years and possibly permanently. From the survey it is estimated that 58 per cent of this group are

inclined to stay, representing about 15 per cent of the total population. Such a figure would mean an increase in population over the 1940 figure of at least 2,000. If we take 1947 as a base date, a figure of 1,000 to 1,500 seems reasonable.

7. Employment in local manufacturing other than food processing will increase gradually with the growing population of the region. There seems to be no basis at the present time for assuming that there will be any large-scale manufacturing in Pasco and Kennewick in the immediate future. An increase of 150 jobs might be expected in the durable goods field commensurate with the increase in total population.

Although there is likely to be specialization between Pasco and Kennewick, there is no clear cut reason for stating that the population increase will be greater for one city than the other. Much of the agricultural processing is likely to come in Kennewick. Pasco may be slightly better located for wholesaling, warehousing and transshipment because of its location relative to the Columbia Basin, division points on the rail system and to major shipment of finished goods through Spokane.

It is clear that the final decisions on highway and bridge location could be a powerful influence on the growth of the two cities. This is especially true in regard to wholesale and retail trade in consumer goods. The city which has the better access to the immediate market will have the advantage.

TABLE 6

Population Trends in Benton and Franklin Counties

	1940	1947	1948
Pasco	3,913	8,000	8,000
Kennewick	1,918	5,500	6,800
Two City Total	5,831	13,500	14,800
Benton and Franklin Counties	18,360	65,000 - 75,000*	

* Estimate

Population data for Pasco and Kennewick in recent years are found in the table above. Projection of the trends as indicated by the trend from 1947 to 1948 is dangerous. The increase between these two dates is to a large extent the result of expanded construction activity in Richland and Hanford which is not likely to be of great importance after 1952. The increases indicated above should be applied to the population in 1947.

The total population if all of these developments materialize within the next fifteen years would be approximately 19,000. A range from 17,000 to 25,000 should be allowed. This represents an increase of more than 200 per cent over the 1940 figure.

Population 1947	13,500
Increases	
a. Due to the Columbia Basin) Food Processing	3,000
) Shipping	
b. Kennewick irrigation area) Trade and Services	1,200
c. Wholesaling and transportation to meet present	
retail business	1,100
d. Expansion of wholesaling, accumulation, trans-	
portation and warehousing	700
e. Additional Richland permanent workers in	
Pasco and Kennewick	1,000 - 1,500
	(1,200)
f. Manufacturing	100
g. Services - Business and Professional	500
Total	20,800

CHAPTER II

COMPOSITION OF THE AREA

Section 1: Size of the Population

Background of Population Changes.

Pasco and Kennewick have been subjected to such extensive population fluctuations since the beginning of World War II that it is difficult to separate reasonable predictions in population trends on the one hand from rumor, wishful thinking, and ungrounded speculation on the other. In Part I of the analysis the economic factors which underlie and support future growth for these two cities were pointed out. An attempt was made to analyze future trends of the population through public opinion. These opinions concern what people think they will do relative to moving from, or remaining in, the Pasco-Kennewick area; and what they believe the people in the area as a whole will do relative to living in, or leaving, the area. Also included are the opinions concerning the size of the area and its growth or lack of growth.

The 1940 Census for Benton and Franklin County showed the area is 60 per cent rural. Pasco and Kennewick, as trade centers, served this rural population. In addition, Pasco served as the rail outlet for a much wider area. At that time the combined population of the two cities was 5,831. As centers for an extensive farming area, and as an important rail center, the two communities had a firm economic base. With World War II there came the Pasco Naval Air Base, which involved a sharp temporary increase in population due to an influx of construction workers. Later a more permanent, though still temporary, influx of persons serving the air base came, either as civilian or as military personnel. Following this development, in late 1943 and early 1944, a large number of construction workers were employed at the Hanford Engineering Works. Population reached its peak in late 1944. The decline became rather sharp after August 1945, and probably reached its minimum early in 1947. On April 1, 1947, the Washington State Census Board estimated the population of Pasco and Kennewick as 13,500. As of that date, the Naval Base had been dismantled and construction at Hanford Engineering Works was at a minimum. It is probable that the 13,500 estimate for the two cities represents a new permanent increase of 133 per cent. Most of this is probably due directly or indirectly to the Hanford Engineering Works. The agricultural base had shrunk somewhat from the 1940 level because some of the land, formerly irrigated for crop use, is now occupied by the Hanford Engineering Works.

Shortly after the April 1947 Census Estimate was made, a new construction began at Hanford and a new wave of migrants appeared. Near the height of this latter population influx this survey was actually made. At the crest of the wave, the two cities probably contained between 19 and 23 thousand people, with another 3 to 6 thousand in the Columbia Avenue Area.

In making future plans one must keep in mind that gains of early 1947 to late 1948 were largely transitory in nature as they were basically construction workers. For long time gains, the reasoning in regard to permanent industries used in Part I is much safer. In addition to the permanent population gains from developments outlined in Part I, the two cities, probably for some years to come, will have temporary population fluctuations due to construction work at Hanford Engineering Works, Columbia Basin Area, and from the construction of dams either on the Columbia or its tributaries. Planning for the future years should be in terms of permanent economic development, and not in terms of temporary construction activities.

An Estimate of Population Based on Intentions to Leave.

In Part I, population estimates were predicted on the economic base of the two communities. The people interviewed were asked whether they intended to leave. From the estimates of the population as of August and September 1948 when the interviews were taken, an estimate can be made of what the future population of the area will be, based on the intentions of those living in the area at the time. It should be pointed out that: first, the Columbia Avenue Area had almost all of its increase during the war and immediate post-war period; second, the pre-war population of the area, that is, the two cities plus the Columbia Avenue Area, was roughly 6,000; third, at the time of the State Census in 1947, this population had increased to approximately 15,000. Data on the survey indicate that 29 per cent of the people who came to the area after the beginning of the War planned to leave. This group is estimated at 9,000. Of this 9,000 approximately 2,600 will leave within a three-year period.

The area had another notable increase between April 1947, when the population was estimated at 15,000 and August and September 1948. This increase was probably 10,000. This meant an increase from 15,000 to 25,000 for the area as a whole. The survey shows that, of the people who had come within a year before the study began, 43 per cent intended to leave. In other words, of the 10,000 who had come between 1947 and 1948, 4,300 would leave. By adding the 4,300 who had come between a year and five years prior to the survey and who were going to leave, we have a net loss figure of 6,900. Subtracting this from 25,000 estimated to be in the area during the survey, gives us a remainder of 18,000 who indicated they intended to remain permanently.

Those who conducted the survey believe the figure of 18,000 is a realistic one. It might be called a minimum estimate compared to an average or "best" estimate of 20,800 to be found in Part I. The minimum estimate of 18,000 should be regarded as an estimate of permanent population based on the estimated number of people who intend to keep their residence in the area. The decrease will be much more pronounced in the Columbia Avenue Area than in either Pasco or Kennewick.

Opinions Concerning Future Population Growth.

Most residents view the prospects of future growth from an optimistic viewpoint. Nearly 80 per cent of the sample believed that the present increase will continue for the next five years. This optimism prevails among all groups; however, it is greatest among the Negroes. It is higher in Pasco than in Kennewick for both new and old residents. Old residents are more optimistic than new white residents.

The greater optimism of old residents is seen in their estimates of the future size of the two cities. The average of these estimates was between 30,000 and 40,000. The new residents, however, make many more estimates below this figure:

TABLE 7

Estimates of Residents (Old and New) of
Pasco-Kennewick Area of Future Size of Area

Estimate of Future Size of Pasco and Kennewick	Old Residents (per cent)	New Residents (per cent)
Below 30,000	23.1	33.0
30,000 - 39,999	24.3	16.0
40,000 and above	23.7	21.0
No estimate	28.9	30.0
	100.0	100.0

One possible explanation of this difference is that the new residents who have recently lived in other cities are more critical of the factors which might lead to a great expansion of population.

The prevailing opinion is that Kennewick will grow faster than Pasco. Approximately one-third of the Pasco residents thought Kennewick would grow faster, but only 17 per cent of the Kennewick residents thought Pasco would grow faster.

The reasons most frequently cited for believing Pasco will grow faster are as follows:

1. Railroad center
2. Pasco has more room for Negroes
3. Columbia Basin Irrigation Project
4. Bigger shopping district

The chief reasons given for believing Kennewick will grow faster are as follows:

1. Proximity to Richland
2. No Negroes
3. Better residential areas
4. More room

The question of the influence of a Negro population growth bulks very large in the answers to this question. It was frequently mentioned by Kennewick residents as a reason for Kennewick growing more rapidly than Pasco. That is, whites will choose Kennewick because no Negroes live in Kennewick. Such reasoning is very dubious over a period of time. It must be based upon the assumption that the number of whites which will choose the city solely because of the absence of Negro population will exceed the Negro population which might settle if it were not for the local customs. Most cities which have grown have done so because of incoming Negro and white population. Local customs could act as a barrier to business enterprises who customarily employ some Negro labor.

One might also question the likelihood that the local customs will be maintained indefinitely. During the past ten years there has been a decided change in the legal basis for maintaining local customs which have the effect of excluding minority groups. To an increasing degree, laws and judicial decisions have made these customs difficult to maintain when they are challenged. Although the survey did not reveal any desire on the part of the Negroes to live in Kennewick, the time may come when the customs are challenged.

How Do Kennewick and Pasco Residents Feel about the Recent Rapid Growth?

All major segments of the population thought that the community is a better place to live as a result of its recent growth. This opinion was somewhat stronger among the new residents than among the old. Among new white Pasco residents the ratio of those with favorable opinions to those with unfavorable opinions was approximately 2 to 1. For the old residents it was only 5 to 4. For Kennewick both groups were more favorable with a ratio of 4 to 1 for new residents, and 3 to 1 for old residents. One explanation of these differences may be the Negro population. The quite sudden emergence of a relatively large Negro population has probably caused Pasco residents to alter many of their attitudes. Desire to have an expanding population is typical of American cities. But the growth brought a drastic change in the racial composition of the population, and new problems. About twenty per cent of both new and old white residents in Pasco indicated that they did not think that the newcomers are as good as the old residents. Although no exact analysis was made on this point, it appeared to the interviewers that persons who thought that the newcomers were not as good as the old residents were identifying newcomers as Negroes.

People who think Pasco and Kennewick are too small are in a distinct minority. Approximately equal percentages (35%) think their present size is just right or too big. Less than 25 per cent think the size is too small. Their attitude that the cities were already too large was frequently associated with the housing shortage. These figures, however, do pose a question which cannot be answered here; but it is, nevertheless, significant for future planning. Is future growth desired by the community as a whole? The data indicate clearly that, although the recent growth is considered good for the community, there is no agreement on future growth. Many people in the area would at least prefer to see housing and community services catch up before any further increase comes and probably react negatively to any further growth. This apparent conflict between what they think will happen and what they want to happen may be an important factor in understanding some of the confusion that exists in regard to the future. It is quite possible that the frequent talk about future growth has had a result not contemplated. People, in assuming great growth in the future, do not look forward to living in the area or becoming active community members.

TABLE 8

Attitudes of Residents toward the Present Size of Pasco and Kennewick by Area of Residence, Length of Residence, and Race

Segment of Population	Percentage Who Think Population Is			
	Too Big	Too Small	Just Right	No Opinion
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negro	35.0	20.0	37.5	7.5
White	37.0	24.1	35.2	3.7
Old Residents	34.0	26.6	34.0	5.3
Total Pasco	35.1	24.5	35.1	5.3
Kennewick				
New Residents	36.7	26.6	30.4	6.3
Old Residents	32.8	22.4	43.3	1.5
Total Kennewick	34.9	24.7	36.3	4.1
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	44.4	22.2	29.6	3.7
Old Residents*	42.9	42.9	14.2	
Total Columbia Avenue	44.0	26.5	26.5	2.9
Total New Residents	37.5	24.0	33.0	5.5
Total Old Residents	33.9	25.6	36.9	3.6
Total Sample	35.9	24.8	34.9	4.6

* Number in this category is too small to give reliable percentages; however, old residents are included in totals.

TABLE 9

Attitudes Expressed by Residents Toward the Effects of Rapid Growth on the Community, by Area of Residence, Length of Residence, and Race of Residents

Segment of Population	Attitudes toward the Effects of Rapid Growth on the Community		No Attitude Expressed
	Favorable	Unfavorable	
Pasco			
New Residents	90.0	2.5	7.5
Negro	61.1	29.6	9.3
White	53.2	42.6	4.3
Old Residents	63.3	30.3	6.4
Total Pasco			
Kennewick			
New Residents	65.8	16.5	17.7
Old Residents	68.7	28.4	2.9
Total Kennewick	66.7	21.5	10.8
Columbia Avenue			
New Residents	48.1	37.1	14.8
Old Residents*	14.3	28.6	57.1
Total Columbia Avenue	41.2	35.3	23.5
Total New Residents	67.0	20.0	13.0
Total Old Residents	57.7	36.3	6.0
Total Sample	62.9	27.5	9.8

*Number in this category too small to give reliable percentages; however, old residents are included in the totals.

Reason, Speculation, and the Future.

For those planning the future of Pasco and Kennewick the above reasoning should offer some very real help. In the first place, it should be clear that, to these two cities, optimism and irresponsible speculation regarding extensive future growth are positively dangerous. True, it is reasonable to suppose that these cities are in for a number of "fool-type" expansions in population in the near future. With prospects for future construction periods at Hanford, together with prospects for extensive construction operations at nearby dam sites on the Columbia and Snake Rivers, Pasco and Kennewick are apt to become construction towns again. These contingencies can, and should, receive careful planning. The point is that such planning should be for tem-

porary population increases and the subsequent decreases when construction closes down. It is apparent that substantial portions of the population have mistaken migratory influxes of construction workers for permanent population growth. During a boom period it is difficult to make objective analyses. The fact that one or more of these construction projects could contribute to the permanent increase of the communities by leaving a permanent operating staff after construction was finished could leave room for cautious optimism. However, since the mind of the Federal Government cannot be read in advance, possibilities for permanent growth due to an increase in federal installations remain possibilities only and, at that, speculative ones. An exception to this is the growth which should come from the development of the Columbia Basin. This development should add permanently to the population of the two cities, but as indicated by the reasoning in Chapter I, it is easy to overestimate the size of such additions. Based upon the best estimates, the surveyors could see reason for predicting somewhere between 18 and 24 thousand population, with a best estimate at about 21 thousand for the two cities. The surveyors realized that it is both difficult and unpopular to be making conservative population predictions in the face of popular optimism, but they commend such conservatism to those who have future welfare of the communities at heart.

There are numerous cities which, during the boom days of the 1920's, expanded their facilities, utilities, and developed land tracts for a population growth which never materialized. They have been varying the overhead expenses of paying off indebtedness of their over-optimism ever since. While lack of planning can be a cardinal sin, irresponsible overplanning is certainly not to be listed among the virtues.

Another serious danger in inflated population prediction is that of land speculation, which leads to lost investments that could have been profitably employed within the community in sounder ways. In other words, responsible community leadership will plan for permanent growth that can be reasonably foreseen, or the temporary influxes that can reasonably be expected. It will avoid optimism generated under boom conditions as a basis for responsible community planning.

The evidence offered in this section, both the factual evidence and the opinions of the population, does have positive recommendations to make to responsible persons interested in community planning. The evidence recommends a strong program of community improvements. It is clear that many of the persons who have come to Pasco and Kennewick to take temporary jobs wish to remain on a permanent basis. There is also reason to believe that many of those who leave at the conclusion of temporary jobs will be replaced by persons who can find permanent employment in the communities. The problems faced by Pasco and Kennewick are not so much to provide for a greatly expanded future population, but to plan for better community facilities. The population now in the communities has every reason to believe that the character of this population will change from a transient to a permanent one. This indicates the need for planning of permanent facilities and services. This recommendation is borne out by evidence in the sections and chapters to

follow. It would seem to fit with the desires and opinions of the people. The 70 per cent who expressed the opinion that the community is either "just right" or "too large" seem to indicate that they are more interested in community improvements than they are in community growth.

Section 2: Age of Sample

It will be recalled in the Introduction to Part II, and by those who have read Appendix A that a majority of the interviews conducted were with housewives. In analyzing the population of the area, the sample provides a reliable guide as to the ages of the women in the area. This information is both striking and significant. The median age for women is 37 years. This is four years under the median for the State as a whole, according to the Federal Census of 1940. This is probably due to a migration into the area of primarily younger people. Two thirds of the new residents are under 40 years of age, whereas less than one half of the old residents are under 40 years of age. From Table 9 it is seen that between the ages of twenty and forty the size of the household grows larger as the female of the home grows older. The fact that new residents add only an average of .46 children in school, while the old residents add an average of .72 children in school, gives significance to the difference in ages between the two groups. Seventy per cent of the new group intend to stay in the area. They are young enough that many will have additional children, and many who have children now are not yet sending them to school. The recent migration to Pasco and Kennewick, then, means two things. First, that the population of the two cities will grow by means of natural increase at a rate different from that of previous years, and second, that during the next few years the proportion of children of school age to the entire population will increase. School population, in other words, will not only increase absolutely, but also in proportion to the total population.

Section 3: Age of Households

Since the size of households is largely of value from a technical standpoint, it has been treated fully in Appendix A and considerable use of it has been made in Appendix B. Of primary interest here is the fact that the new group has brought smaller households to the area on the average than the old group. The range in size of households is from the most recent and most transient type of migration to the oldest and most substantial. These are set forth in Table 75 in Appendix A. The rankings of size of households for the various segments of the population is as follows:

TABLE 10

The Ranking of the Size of Households for Negroes and Whites in the Columbia Avenue-Kennewick-Pasco Area for Old and New Residents

New		Old	
Negroes		Kennewick	
Columbia Avenue	2.32	Pasco	3.40
Pasco, White	2.62	Columbia Avenue	3.46
Kennewick	3.17		4.14
	3.24		

Those new residents who stay in the area and become permanent residents will become older, may acquire permanent housing, and the size of their household will tend to increase to the size of the households of the old residents (3.44).

TABLE 11

Occupational Classes by Length of Residence of Pasco-Kennewick and Columbia Avenue Area by Old and New Residents

Occupational Class	In per cents	
	New Residents	Old Residents
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	42.7	28.9
Skilled	22.6	22.8
Clerical	13.1	7.1
Managerial	6.0	8.2
Owner	7.5	10.0
Professional	4.5	5.3
Retired	1.0	14.7
Unemployed	2.0	1.2
Not Indicated	1.0	1.8
	100.0	100.0

TABLE 12

Occupational Classes by Area of Residents
of Pasco-Kennewick and Columbia Avenue

Occupational Class	Pasco	Kennewick	Columbia Ave.
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	41.4	30.1	35.5
Skilled	22.3	28.7	38.9
Clerical	8.0	6.7	--
Managerial	6.9	8.8	--
Owner	4.8	10.2	23.6
Professional	6.4	4.0	3.0
Retired	5.9	10.2	--
Unemployed	2.2	1.3	--
Not Indicated	2.1	--	--
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Section 4: The Occupational Pattern

In Appendix A, the difficulties of securing exact occupational information were outlined. A difficulty in compiling occupational information is that the facts about what the wage earner did for a livelihood are indefinite; hence, only general occupational classifications are permitted. This has been explained in the section covering sampling.

What People Do for a Living.

Table 10 shows that Pasco contains the entire Negro population, and that the Negroes are 87.5 per cent either unskilled or semi-skilled. The unskilled and semi-skilled white populations of Pasco and Kennewick are about equal, 29 per cent for Pasco and 30 per cent for Kennewick. Among the whites, the largest unskilled or semi-skilled groups are to be found in the Columbia Avenue Area. In Pasco a large proportion of persons are employed in clerical, managerial, and professional categories, while in Kennewick owners and retired persons predominate.

Table 12 shows that the influx of population during recent years has been heaviest in the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor categories. However, if we take the unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and clerical together, they constitute 78.4 per cent of the new residents and 58.9 per cent of the old residents. To subtract the retired persons from the old residents, accounts for two-thirds of the difference.

For the working population of the area as a whole, one-third are employed in contract construction work of one kind or another. This classi-

fication includes 30 per cent of the employed persons in Pasco and Kennewick, and 44 per cent of those in the Columbia Avenue Area.

TABLE 13

Place of Employment of Employed Population of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue by Area, Length of Residence, and Race¹

Segment of Population	Pasco	Kennewick	Richland-Hanford	Other ²	Total
Pasco					
New Residents					
Negroes	16.2	0.0	78.4	5.4	100.0
Whites	48.3	12.0	39.7	0.0	100.0
Total New Residents	35.8	7.4	54.6	2.2	100.0
Total Old Residents	82.0	4.8	7.2	6.0	100.0
Total Pasco	57.3	6.2	32.6	3.9	100.0
Kennewick					
New Residents	13.8	41.3	44.7	1.2	100.0
Old Residents	13.0	72.2	11.1	3.7	100.0
Total Kennewick	13.0	54.2	30.5	2.3	100.0
Columbia Avenue					
New Residents	6.6	36.7	36.7	20.0	100.0
Old Residents ³	--	--	--	--	--
Total New Residents	23.1	23.6	48.8	4.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	53.5	32.9	8.6	5.0	100.0
Total Sample	35.7	27.4	32.2	4.7	100.0

1. Percentage calculated on the basis of employed population. Several households had more than one person employed.
2. Includes Columbia Avenue Area.
3. Numbers too small in each category to be significant. However, this segment is included in the totals.

Where People Work.

Approximately one third of the working population of the area are employed at Richland or the Hanford Engineering Works. As might be expected, the newest and most transient residents work at Hanford Engineering Works in a higher proportion than the old and settled residents do. Percentages rearranged from Table 13 are as follows: Negroes (78.4%), new Kennewick residents (44.7%), Columbia Avenue new residents (36.7%), new white residents

in Pasco (39.7%), old Kennewick residents (11.1%), old Pasco residents (7.2%). Almost one half the new residents of the area work at Richland and Hanford, while less than one tenth of the old residents work there. In fact, over 90 per cent of those living in the Pasco-Kennewick Area and working in Richland at Hanford Engineering Works are newcomers to the area. The old residents, for the most part, have not taken jobs on the new project.

Table 13 also shows that the new residents of the Columbia Avenue Area have almost the same occupational patterns so far as where they work as the new residents in Kennewick. Even when the places where the new residents work are taken into account, a remarkable number of people in the area work at home. Pasco is clearly the leader in this respect with 57.3 per cent of its employed persons working in the city.

Another comparison to be made between Pasco and Kennewick at this point is that, while 6.2 per cent of those who live in Pasco and are employed find their employment in Kennewick, 13 per cent of those who live in Kennewick and are employed find their employment in Pasco.

Conclusions

From the above it is clear that the great majority of the new people who have come to the area are laborers and clerical workers. Most of them are engaged in contract construction. It is also clear that there is a tendency for the better integrated and larger types of business to be located in Pasco, while Kennewick is more of a city of individually owned businesses and a home for retired persons. It is also clear that it is the new people who work in Richland and Hanford, and that the old residents--those who have been in the area for five years or more--have not been generally attracted to these jobs. It is remarkable that in spite of the pulling power of the Hanford Projects, a large majority of the people in the area work in the towns where they live. This is even more true of the new group, of whom almost 47 per cent of those employed work either in Pasco or Kennewick. The percentage of people who live in one town and work in the other shows evidence that Pasco tends to be a business center and Kennewick a city of homes.

Section 5: The Income Pattern

Table 14 shows that almost 20 per cent of the people interviewed failed to give any answer at all to the question of the amount of income earned. There is some evidence that the average income shown in Table 14 is too high, when compared with other estimates of average income for the area. The people who failed to answer the questions probably tend to be those in the lower income group, since high average incomes for any given class are consistently associated with a high percentage of persons failing to answer the question. Our information about incomes has, then, limitations

in answering such questions as, "What is the potential demand for business and services in the area?" and, "At what level can community activities be maintained through voluntary contribution or through taxation?" The figures do have value as bases for comparison of income between groups.

The average income of Negro households is well below that of white households in the area. There is a sufficient difference between the average income of new white residents and of old white residents to indicate that the average income in new white resident households is substantially larger than in the households of the older residents of the area. While the average income for Pasco as a whole is lower than that for Kennewick as a whole, the average income for new white residents of Pasco is somewhat higher than for Kennewick and the same holds true for old residents. It seems, then, that a higher income for Pasco whites prevails than for Kennewick whites. If true, this is consistent with the general nature of the business character of the Pasco community as contrasted generally with the home character of the Kennewick community. Another probable conclusion would be based on comparing the transient and permanent characteristics of the area segments of the new population. The least permanent is probably the Negro group. The next least permanent, the Columbia Avenue group, and the most permanent of the new residents are those living within the city limits of Pasco and Kennewick. If this analysis is correct, then, among the new residents, the least permanent have also the least income, since the ranking averages from low to high are Negro, Columbia Avenue, Kennewick, and Pasco.

Section 6: The Educational Pattern

The average person interviewed had completed ten and a half years of school, which is approximately the average given in the census of 1940 for the State of Washington. There was little difference between the new white residents and the old residents in respect to their education. There was considerable difference between the Negroes and total whites; the average grade completed for the Negroes was 8.1, compared with 11.2 for whites.

TABLE 14
Family Income by Area, Length of Residence, and Race
of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick and Columbia Avenue

	Under \$1500	\$1500- 2499	\$2500- 4999	\$5000- 7499	\$7500 & Over	No Reply	Total	Average
Pasco								
New Residents	37.5	27.5	27.5	2.5	--	5.0	100.0	\$2125
Negroes	1.8	7.4	54.4	16.7	1.9	14.8	100.0	4125
Whites	17.0	16.0	44.7	10.6	1.1	10.6	100.0	3149
Total New Residents	4.3	8.5	48.9	11.7	7.4	19.2	100.0	3539
Old Residents	10.6	12.1	46.8	11.3	4.2	14.9	100.0	3334
Total Pasco								
Kennewick								
New Residents	6.3	9.0	46.8	3.8	7.6	26.5	100.0	3927
Old Residents	22.4	6.0	41.8	1.5	7.4	10.9	100.0	3288
Total Kennewick	13.7	7.5	44.5	2.8	7.5	24.0	100.0	3622
Columbia Avenue								
New Residents	--	11.1	55.6	7.4	0.0	25.9	100.0	3738
Old Residents	--	--	57.1	--	--	42.9	100.0	3750
Total Columbia Avenue	--	8.8	55.9	5.9	--	29.4	100.0	3740
Total New Residents	10.5	12.5	47.0	7.5	3.5	19.0	100.0	3539
Total New White Residents	3.8	8.7	51.9	8.7	4.4	22.5	100.0	3940
Total Old Residents	11.3	7.1	46.6	7.1	7.1	20.8	100.0	3445
Total Sample	10.9	10.1	46.7	7.3	5.2	19.8	100.0	3497

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COMMUNITY AND ITS GROWTH

In the previous material certain aspects of housing in the two cities have been examined as they relate to the intentions of the population to move within the area and move away from the area. In this section attitudes of residents toward their community will be examined. This is done for the following reasons:

1. To determine what residents like and dislike about their community. Time and facilities can be most economically used in making the community a more desirable place to live if this is known.
2. The reactions provide a basis for judging the manner in which the newer residents are being integrated into the life of the community.

In the analysis, comparisons are made among the various segments of the population. By dividing the total population into well defined segments, comparisons can be made. Persons in each community will be better able to judge where emphasis should be laid in community programs.

What Do Residents Like Most about Pasco and Kennewick?

To secure an indication of what people like most about their community a list was prepared on the basis of informed discussions with several people well acquainted with the area. Seventeen items were selected.

The list was put on an index card and the individual interviewed was asked to check the five which he thought to be most important. The items most frequently selected were quite consistent among the various segments of the population. Those items selected by at least 25 per cent of each group are listed in order of their importance and with the percentage selecting the items.

A number of findings of value are indicated by these listings. First, in both Pasco and Kennewick job opportunities and friendliness of neighbors are the most frequently mentioned items for the new white residents. This item is less important to Negroes. This may be due to the fact that Negro women reacted to this item in terms of opportunities for domestic employment which are poor. On the other hand, among the old residents other items were more important. Second, churches were ranked lower by new residents. The difference between old and new residents shows that the new residents think of their location in Pasco and Kennewick in terms of the job and have not as yet put down roots. This probably indicates less community participation among

them than among the older residents. Third, both new and old residents in Pasco frequently mention the library. Fourth, the optimism regarding the future is liked by more people in Pasco than in the other parts of the area. Fifth, community spirit ranks high only in the Columbia Avenue area. Sixth, with the exception of fire protection, schools and library, no public services ranked high.

TABLE 15

Opinion concerning the question, "What things do you like best about this town?" (name five) including those things liked by 25 or more per cent in each group.

<u>Groups questioned and things liked</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Pasco	
New Residents	
Negroes	
Churches	70
climate	42
friendliness of neighbors	38
town is the right size	25
Whites	
job opportunities	63
climate	59
friendliness of neighbors	59
churches	46
optimism regarding future size	33
school system	31
library	28
Total New Residents	
churches	56
climate	52
friendliness of neighbors	49
job opportunities	36
Old Residents	
climate	61
churches	53
friendliness of neighbors	50
library	43
job opportunities	42
optimism regarding future size	28

Table 15 (con't.)

<u>Groups questioned and things liked</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Total Pasco	
climate	57
churches	56
friendliness of neighbors	50
job opportunities	39
library	31
Kennewick	
New Residents	
Friendliness of neighbors	59
job opportunities	44
climate	43
churches	31
school system	27
Old Residents	
churches	60
climate	60
job opportunities	57
friendliness of neighbors	54
school system	40
stores	34
fire protection	25
Total Kennewick	
friendliness of neighbors	58
climate	52
job opportunities	51
churches	45
school system	34
Columbia avenue (total)	
job opportunities	55
climate	50
churches	35
friendliness of neighbors	35
community spirit	35
Total New Residents (including total Columbia Avenue)	
job opportunities	84
climate	64
friendliness of neighbors	62
churches	55

Table 15 (con't.)

Groups questioned and things liked	Percent
Total Old Residents (not including Columbia Avenue)	61
climate	56
churches	52
friendliness of neighbors	48
job opportunities	25
library	
Total Sample	63
climate	58
friendliness of neighbors	55
churches	55
job opportunities	

TABLE 16

"What Richland People Like and Dislike about Pasco and Kennewick"

Things Liked	In Percents	
	Pasco	Kennewick
Friendliness	3.9	13.8
Stores	70.8	59.1
Street System and Traffic Control	15.2	-- *
Residential District	8.4	25.5
Recreational Facilities	12.4	6.9
Race Segregation	--	9.0
Churches	-- *	3.7
Cleanliness	2.2	6.9
Hotels and Restaurants	5.0	-- *
Quietness	-- *	9.0
Things Disliked		
Dirty Streets and Sidewalks	20.5	17.8
Negroes	15.0	--
Crime	6.5	-- *
Attitudes of Merchants	24.5	5.2
Not enough stores and prices too high	6.5	12.7
Temporary Housing	-- *	6.0
Appearance of Stores	-- *	10.4
Traffic and Parking	19.5	32.1
Police Force	-- *	5.2

* Too few to list

Dirty streets and sidewalks--a general impression of untidiness--is frequently mentioned, especially in regard to Pasco. Here, also, is a field of community action that could do much to enhance the prestige of the community and which will not be amiss in the years to come when competition with Richland and even Walla Walla becomes more intense. Many things which are in the realm of the practical would have almost immediate effects. From a business standpoint, the more favorably outsiders are impressed, the more likely they are to come to the community for shopping, movies, dining out, et cetera. Some attachment must be built up other than by choosing to shop at a city because of the stores. Although far from completely satisfactory, Pasco and Kennewick are currently better than Richland. If these attachments are built up it goes almost without saying that the chances for continued retail expansion are improved.

TABLE 17

General Attitudes of Richland Residents Toward Pasco and Kennewick.

Percent Choosing Statement for

	Kennewick	Pasco
1. I like Kennewick (Pasco) very much. If I could find a good house I would like to live there and go back and forth to work in Richland.	7.7	.4
2. I like Kennewick (Pasco) pretty well, but I would prefer to live in Richland.	47.5	37.4
3. I think Kennewick (Pasco) is about an average city for its size.	32.7	34.4
4. I think it must be a pretty poor town in which to live.	5.7	15.0
5. If I had to live in Kennewick (Pasco) I think I would try to find another job somewhere else so I could move.	6.4	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 18

Opinions concerning the question: "What do you think are the five most important problems which Pasco and Kennewick will face during the next five years?", listed according to the frequency with which they were mentioned.¹

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Negroes | 13. Police Protection |
| 2. School, Crowding | 14. Shortage of Teachers |
| 3. Traffic | 15. Inadequate Recreation for Adults |
| 4. Water Supply | 16. Weeds in Vacant Lots |
| 5. Medical Service | 17. Crime |
| 6. Housing for Temporary Workers | 18. Admission Charge at Swimming Pool |
| 7. Discrimination Against Negroes | 19. Unsightly Alleys |
| 8. Housing for Permanent Workers | 20. Fire Protection |
| 9. Sanitation | 21. Playgrounds |
| 10. Street Lighting | 22. Stores |
| 11. City Government | 23. Unemployment |
| 12. Recreation for Youth | |

¹ These 23 problems were listed on a card which was handed to the person interviewed. He was asked to name the five most important problems on the card.

Although the differences are not great, they point to the general conclusion that in Kennewick there is a feeling that friends are easier to find than in Pasco.

The results of these questions point clearly to the necessity of programs to bring the newer residents into community participation. This is not limited to political activities. It encompasses the whole range of organized and informal activity. Although the improvement of community spirit may help the economic prospects by encouraging industry to come into the area, this should not be the compelling reason. A successful program will make the community a friendlier and more satisfying one for its residents.

In addition to the attitudes expressed by the residents, a sample of opinions of Richland residents is available from the Richland Survey. Seldom does one community ever have any clear idea of how it looks to people outside the community. In the Richland Survey the person filling in the questionnaire was asked to check one of five sentences which was the best approximation to his attitude toward Pasco and Kennewick. Table 17 gives the statements and results.

It is clear that Richland residents are on the whole favorably impressed with both cities, but there is a preference for Kennewick. The difference

in the proportions choosing the first statement might be explained on the basis of Kennewick's nearness or its apparent desirability as a preferential residential district.

How Residents View Local Problems

A question similar to the above was asked concerning what the residents thought were the five most important problems the community would face during the next five years. The problems contained in the check list were in the order in which they were mentioned by the total sample. (Table 18)

The selection of listings proved quite different among the various segments of the population. First of all the differences among the three residential areas can be seen by taking the problems given the top ten rankings in the total listings--each person interviewed had five chances to check an item.

Several general patterns appear. School crowding, traffic, Negroes, and water supply are among the ten most frequently mentioned problems in each area. In addition to these four, Pasco and Kennewick residents frequently checked housing for temporary and permanent workers and street lighting. Discrimination against Negroes is strongly felt both in Pasco and in the Columbia Avenue area, but not in Kennewick. Crime and police protection were considered much more important in Pasco than in the other areas. Medical service and sanitation were important to Kennewick. In the Columbia Avenue area unsightly alleys were more important.

These listings provide a basis for directing community action in civic improvement. These appear to be the problem with which the residents in these areas are most concerned. There are some striking differences between the new and old residents in both Kennewick and Pasco. In Table 20 are the problems rated most important by each of these major segments, and the percentage checking the particular problem. From an examination of these lists several conclusions may be drawn:

1. The problem of housing for both temporary and permanent workers is most acutely felt among new residents of Kennewick. The frequency with which this was mentioned was twice as great as among new residents of Pasco. At the same time this problem was not in the top ten for old residents of Kennewick. In fact less than 15 per cent mentioned it. This may be due to the lack of communication between new and old residents. The older residents frequently are not aware of the problems faced primarily by the newer residents.

2. Medical facilities, although very important to both new and old Kennewick residents, are ranked higher by the new residents.

TABLE 19

Opinions concerning the questions: "What do you think are the five most important problems which Pasco and Kennewick will face during the next five years?", listed according to the frequency with which they were mentioned, classified by area in percentages. ¹

Pasco

1. Negroes	49.2
2. School, Crowding	55.4
3. Traffic	33.3
4. Housing for Permanent Workers	
Discrimination Against Negroes	29.1
6. Housing for Temporary Workers	27.0
7. Water Supply	25.4
8. Crime	
Street Lighting	23.8
10. Police Protection	22.2

Kennewick

1. Medical Service	38.8
2. Sanitation	
Water Supply	36.1
4. School Crowding	35.4
5. Traffic	32.7
6. Housing for Temporary Workers	29.9
7. Negroes	
Street Lighting	27.2
9. Recreation for Youth	25.9
10. Housing for Permanent Workers	22.4

Columbia Avenue

1. Negroes	50.0
2. Traffic	44.1
3. Medical Service	38.2
4. Water Supply	29.4
5. Inadequate Recreation for Adults	
Discrimination Against Negroes	26.4
Sanitation	
City Government	
9. Unsightly Alleys	
School Crowding	23.5

TABLE 20

Opinion concerning the question: "What do you think are the five most important problems which Pasco and Kennewick will face during the next five years?" listed according to the frequency with which they were mentioned, classified by area and by length of residence

In Per Cents

Pasco

New Residents

Negroes

1. Traffic	
Water Supply	40.0
3. Discrimination Against Negroes	35.0
4. Medical Facilities	32.5
5. Street Lighting	
Sanitation	30.0
7. Admission Charge at Swimming Pool	
City Government	
Housing for Temporary Workers	27.5
10. Crime	20.0

Whites

1. Negroes	57.4
2. School Crowding	46.2
3. Housing for Permanent Workers	44.4
4. Traffic	35.2
5. Discrimination Against Negroes	29.6
6. Water Supply	
Housing for Temporary Workers	25.9
8. Crime	
Weeds in Vacant Lots	
Unsightly Alleys	16.7

Old White Residents

1. Negroes	59.6
2. School Crowding	43.6
3. Housing for Temporary Workers	
Housing for Permanent Workers	26.6
5. Street Lighting	
Shortage of Teachers	25.5
7. Discrimination Against Negroes	24.5
8. Crime	
Police Protection	23.4
10. Traffic	
Weeds in Vacant Lots	22.3

¹ These responses were taken from 23 problems which were listed on a card which was handed to the person interviewed. He was asked to name the five most important problems on the card.

Table 20 (con't.)

Kennewick

New Residents

1. Housing for Temporary Workers	50.7
2. Medical Service	49.3
3. School Crowding	41.8
4. Traffic	
City Government	40.3
6. Negroes	
Water Supply	34.3
8. Street Lighting	31.3
9. Recreation for Youth	31.3
10. Housing for Permanent Workers	29.8

Old Residents

1. Water Supply	46.3
2. Traffic	44.8
3. Medical Service	38.8
4. School Crowding	37.3
5. Sanitation	28.4
Negroes	
7. Street Lighting	
Recreation for Youth	26.9
9. City Government	22.4
10. Discrimination Against Negroes	20.9

Columbia Avenue (total)

1. Negroes	50.0
2. Traffic	44.1
3. Medical Service	38.2
4. Water Supply	29.4
5. Sanitation	
City Government	
Discrimination Against Negroes	
Recreation for Adults	26.5
9. School Crowding	
Unightly Alleys	23.5

3. School crowding is recognized as a problem more frequently by the newer residents in both cities.

4. The new residents in Pasco agreed on only seven problems. The others listed represent small percentages.

5. Discrimination against Negroes is more pronounced by the new residents in both cities.

These data have definite implications for community programs. They comprise priority lists for groups interested in reducing points of tension and in making the community a better place in which to live. These problems will be taken up in more detail in the following sections.

Attitudes Toward the Community as a Place To Live.

In much of the organized community life there has been a general tendency for Kennewick residents to show a greater satisfaction with their local services and institutions than the residents of either Pasco or Columbia Avenue. These differences are not great, nor are they entirely consistent (an exception is the recreation programs for youth). In their attitudes toward stores, schools, local government, water supply, sanitation facilities, and even medical facilities, Kennewick residents seem to be entering into community life to a greater degree.

TABLE 21

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick and Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question: "Do you think this town
will ever seem like home to you?"

	In per cents					Total
	It does now ¹	It may in time ²	Do not think it will ³	It never will ⁴	No opinion	
Pasco						
Negro	10.0	30.0	17.5	40.0	2.5	100.0
Total Pasco	51.1	18.1	9.0	20.2	1.6	100.0
Kennewick						
Old Residents	83.5	7.5	3.0	6.0	--	100.0
Total Kennewick	64.4	17.1	8.2	9.6	.7	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New Residents	37.1	33.3	11.1	18.5	--	100.0
Total Columbia						
Avenue	41.2	32.4	8.8	17.6	--	100.0
Total New						
Residents	36.5	27.5	12.5	22.0	1.5	100.0
Total Old						
Residents	78.0	8.9	4.2	8.3	.6	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, it does now."

2. Statement checked: "I think it may in time."

3. Statement checked: "I don't think it will, but I am not sure."

4. Statement checked: "No, it never will."

Certainly one very important factor is the wide divergencies in Pasco caused by the bi-racial composition. As was pointed out, the Negro problem has been magnified all out of proportion by fear, rumor, and misunderstandings. This can be overcome by intelligent and progressive action by the Pasco community.

That these differences are real can be seen in the responses given to several questions which relate to the general community life. There is a fairly general feeling in Pasco that there is more crime than one would expect for a town of its size. For Pasco over 50 per cent have this belief, but in Kennewick only 3 per cent do. The attitude is most common among Negroes. The response to this question is at least, in part, a reflection of the attitude toward the community. Negative answers to this question have been found to be associated with community spirit and solidarity.

A second question points to the same general condition in a more obvious way. The question is: "Do you think this town will ever seem like home to you?" The results are shown in Table 21. This question clearly divides those who are already integrated into the life of the community and those who are sure that they will never think of it as home.

CHAPTER IV

RACIAL ATTITUDES

Race Relations

In the data many striking differences in attitudes, beliefs, and economic characteristics between the Negroes and whites are evident. Negroes are a marginal group in their relationships to the community. They participate least in community activities and have least favorable attitudes toward the community and its institutions. A part of this lack of integration is due to the short period of time they remain in Pasco, their intentions to leave, and possibly to their income and occupation level. These factors taken individual and in combination can account for only a small fraction of the differences indicated. The differences may in large measure be traced to the attitudes of both toward whites. These prejudices block effective understanding of the race relationships and the interests of both Negroes and Caucasians.

The background of present race relations in the Pasco-Kennewick area is quite similar to those of any other city of the Pacific Northwest. In general, the Negro population was very small prior to the war. During the war Negroes migrated into many of the cities due to increasing demands for labor. A situation was created for which the older population was almost wholly unprepared, either from the point of view of established attitudes or behavior. The "white nature" was confronted by a situation without tools to cope adequately with the problems. As a result, nothing was done as an educational process, causing tension to mount. In a few cases programs were initiated in an attempt to improve inter-racial understanding.

The present situation in Pasco-Kennewick differs in several ways from typical race relations situations common in other parts of the United States. Among these are:

1. Cities having large influxes of Negroes usually are relatively large industrial cities. Cities with populations of less than 25,000 seldom have large and rapid increases in Negro population. This is not true for Pasco.
2. Local customs act as a barrier to Negroes in Kennewick. That these customs are recognized by the Negroes is indicated by the fact that no Negro interviewed expressed any interest in moving to Kennewick.
3. Closely related to both of these is the relatively high concentration of Negroes to whites in Pasco. Although no census is available, estimates of the Negro population run between 2,000 and 2,500, representing at least 25 per cent of the population of Pasco. This is undoubtedly a high estimate, which may be due in part to small families among the Negro population.

TABLE 22

Opinion Concerning the Question, "The total population of Pasco and Kennewick is about 15,000 at the present time. How many Negroes do you think live in Pasco and Kennewick?"

In per cents

Groups questioned	Opinion							No Opinion	Total
	Less than 500	500-999	1000-1,999	2000-2,999	3000-3,999	4000-4,999	5000-		
Pasco									
New Residents									
Negroes	---	47.5	32.5	7.5	2.5	---	2.5	7.5	100.0
Whites	1.8	3.7	16.7	16.7	14.8	3.7	13.0	29.6	100.0
Total New Residents	1.1	22.3	23.4	12.8	9.6	2.1	8.5	20.2	100.0
Old Residents	1.1	8.5	16.0	24.5	18.1	4.2	7.4	20.2	100.0
Total Pasco	1.1	15.4	19.7	18.6	13.8	3.2	8.0	20.2	100.0
Kennewick									
New Residents	1.3	1.3	15.2	25.3	11.4	3.8	11.4	30.3	100.0
Old Residents	---	7.5	22.4	26.9	13.4	1.5	10.4	17.9	100.0
Total Kennewick	.7	4.1	18.5	26.0	12.3	2.7	11.0	24.7	100.0
Columbia Avenue									
New Residents	---	7.4	7.4	29.6	18.5	3.7	---	33.4	100.0
Old Residents	14.3	---	14.3	14.3	---	---	28.5	28.6	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	2.9	5.9	8.8	26.5	14.7	2.9	5.9	32.4	100.0
Total New Residents	1.0	12.0	18.0	20.0	11.5	3.0	8.5	26.0	100.0
Total Old Residents	1.2	7.7	18.5	25.0	15.5	3.0	9.5	19.6	100.0
Total Sample	1.1	10.0	18.2	22.3	13.3	3.0	9.0	23.1	100.0

4. Negroes in the area are employed principally in construction work of limited duration. Many Negroes do not expect to find work in the area after the completion of Hanford. In short, Negroes in the area think of staying only one or two years. For this reason they have less incentive to build up a community life. Also, this fact goes far to explain the housing paradox which faces the Negroes and the community as a whole.

Some Misconceptions

The magnitude of the problem is greatly overestimated by most people living in the area. By and large the whites believe that the Negro population is far in excess of the actual number. Many of the estimates made by the whites of the number of Negroes went above 5,000. These are shown in Table 22.

TABLE 23

Estimate of the Negro Population Made in Pasco as Made by White Residents

Estimate	Percentage of White Residents
Below 1,000	13.0
1,000 - 1,999	21.9
2,000 - 2,999	32.1
3,000 - 3,999	19.5
4,000 - 4,999	4.5
Above 5,000	13.0

At least two-thirds of the residents estimate the Negro population to be at least 2,000. On the basis of the present study an estimate in the neighborhood of 1,200 is justified. This is in substantial agreement with an independent estimate made by other observers.

Not only do the white residents overestimate the Negro population but they think of it in terms of continued growth and expansion. Seventy-nine per cent of the residents thought that the proportion of Negroes would increase during the next five years. This does not correlate with either the intentions of the Negroes to move away, or what the Negroes think will happen to the Negro population once the construction is over. As was shown by the sample, 51 per cent of the Negroes interviewed thought that at least one-half of the Negroes would leave when the work at Hanford and Richland was completed. Only 12 per cent thought that less than 25 per cent would leave.

On the basis of the data previously cited even these estimates appear conservative. The Negro population by and large is tied to construction work. As was pointed out previously, the Negro working population is largely employed in Hanford and Richland in construction work as unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. This can be taken at least as an indication that they will follow construction work, possibly to other points in the Columbia Basin. This probability is increased by reason of the small size of household and small number of children of school age. Households of this type can migrate more easily than can larger households.

TABLE 24

Opinions of Old and New Pasco-Kennewick Residents Concerning the Question, "How many Negroes do you think should live in the two cities?"

In per cents

Groups questioned	Opinion										Total
	None	Less than 500	500-999	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000 or more	As many as want	As many as find jobs	No opinion	
Pasco											
New Residents											
Negroes	2.5	2.5	--	10.0	5.0	5.0	2.5	70.0	--	2.5	100.00
Whites	33.3	9.2	3.7	5.6	1.9	1.9	--	11.1	--	33.3	100.00
Total New Residents	20.2	6.4	2.1	7.4	3.2	3.2	1.1	36.2	--	20.2	100.00
Old Residents	55.3	11.7	2.1	6.4	1.1	--	2.1	7.4	1.1	12.8	100.00
Total Pasco	37.9	9.0	2.1	6.9	2.1	1.6	1.6	21.8	.5	16.5	100.00
Kennewick											
New Residents	29.1	3.8	5.1	5.1	7.6	3.8	6.3	6.3	1.3	31.6	100.00
Old Residents	35.8	7.5	4.5	13.4	6.0	1.5	--	10.4	--	20.9	100.00
Total Kennewick	32.3	5.5	4.8	8.9	6.8	2.7	3.4	8.2	.7	26.7	100.00
Columbia Avenue											
New Residents	25.9	11.2	3.7	14.8	--	--	3.7	14.8	--	25.9	100.00
Old Residents	28.6	--	14.3	14.3	--	--	--	28.5	--	14.3	100.00
Total Columbia Ave	26.5	8.8	5.9	14.7	--	--	2.9	17.7	--	23.5	100.00
Total New Residents	24.5	6.0	3.5	7.5	4.5	3.0	3.5	21.5	.5	25.5	100.00
Total Old Residents	46.4	9.5	3.6	9.5	3.0	.6	1.2	9.5	.6	16.1	100.00
Total Sample	34.6	7.6	3.5	8.4	3.8	1.9	2.4	16.0	.5	21.3	100.00

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-59-

Future job opportunities other than construction are distinctly limited for Negroes. The types of enterprises likely to develop in Pasco and Kennewick are not those which have been large sources of employment for Negroes in other parts of the country. Of course, there will be some jobs which will be taken by Negroes. And it is possible that some industries will lower barriers to Negro employment and find in this group a pool of efficient labor.

The residents are almost equally divided on the question of whether Negroes should live in the area. The segment of the white population which has the most agreement on this point are the old residents in Pasco. Almost two out of every three residents offering opinions said no Negroes should live in the area. Nearly 60 per cent of the other residents took the other view point, although there was no agreement on how many live in the area.

This striking difference is in sharp contrast to the opinions expressed by several Negroes to the researchers to the effect that it was the "new whites" who were most resentful of the Negroes moving into the area. There appears to be no basis in fact for this opinion among the Negroes. Another aspect of this attitude is the belief among the Negroes that practically all of the new whites in the Kennewick-Pasco area came from the South. Seventy-six per cent had this belief, although there is no basis for such opinions. By actual count, only 16 per cent of the new population comes from the Southern states. The Negroes appear to blame these more recent migrants for segregation and discrimination in the belief that they came from the South and are trying to establish southern patterns of segregation.

Typical Negro-White Beliefs and Attitudes

White residents show very little agreement in attitudes and beliefs regarding Negroes. On the other hand, the Negroes show a much greater unanimity of opinion on many issues. This tendency has been noted previously in regard to other aspects of the community. It may be due in part to a greater similarity of experience among the Negroes, such as living in the same type of housing, similar jobs, living in a compact neighborhood, and relatively fewer differences in income and education. It is therefore much easier to characterize Negro attitudes and beliefs than the whites. Furthermore, the variations in attitudes and beliefs among whites show no consistent relationships with differences in length of residence or with the location of residence. If any conclusion can be drawn as to the differences between old and new residents, it is that new residents are more liberal in their beliefs about the proper place of the Negroes in our society. This difference is not related to differences among the groups in how they think they would react under specific circumstances. A few examples will indicate the complexities of these attitudes and beliefs.

In Table 26 the answers selected for the question: "In general do you think that ideas of "white supremacy" and "keeping the Negroes in their

TABLE 25

Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick
Concerning the Question, "On the whole, do you think
that Negroes are being treated fairly in this town?"

Groups questioned	Opinion					Total
	Yes, sure they are. ¹	Think so not sure ²	Do not think so ³	No ⁴	opinion	
Pasco						
New Residents						
Negroes	15.0	5.0	--	80.0	--	100.0
Whites	50.0	14.8	5.6	24.0	5.6	100.0
Total New Residents	35.1	10.6	3.2	47.9	3.2	100.0
Old Residents	70.3	12.7	4.3	7.4	5.3	100.0
Total Pasco	52.6	11.7	3.7	27.7	4.3	100.0
Kennewick						
New Residents	39.3	24.0	3.8	20.2	12.7	100.0
Old Residents	52.1	25.4	7.5	9.0	6.0	100.0
Total Kennewick	45.1	24.7	5.5	15.1	9.6	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New Residents	81.5	3.7	3.7	--	11.1	100.0
Old Residents	57.1	14.3	14.3	--	14.3	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	76.4	5.9	5.9	---	11.8	100.0
Total New Residents	43.0	15.0	3.5	30.5	8.0	100.0
Total Old Residents	62.4	17.9	6.0	7.7	6.0	100.0
Total Sample	51.9	16.3	4.6	20.1	7.1	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed:
"Yes, I am sure they are."
2. Statement checked:
"I think so, but I am not sure."
3. Statement checked:
"I don't think so, but I am not sure."
4. Statement checked:
"No, I am sure they are not treated fairly."

TABLE 26

Opinions of old and new Residents of Pasco-Kennewick
Concerning the question: "In general, do you think ideas
of "white supremacy" and "keeping the Negroes in their
place" are opposed to the principles of American Demo-
cracy?"

Groups questioned	Opinion					Total
	Yes, sure they are ¹	Think so, not sure ²	Do not think so ³	No ⁴	opinion	
Pasco						
New Residents						
Negroes	90.0	--	--	7.5	2.5	100.0
Whites	35.2	14.8	16.7	29.6	3.7	100.0
Total New Residents	58.5	8.5	9.6	20.2	3.2	100.0
Old Residents	27.7	13.8	13.8	34.1	10.6	100.0
Total Pasco	43.1	11.2	11.7	27.1	6.9	100.0
Kennewick						
New Residents	39.2	24.1	3.8	19.0	13.9	100.0
Old Residents	31.4	10.4	10.4	32.9	14.9	100.0
Total Kennewick	35.7	17.8	6.8	25.3	14.4	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New Residents	44.5	3.7	--	40.7	11.1	100.0
Old Residents	71.4	--	---	14.3	14.3	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	50.0	2.9	--	35.3	11.8	100.0
Total New Residents	49.0	14.0	6.0	22.5	8.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	31.0	11.9	11.9	32.7	12.5	100.0
Total Sample	40.8	13.0	8.7	27.2	10.3	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I am sure they are."
2. Statement checked: "I think so, but I am not sure."
3. Statement checked: "I don't think so, but I am not sure."
4. Statement checked: "No, these ideas are perfectly consistent with demo-
cracy."

place" are opposed to the principles of American Democracy?" In both Pasco and Kennewick the new residents answer this question in the affirmative more frequently than do the old residents. This difference is much greater in Kennewick than in Pasco. The greatest difference, however, is that between Negroes and whites. The former are almost entirely agreed that the two ideas are inconsistent.

Substantially, the same variation appeared in the answers to the question as to the fairness of the treatment of Negroes (Table 26). More of the new whites were certain that the Negroes were not being treated fairly. The differences between the cities is largely a matter of degree. Kennewick residents are less certain that the Negroes are being treated fairly. Note again that it is old residents of Pasco that are the most extreme of the four large white groups. The Negroes are largely in agreement in their feeling that they are not being treated fairly.

TABLE 27

Opinion of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick concerning the question, "In general, do you think there is segregation now in Pasco and Kennewick?"

Groups questioned	In per cents			
	Opinion			Total
	Yes	No	No Opinion	
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negroes	95.0	2.5	2.5	100.0
Whites	40.0	53.7	5.6	100.0
Total New Residents	63.8	31.9	4.3	100.0
Old Residents	26.6	72.3	1.1	100.0
Total Pasco	45.2	52.1	2.7	100.0
Kennewick				
New Residents	32.9	58.2	8.9	100.0
Old Residents	29.8	64.2	6.0	100.0
Total Kennewick	31.5	61.0	7.5	100.0
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	11.1	81.5	7.4	100.0
Old Residents	14.3	71.4	14.3	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	11.8	79.4	8.8	
Total New Residents	44.5	49.0	6.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	27.4	69.0	3.6	100.0
Total Sample	36.7	58.1	5.2	100.0

TABLE 28

Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick concerning the question: "If you were eating in a restaurant and a Negro sat down at the next table before you had been served, would you get up and leave the restaurant?"

Group questioned	In percents					Total
	Opinion			No opinion		
	Yes, certainly would ¹	Might, not sure ²	Do not think so ³			
	No ⁴					
Pasco						
New White Residents	18.5	7.4	16.7	57.4	--	100.0
Old White Residents	24.5	6.4	14.9	48.9	5.3	100.0
Total Pasco	22.3	6.8	15.5	52.0	3.4	100.0
Kennewick						
New White Residents	19.0	5.1	13.9	60.7	1.3	100.0
Old White Residents	9.0	9.0	7.5	74.5	--	100.0
Total Kennewick	14.4	6.8	11.0	67.1	.7	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New White Residents	44.4	--	7.5	44.4	3.7	100.0
Old White Residents	--	--	14.3	85.7	--	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	35.3	--	3.8	53.0	2.9	100.0
Total New Residents	23.1	5.0	13.8	56.8	1.3	100.0
Total Old Residents	17.3	7.1	11.9	60.7	3.0	100.0
Total Sample - White	20.1	6.1	12.8	58.9	2.1	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I certainly would."
2. Statement checked: "I think I might, but I am not sure."
3. Statement checked: "I don't think I would, but I am not sure."
4. Statement checked: "No, I would go on and order the meal."

A somewhat larger proportion of the newcomers recognize local practices as segregation. Ninety-five per cent of the Negroes said that segregation exists, but only 27 per cent of the old Pasco residents thought so. Of the Pasco new residents, 41 per cent thought segregation existed.

On the basis of these three questions, one may conclude that new residents are more liberal than the older ones. The old residents of Kennewick, for example, appeared to be less inclined to take serious offense at eating in the same restaurant as did a Negro, than either new or old residents in

TABLE 29

Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Concerning the Question: "In general, do you think that it is all right for Negroes to buy their groceries in the same store as white people?"

Group questioned	In percents					Total
	Opinion			No ⁴	No opinion	
	Yes, sure they should ¹	Think so, not sure ²	Do not think so ³			
Pasco						
New White Residents	70.3	9.3	9.3	11.1	--	100.0
Old White Residents	55.3	16.0	8.5	19.1	1.1	100.0
Total Pasco	60.8	13.5	8.8	16.2	.7	100.0
Kennewick						
New White Residents	50.6	20.2	5.1	24.1	--	100.0
Old White Residents	55.2	20.9	7.5	16.4	--	100.0
Total Kennewick	52.8	20.5	6.2	20.5	--	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New White Residents	74.1	--	3.7	18.5	3.7	100.0
Old White Residents	71.4	--	--	28.6	--	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	73.6	---	2.9	20.6	2.9	100.0
Total New Residents	61.2	12.6	6.8	18.8	.6	100.0
Total Old Residents	56.0	17.3	7.7	18.4	.6	100.0
Total Sample - White	58.6	15.2	7.0	18.6	.6	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I am sure they should."
2. Statement checked: "I think so, but I am not sure."
3. Statement checked: "I don't think so, but I am not sure."
4. Statement checked: "No, they shouldn't buy in the same store."

Pasco. Seventy-five per cent of this group showed no indication of resentment toward the situation described in the question. Only 49 per cent of old residents and 57 per cent of new residents indicated no resentment. This may be a result of having never really faced a real situation of dining near a Negro.

In the case of sitting next to Negroes in the movies, fewer of the old residents in each city showed an unfavorable attitude toward Negroes. In the situation described in the question, approximately 42 per cent of the old resi-

TABLE 30

Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Concerning the Question: "If you were in the movies where there were only a few vacant seats and a Negro sat in the seat next to you, do you think you would leave?"

Groups questioned	In per cents					Total
	Opinion					
	Yes, certainly would ¹	Think so, not sure ²	Do not think so ³	No ⁴ opinion		
Pasco						
New White Residents	33.3	14.8	18.5	31.5	1.9	100.0
Old White Residents	36.2	7.4	16.0	38.3	2.1	100.0
Total Pasco	35.1	10.1	16.9	35.9	2.0	100.0
Kennewick						
New White Residents	41.8	10.1	8.9	39.2	--	100.0
Old White Residents	26.9	11.9	14.9	46.3	--	100.0
Total Kennewick	34.9	11.0	11.6	42.5	--	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New White Residents	48.1	7.4	11.1	29.7	3.7	100.0
Old White Residents	28.6	14.3	14.3	42.8	--	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	44.1	8.8	11.8	32.4	2.9	100.0
Total New Residents	39.9	11.3	12.5	35.0	1.3	100.0
Total Old Residents	32.1	9.5	15.5	41.7	1.2	100.0
Total Sample - White	36.0	10.4	14.0	38.4	1.2	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I certainly would."
2. Statement checked: "I think I would, but I am not sure."
3. Statement checked: "I don't think I would, but I am not sure."
4. Statement checked: "No, I'd continue watching the movie."

dents showed no inclination to move away from Negroes, while only 34 per cent of the new residents in the area took this response. In respect to only one question describing a specific situation were responses which were definitely indicative of an unfavorable attitude toward Negroes more frequent than the responses which might be considered favorable. This was a question relating to Negroes as neighbors (Table 31). Only among the old residents of Kennewick were the favorable responses in the majority. A majority of the new residents of Kennewick, Columbia Avenue, and the old residents of Pasco were most opposed to having a Negro family live next door. To many it may be surprising to note that 43 per cent chose responses which indicated no tendency to judge Negroes for neighbors on the basis of real or assumed racial characteristics.

TABLE 31
Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Concerning the
Question: "Suppose a Negro family moved into the place next door to
you. Do you think you would move?"

Group Questioned	Opinion				Total
	Move out ¹	Look around for another place ²	In per cents		
			Wait and see ³	No opinion	
Question. Do you think you would move?"					
Wouldn't think about it ⁴					
Pasco					
New White Residents	29.6	20.4	31.5	14.8	100.0
Old White Residents	38.3	21.3	22.3	11.7	100.0
Total Pasco	35.1	21.0	25.7	12.8	100.0
Kennewick					
New White Residents	31.7	30.4	25.3	10.1	100.0
Old White Residents	28.4	17.9	29.8	23.9	100.0
Total Kennewick	30.1	24.7	27.4	16.4	100.0
Columbia Avenue					
New White Residents	51.9	11.1	29.6	3.7	100.0
Old White Residents	28.6	--	42.8	28.6	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	47.1	8.8	32.4	8.8	100.0
Total New White Residents	34.4	23.8	28.1	10.6	100.0
Total Old White Residents	33.9	19.0	26.2	17.3	100.0
Total Sample - White	34.2	21.3	27.1	14.0	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I would move out as quickly as possible."
2. Statement checked: "I think I would start looking around for another place."
3. Statement checked: "I think I would wait and see what kind of family it was."
4. Statement checked: "No, I wouldn't think any more about it than if it were a white family."

The evidence points to several conclusions about present race relations and suggests steps which might be taken to reduce tension and ill feeling between the two groups.

1. The differences in local customs in the treatment of Negroes between Pasco and Kennewick is not consistent with the variation in prevailing beliefs and attitudes among whites now living in the areas. Perhaps the customs represent past differences but the indications today are that the people in Kennewick are more liberally inclined toward the Negro, both in principle and in several specific situations. (Again, this may be the result of a rationalization, as they may not have faced the actual situation of those contacts.)

2. The indications are that the white residents as a whole may be no more unfavorable to Negroes than similar residents of other communities. This cannot be "proven" without extensive inquiry using the identical questions in other communities.

3. In specific situations the number of people whose actions are dominated by the race factor are in the minority, except in the case of housing. The most striking cases of this are restaurant eating and grocery buying. Seventy-three per cent think Negroes should buy groceries in the same stores as whites and 72 per cent did not think they would leave a restaurant if a Negro sat down at the next table. Policies designed to exclude Negroes and to deny them equal opportunities in specific situations appear to be inconsistent with prevailing attitudes of a large proportion of the residents.

4. The unfavorable attitudes expressed in the responses to questions such as "Do you think the Negroes should be encouraged to leave?" possibly are not so much a reaction to the physical presence of Negroes as a general reaction of local problems and tensions. If problems such as housing, adult recreation, traffic, medical services, participation in community programs, were eased, the tension over race would also be eased. Race provides a ready-made explanation of the troubles that beset the rapidly expanding populations. Studies made elsewhere have found that prejudice is related to other problems and racial tensions are greatly reduced when other problems are reduced.

5. The large numbers of the white residents who think there is no segregation may be taken as an indication that the whites and Negroes have different conceptions of segregation. If segregation is taken as any practice which restricts the participation and activities of individuals by reason of membership in one or the other group, then there are many instances of segregation in the area, such as the distinct break between the principal Negro residential area and the white areas, eating establishments and in general group participation. The Negroes evidently thought of segregation in these terms. They mentioned many places of segregation with theatres and cafes and the bus station being among the principal ones. The bus station was mentioned by 63 per cent of the Negroes. On the other hand the whites who thought segregation existed mentioned housing most frequently while only a few mentioned cafes, stores, and churches. Kennewick residents were inclined to point to segregat

in Pasco more frequently than segregation in their own city. It appears that the whites tend to think of segregation in terms of residence and keeping the Negroes apart from the whites in a physical sense.

Recommendations

The evidence cited above points to several measures which should be taken not only to reduce tension between the two groups but to improve the attitudes of residents toward their community and in the final analysis make it a more desirable place in which to live.

Race tension is not just a question of fairness to minority groups. Many people live in this country who desire to improve the status of Negroes because they believe that the American way of life does not permit with justification discrimination and widely segregated groups, be they racial, economic, employers and employees, or religious. That is, today, a problem and issue of national scope, and may be outside this analysis.

TABLE 32

Opinions of Old and New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Concerning the question, "In general, do you think segregation would solve the Negro problem in Pasco and Kennewick?"

Group questioned	In Per Cents			Total
	Yes	No	Opinion	
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negroes	12.5	85.0	2.5	100.0
Whites	77.8	16.7	5.5	100.0
Total New Residents	50.0	45.7	4.3	100.0
Old Residents	66.0	33.0	1.0	100.0
Total Pasco	58.0	39.4	2.6	100.0
Kennewick				
New Residents	69.6	21.5	8.9	100.0
Old Residents	70.1	23.9	6.0	100.0
Total Kennewick	69.9	22.6	7.5	100.0
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	74.1	18.5	7.4	100.0
Old Residents	57.1	28.6	14.3	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	70.6	20.6	8.8	100.0
Total New Residents	61.0	32.5	6.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	67.2	29.2	3.6	100.0
Total Sample	63.8	31.0	5.2	100.0

Regardless of one's values and inclinations on this larger issue the problem remains that race tension can seriously limit the satisfaction a community affords to its members. A community in which the issue of race is written in large letters, in which the majority group is worried that the minority group will upset their traditional place of dominance and the minority group does not feel a part of the community and therefore is directing its energy toward improving its own position, cannot be expected to have the energy to tackle with full force the other problems which may confront it.

The first measure to be undertaken to reduce race tension is to give wide publicity to the fact that the size of the Negro population is greatly exaggerated by the whites and that future increases of the Negro population, if any, are likely to be small and that more probably there will be a decline in the Negro population. The idea that the Negroes will increase in numbers and will soon dominate Pasco and the surrounding area should be laid bare as the fantastic rumor it is. This single measure should go far in reducing tension.

A second measure worthy of consideration is the organization of a committee or council to bridge the gap between Negroes and whites by providing a means of communication between them. As indicated, the evidence points to little contact except in work relationships between the two groups. With no means of contact between them so that ideas may be exchanged, the possibility of rumors among both groups is greatly increased. Rumors often build up tensions to a point where physical violence becomes the only course of action. This was a part of the background of the serious race riots in Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia of relatively recent years.

If such an inter-racial council is to work it must have the confidence of both whites and Negroes. This may be obtained by carefully selecting persons who represent major groups -- new and old residents, skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled, white collar labor, Protestants, Catholics and all who are interested in reducing tensions now present. The present official leaders should play a minor role at most in this work. The Negro group has little confidence in them and might not react favorably to any group dominated by them.

If a council is organized it should meet periodically to bring to the surface all instances of ill-feeling and misunderstanding between the two groups. The interests and desires of both groups should be presented honestly and understood. Nothing is gained by letting grievances smoulder under the surface. The recommendations that are made should be channeled to the parties involved in a helpful and non-critical manner. Also, rumors which should be dealt with in the early stages of their development should have full publicity of the real facts, in order to successfully combat the unfounded stories.

A third recommendation, though lacking specificity, should include a long range program to reduce discrimination and prejudice. It is highly doubtful that ultimately no Negro population will be in the area. Therefore, the long term aspects of better race relations should not be ignored. The reputation which a community gains through local policies of discrimination which are more acute, certainly is not looked upon favorably by qualified observers. It is quite possible for such policies to influence industries as well as other white people to stay away from the city.

It is easy for whites to think that the problem of race would be solved by a problem segregation. (See Table 32.) That is, to keep contacts to a minimum and to let the Negroes build up organizations and commercial enterprises parallel to those of the whites. Such a position shifts the chief burden of better race relations to the Negroes.

Such a viewpoint has at least three major weaknesses. In the first place, there is a frequent assumption that the Negroes can build up organizations of effectiveness and size equal to the established organizations of whites. Schools, churches, and retail businesses, it is assumed for example, could be developed by the Negroes to the same level that the total community has already. Although such development may be theoretically possible, it is certainly not within the practical limits. In the first place, the effectiveness of many organizations is improved by a larger population. For example, stores can carry more extensive lines of merchandise, more specialized medical services and personnel, and broader educational programs can be supported by larger populations. When the whites outnumber the Negroes to such a large degree, separate organizations and services for Negroes would suffer in contrast to those of the whites. In the second place, the sharp differences in income and educational levels of the two groups makes attainment of comparable organizational and services very improbable. Although there are many Negroes with higher income and greater education than many whites, the general levels are not the same. This means that the Negro group has fewer resources on which to draw for building separate organizations. For these reasons, any attempt to develop separate and segregated community organizations would not result in equal opportunities for members of the two groups. This failure would tend to increase rather than decrease the feeling of frustration which is so typical of the Negro group.

Possibly the most important weakness in the idea that segregation would solve the problem is that it ignores completely the attitudes and desires of the Negro people. They want to be members of the community and to participate in its activities just as whites do. To draw the line tighter between the two groups is in direct opposition to the hopes that Negroes have had for decades. And the Negroes are not alone in these hopes, as may be seen in the present issues over civil rights and the fair employment legislation in several states, including the State of Washington. To go against this trend by trying to force further segregation on the Negroes could undoubtedly result in severe opposition by them and might lead to physical violence, besides being an absurd economic waste.

The idea of segregation as a permanent solution should be dealt with by all effective means. As long as it is supported by a large number of whites, a long range program of reducing tension is made precarious. It is doubtful if Negroes would be very interested in cooperating in a program if they believed the whites thought segregation were a permanent solution to the race issue.

Any long range program to reduce tension should point toward a reduction of prejudice and a strengthening of understanding between the two groups. A general rule, for such a program, is to make all feasible attempts to bring Negroes and whites together in the normal course of events of community activities without any publicity or fanfare. In organizations such as PTA, religion, labor unions, Community Chest, and Red Cross, if Negroes can participate not as representatives of the Negro group but as representatives of non-racial groups, just as white persons do, gradually there will be greater acceptance of Negroes by the whites. To undertake such a policy will require great courage on the part of organization leaders because it is quite different from the widespread belief in extending rather than narrowing fields of segregation. Acceptance overnight cannot be expected. Rise of Negroes to elective positions on basis of merit in organizations will not come for some time. The first step is for organization leaders to encourage Negroes to participate in their activities in the same manner as whites are encouraged. The next step is to appoint Negroes to committees by the same standards as whites are appointed.

In seeking out Negroes to help in the community, organizations should not depend completely on the present Negro leadership or restrict their attempt to get Negro participation to those individuals in leadership positions. The evidence of the survey did not point to whole-hearted confidence among the Negroes in their leadership. There is undoubtedly potential leadership, which if tapped would be a significant contribution to community life.

One thing that should be avoided is making attempts to have representatives of the Negro group defined solely in terms of race in community activities. To do so may carry the atmosphere of paternalism which is not welcomed by Negroes. More important, however, is the fact that such actions only continue and reinforce common impressions that the Negroes are not an integral part of community life. It emphasizes differences rather than Negroes in roles similar to those people see white people in.

Because the future size of the Negro population remains a large question, the present housing problem faced by Negroes is one for which there is no good answer. Obviously, a large scale program for permanent housing in line with the present population would be unwise. The size of the housing units and their location would not encourage use by white families later on. A program for between 50 and 100 families may be justified in terms of the long range employment opportunities.

Such a program, however, would only touch the immediate problem which is certainly a source of tension among the Negroes. It would appear that the most feasible approach is by community action in establishing fairly rigid standards for trailer camps with reference to sanitation, equipment, and practices, over-crowding of trailers with reference to area, and enforcing these regulations without reference to race. All attempts should be made to publicize the non-racial aspect of such enforcement so that no possibility of rumor of discrimination is allowed. The standards to be set should be measured along side regulations set elsewhere, such as in North Richland.

Attitude Toward Schools

The opinions of Pasco and Kennewick residents toward schools were favorable. Only three per cent of those interviewed thought that the schools were doing a poor job. The question asked was: "What kind of a job, considering the crowding, do you think the local schools are doing?" In Kennewick, 49 per cent of both new and old residents thought the schools were doing an excellent job, and 38 per cent thought they were doing a good job. A total of 87 per cent expressed favorable opinions. In Pasco both figures were much lower--32 per cent and 36 per cent, a total of 68 per cent, expressing favorable opinions. In the Columbia Avenue area, 59 per cent had indicated favorable opinions. These differences among the three areas in the percentage of opinions which were favorable cannot be reversed. That is, there were no more unfavorable attitudes in Pasco than in Kennewick. The explanation lies in the high percentage of both new and old residents in Pasco and in the Columbia Avenue area who expressed "no opinions."

Over one third of the residents in these two areas checked "no opinion" on their schools. This suggests that in these areas school activities and problems are not known to the general public. The participation of persons associated with the schools in community activities is not extensive.

Although the new residents of Pasco, both Negro and white, have fewer opinions than do the old residents, the prevalence of "no opinion" among the latter group is three times that for Kennewick. This evident lack of communication between the schools and the public cannot, therefore, be explained in terms of the migration.

If the present population should remain, an increase in the school population of 20 to 25 per cent would result in the next ten years. This is due to the fact that the households and number of children of school age of the new residents will approach the average of the old residents.

Attitudes Toward Local Government

The individual was asked what he considered to be the best branches and the worst branches of city government. No list was given to the individual. In the total sample, approximately 46 per cent did not indicate either any "best" branch or any "worst" branch. (See Table 34.)

This table shows that in both Pasco and Kennewick a considerably higher proportion of the old whites indicated one or more branches as "best" or "worst." In both cities, over 55 per cent of the new white residents gave no opinion on the "worst" branches, with similar figures for no opinion in the "best" branches.

A problem of community leaders is to increase the interest of the new residents in their local government. Apparently most persons have little idea of the local government or its organization. Undoubtedly this is closely related to the general feeling of not yet "belonging to" the community. Greater interest in local government would undoubtedly increase the attachment of these people to the community as well as a tendency to change attitudes toward leaving the area.

TABLE 34

Proportion of New and Old Negro-White Residents in Pasco-Kennewick Area Failing to Indicate: "What branches of the city government do you think are the best?" and: "What branches of the city government do you think are the worst?"

In Per Cents
Failed to Indicate Failed to Indicate
Best Worst
Groups Questioned

Pasco	New Residents	57.5	20.0
	Negroes	48.1	57.4
	Whites	51.1	42.6
Total New Residents			
Old Residents	37.2	35.1	
Total Pasco			
Kennewick	New Residents	57.0	55.7
	Old Residents	22.4	41.8
	Total Kennewick	41.1	49.3
Total Columbia Avenue			
	76.5	73.5	
Total Sample			
	45.7	45.7	

Opinions of Old and New Negro-White Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Concerning the Question, "What kind of job, considering the overcrowding, do you think the local schools are doing?"

TABLE 33

In Per Cents
Opinion
Pretty good² Poor³ Worse than other schools⁴ No opinion Total
Groups questioned Excellent¹

Pasco	New Residents	5.0	27.8	29.6	3.7	--	65.0	100.0
	Negroes	30.0	29.6	29.8	2.1	--	38.9	100.0
	Whites	18.1	29.8	29.8	2.1	--	50.0	100.0
	Total New Residents	26.6	35.1	39.4	2.1	--	23.4	100.0
Total Pasco								
Kennewick	New Residents	49.4	45.5	--	--	--	36.7	100.0
	Old Residents	49.3	29.8	7.5	1.5	--	11.9	100.0
	Total Kennewick	49.3	38.4	3.4	.7	--	8.2	100.0
Columbia Avenue								
	New Residents ⁵	3.7	48.2	3.7	--	--	44.4	100.0
	Old Residents ⁵	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Total Columbia Avenue	2.9	55.9	5.9	--	--	35.3	100.0
Total New Residents								
	28.5	38.5	1.5	--	--	--	31.5	100.0
Total Old Residents								
	39.3	37.5	4.7	.6	--	--	17.9	100.0
Total Sample								
	33.4	38.1	2.9	.3	--	--	25.3	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "They are doing an excellent job."
2. Statement checked: "I think they are doing a pretty good job."
3. Statement checked: "I think they are doing a poor job."
4. Statement checked: "They are worse than most schools."
5. Numbers too small in each category to be significant. However, this segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 35
Opinions of Old and New Negro-White Residents of Pasco-Kennewick Area Concern-
ing the Question "On the whole, do you think that the medical facilities (hospitals,
doctors, nurses, and dentists) are adequate?"

Groups questioned	Opinion		In Per Cents	
	Yes, no reservations ¹	Yes, with reservations ²	People cannot get good attention ⁴	No Opinion Total
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negroes	5.0	15.0	20.0	42.5
Whites	3.7	14.8	18.5	11.1
Total New Residents	4.3	14.9	19.1	24.5
Old Residents	4.2	25.6	10.6	4.3
Total Pasco	4.2	20.2	14.9	14.4
Kennewick				
New Residents	3.8	27.8	21.5	17.7
Old Residents	7.5	20.9	17.9	3.0
Total Kennewick	5.5	24.6	19.9	10.9
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	--	--	--	14.8
Old Residents ⁵	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	--	2.9	--	11.8
Total New Residents	3.5	18.0	17.5	20.5
Total Old Residents	5.4	23.2	13.0	3.6
Total Sample	4.3	20.4	15.5	12.8
1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, anybody who needs medical care gets excellent attention."				
2. Statement checked: "I think a good share of the people get the attention they need."				
3. Statement checked: "I think medical care is pretty poor here."				
4. Statement checked: "No, people just cannot get good medical treatment here."				
5. Too few in each category to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals.				

In Pasco the percentage of old residents declining to mention the "worst" branches and "best" branches is approximately the same. In Kennewick, however, the percentage giving no opinion on "worst" branches is almost double that for "best" branches. Kennewick old residents evidently have more favorable attitudes toward the government.

The most universal agreement among those responding, of the old residents of Pasco was that the police department was one of the worst branches of the city government. Seventy-five per cent of this group indicated "police." This is higher than the protest of Negroes against the city's administration of the water supply. Less than 5 per cent of the old residents gave "police" as one of the best branches. In Kennewick there was no similar concentration of opinion on the "worst" branches. One-third mentioned streets as the worst of opinion on the "best" branches. In Kennewick there was no similar concentration of opinion on the "worst" branches. One-third mentioned streets as the worst of opinion on the "best" branches. In Kennewick there was no similar concentration of opinion on the "worst" branches. One-third mentioned streets as the worst of opinion on the "best" branches.

The fire departments of both cities were most frequently classed as "best." The health department in Pasco was mentioned as "best" by over 20 per cent of the residents responding to the questionnaire.

Aside from the unfavorable attitudes toward the police department in Pasco, the street system in Kennewick, and the favorable attitudes toward the fire departments of both cities, and the health department in Pasco, the results are not significant.

TABLE 36

Reasons for Poor Medical Facilities of the Kennewick-Pasco-Columbia Avenue Area as Selected from a Check List by Those Who Felt Medical Facilities Were Inadequate

Per cent of total interviewed in each location¹

Reason selected	Pasco	Kennewick	Columbia Avenue	Entire Area
Too small a hospital	57.7	32.0	70.6	48.6
Too few doctors	35.4	32.6	76.5	38.1
Too few trained nurses	43.9	21.8	32.4	34.1
Too few dentists	20.6	33.3	61.8	29.5
Poor hospital	10.9	7.5	2.9	8.6
Poor doctors	5.8	3.4	2.9	4.6
Poor dentists	.5	.7	0.0	.5

1. Totals do not equal percentages of those who thought medical facilities were inadequate (see Table 35) because those interviewed chose more than one reason.

CHAPTER VI

HEALTH AND RECREATION

The happiness of the individuals who live in a community depends, in part, upon the adequacy of facilities for health and for recreation. Poor health facilities and poor opportunities for wholesome recreation, particularly for youngsters, encourage insecurity and frustration. They affect the quality of living in a community and are important factors in the improvement of community life.

Section 1. Medical Facilities

There is general dissatisfaction in the area with the available medical facilities. Almost two thirds of those interviewed thought they were inadequate. Table 35 shows this opinion is uniform for all groups. It is most strongly held by persons living in the Columbia Avenue area. In Pasco and Kennewick proper it is more strongly held by the old residents than by the new. Over 40 per cent of the Negroes have no opinion of the matter, which may be because they have had no occasion to use medical facilities. This lack of opinion, if it actually reflects lack of contact, is as serious as an adverse opinion.

Table 36 shows that people have neither lack of confidence in the services they are getting, nor complaints concerning the professional quality of doctors, dentists, or nurses. Their complaint is the insufficiency of services in all branches of medical service. Most frequent response was that the hospital is too small. The response in Pasco was greater than in any other area in terms of the proportion of Pasco people who were dissatisfied with medical service. Table 36 shows that in Pasco this complaint is more common than in Kennewick or along Columbia Avenue. Since the hospital is located in Pasco, and since the older residents generally deplored the lack of medical facilities in greater proportion than the newer, it would seem that Pasco takes a more serious view of its responsibility to the region for hospital care than the other areas. This impression is strengthened by the steps which have been taken since the survey was begun to increase the capacity of the Pasco hospital.

The opinions obtained concerning satisfaction with medical facilities show a need for more hospital beds, doctors, dentists, and nurses. Improved hospital facilities will attract more doctors, but whether they will be in sufficient numbers to give satisfactory service is a moot question. Direct moves to attract dentists to the area should be attempted at once. It would be in the interest of the communities' welfare to make medical and dental care more readily available to the trailer population, specifically in East Pasco and along Columbia Avenue.

TABLE 37

Opinions of Old and New Negro-White Residents of the
Kennewick-Pasco-Columbia Avenue Area Concerning
the Question: "In general do you think the sanitation
in this town is good?"

Opinion					In Per Cents
Groups questioned	Excellent ¹	Good ²	Poor ³	Terrible ⁴	
No opinion	Total				

New Residents	2.5	7.5	22.5	65.0	2.5	100.0
Negroes	11.1	51.9	27.8	7.4	1.8	100.0
Whites	7.5	33.0	25.5	31.9	2.1	100.0
Total New Residents	5.3	51.1	33.0	7.4	3.2	100.0
Old Residents	6.4	41.9	29.3	19.7	2.7	100.0
Total Pasco						100.0
Kennewick						100.0
New Residents	8.9	44.3	30.3	8.9	7.6	100.0
Old Residents	4.5	67.1	23.9	3.0	1.5	100.0
Total Kennewick	6.8	54.8	27.4	6.2	4.8	100.0
Columbia Avenue	--	25.9	44.5	29.6	--	100.0
New Residents	--	28.6	42.8	28.6	--	100.0
Old Residents	--	26.5	44.1	29.4	--	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue						100.0
Total New Residents	7.0	36.5	30.0	22.5	4.0	100.0
Total Old Residents	4.8	56.5	29.8	6.5	2.4	100.0
Total Sample	6.0	45.6	29.9	15.2	3.3	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed. "Yes, the sanitation is excellent."
2. Statement checked: "I think the sanitation is pretty good."
3. Statement checked: "I think the sanitation is pretty poor."
4. Statement checked: "No, the sanitation is terrible in this town."

TABLE 38

Opinions of Residents of the Kennewick-Pasco Area Con-
cerning the Question: "On the whole, would you say that
the water supply is a danger to the health of the town?"
by types of housing

Options					In Per Cents
Very poor	Probably poor	Pretty good ³	Excellent ⁴	No opinion	
Type of Housing	Total				

Regular Single Family Dwelling Units	55.5	42.7	1.8	100.0
Furnished Rooms	56.2	37.5	6.3	100.0
Trailers	55.8	39.0	5.2	100.0
Others including apartments	70.3	25.4	4.3	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, water here is very poor."
2. Statement checked: "I think the water is probably poor."
3. Statement checked: "I think the water is pretty good."
4. Statement checked: "No, the water supply is excellent."

Section 2: Sanitary Facilities and Water Supply

Those people expressed great uneasiness concerning the adequacy of
sanitary facilities and the safety of the water supply. Over 96 per cent had
definite opinions on these matters.

Over one third of the people thought the sanitary facilities were poor.
Eighty-seven and five tenths per cent of the Pasco Negroes and 73.5 per cent
of those living along Columbia Avenue felt very strongly that these facilities
were inadequate. (See Table 37.) These people live outside the cities' corpor-
ate limits, an area where trailers are the bulk of the "homes." Table 40
shows reactions to sanitation by types of housing. The sanitation problem is greatest at the
points where medical care is the least adequate or least used. Only among
the old residents of Kennewick do less than one third of the people believe
that their sanitation is poor, including those who dwell in single family units.
Four conclusions are reasonably clear:

Opinions of Old and New White-Negro Residents of the Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Concerning the Question: "On the whole, would you say that the water supply is a danger to the health of the town?" by Area, Length of Residence, and Race.

TABLE 39

Groups questioned	Opinion					Total
	Very poor	Probably poor	Pretty good	Excellent	No opinion	

New Residents	72.5	10.0	12.5	--	5.0	100.0
Negroes	44.4	25.9	27.8	--	1.9	100.0
Whites	56.4	19.1	21.3	--	3.2	100.0
Total New Residents	31.9	26.6	34.0	3.2	4.3	100.0
Old Residents	44.1	22.9	27.7	1.6	3.7	100.0
Total Pasco	29.1	16.5	41.8	6.3	6.3	100.0
New Residents	20.9	28.4	41.8	8.9	--	100.0
Old Residents	25.4	21.9	41.8	7.5	3.4	100.0
Total Kennewick	7.4	37.0	51.9	--	3.7	100.0
New Residents	--	--	--	--	--	--
Old Residents	8.8	35.3	53.0	--	2.9	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	39.0	20.5	33.5	2.5	4.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	33.5	23.6	35.6	3.8	3.5	100.0
Total Sample						

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, water here is very poor."
2. Statement checked: "I think the water is probably poor."
3. Statement checked: "I think the water is pretty good."
4. Statement checked: "No, the water supply is excellent."
5. Too few in each category to be significant. However, this segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 40

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents Concerning the Question: "In general, do you think the sanitation in this town is good?" by type of housing

Type of Housing	Opinions				Total
	Excellent	Good	Poor	Terrible	

Regular Single Family Dwelling Units	58.1	41.2	52.9	5.9	100.0
Furnished Rooms	37.9	4.0	37.9	100.0	
Trailers	33.8	63.6	2.6	100.0	
Others, including apartments	53.1	44.9	2.0	100.0	
Totals	51.6	44.9	3.5	100.0	

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, the sanitation is excellent."
 2. Statement checked: "I think the sanitation is pretty good."
 3. Statement checked: "I think the sanitation is pretty poor."
 4. Statement checked: "No, the sanitation is terrible in this town."
1. There is enough widespread dissatisfaction with sanitary facilities to warrant careful analysis by a sanitation engineer.
2. The Negro settlement in East Pasco and the Columbia Avenue area are the areas in the health program which merit special consideration.
3. Closer regulation of sanitary standards in trailer camps is necessary.
4. Trailer dwellers and "roomers" are, for the most part, living under unsanitary conditions. If properly approached, they would likely be cooperative in improving the conditions under which they live.
- Fifty-seven per cent of those interviewed believe the water supply is a health hazard. This opinion is consistent in all groups. (See Tables 39 and 40.) In the Negro group, 82.5 per cent thought the water supply was a health hazard. In the area where the Negroes live, it is common to carry water several hundred feet. Improved water facilities for Pasco in this area are a

must. Adverse opinions concerning the safety of the water supply are approximately 50 per cent in Kennewick and along Columbia Avenue. The adverse opinions are held by persons living in all types of dwellings. (See Table 40.) It is obvious that water supply in these areas needs to be improved.

Section 3: Recreation

Over half of those interviewed believe that recreation facilities for adults are inadequate. (See Table 42.) This belief is more prevalent among the new residents than among the old, and most prevalent among the Negroes (92.5 per cent). The old residents are evenly divided on the point. The greater

TABLE 41

Opinions of Old and New Negro-White Residents of the Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Concerning the Question, "In general, do you think the recreation programs are adequate for the youth in this town.?"

Groups questioned	Opinion		In Per Cents	
	"Yes"	"No"	No opinion	Total
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negro	7.5	82.5	10.0	100.0
White	48.2	29.6	22.2	100.0
Total New Residents	30.0	52.1	17.0	100.0
Old Residents	54.3	31.9	13.8	100.0
Total Pasco	42.6	42.0	15.4	100.0
Kennewick				
New Residents	10.1	64.6	25.3	100.0
Old Residents	22.3	67.3	10.4	100.0
Total Kennewick	15.8	65.8	18.4	100.0
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	14.8	59.3	25.9	100.0
Old Residents ¹	--	--	--	100.0
Total Columbia Avenue	13.5	53.0	23.5	100.0
Total New Residents	20.5	58.0	21.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	41.7	45.8	12.5	100.0
Total Sample	30.2	52.4	17.4	100.0

1. Too few in each category to be significant. However, this segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 42

Opinions of Old and New Negro-White Residents of the Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Concerning the Question, "In general, do you think recreation facilities are adequate for adults?"

Groups questioned	Opinions		In Per Cents	
	"Yes"	"No"	No opinion	Total
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negroes	5.0	92.5	2.5	100.0
Whites	29.6	59.3	11.1	100.0
Total New Residents	19.1	73.4	7.5	100.0
Old Residents	45.7	44.6	9.6	100.0
Total Pasco	32.4	59.1	8.5	100.0
Kennewick				
New Residents	26.5	57.0	16.5	100.0
Old Residents	47.8	47.8	4.4	100.0
Total Kennewick	36.3	52.7	11.0	100.0
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	40.7	40.7	18.6	100.0
Old Residents ¹	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	41.2	41.2	17.6	100.0
Total New Residents	25.0	62.5	12.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	46.4	45.8	7.8	100.0
Total Sample	34.8	54.9	10.2	100.0

1. Too few in each category to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals.

feeling of the inadequacy of adult recreation facilities among the newer residents may arise partially from the fact that they have not formed contacts in informal groups to the same degree as the older residents. It may also stem from their lack of participation in community recreational facilities.

Those who thought adult recreation facilities were inadequate were asked to indicate what facilities were needed. Almost three fourths of the Negroes mentioned a community recreation hall. A substantial number suggested a park and swimming pool. The residents on Columbia Avenue identified their recreation records with Kennewick, e.g., a swimming pool in Kennewick. In both groups the desires for improvement center around a

swimming pool, parks, and a community recreation center which would include dancing facilities, bowling alleys, and a skating rink. Distinct minorities think better library facilities would improve adult recreation.

In Pasco, a municipal recreation center, including a dance hall, bowling alleys, parks with soft-ball grounds, and a golf-course, are most desired. Those interested in concerts and a theatre are too few to make such a program effective.

The recreational programs for youth are a different picture. Differences in opinion are related much more closely to area of residence than to length of residence. Both the new and old white residents of Pasco are favorably impressed by recreational opportunities for youth. (Table 41.) There was a widespread belief among the Negroes that the youth recreation program is inadequate. Among those who express dissatisfaction, there is unanimous desire for more accessible playground facilities. These opinions may reflect both the physical distance from established facilities and a feeling of not being welcome. In Kennewick and on Columbia Avenue both new and old residents believe recreation programs for youth are inadequate. Only about one out of five is satisfied with the present programs.

The three improvements desired most frequently in Kennewick and along Columbia Avenue are a swimming pool, an equipped playground, and a recreation building. The first two are probably desired by at least one half of those who are dissatisfied. Dance facilities, roller skating, and "teen-age" clubs are desired by smaller numbers.

CHAPTER VII HOUSING

Since World War II, the housing problem has been an acute problem throughout the Nation. In Pasco and Kennewick, it has been more acute than the average because of construction work at Richland and Hanford, which has forced additional housing burdens on the communities. The survey is concerned primarily with three aspects of the housing problem: (1) what are the facts concerning housing in the area, and what are the feelings of people in the area toward the housing they now occupy; (2) what are people's intentions toward improving their housing, and how well prepared are they to put these intentions into practice; and (3) what are the conclusions to be drawn from what people say about their housing and their plans regarding it. These aspects form the sections of the chapters which follow. Contained in them is basic material which should materially assist in planning the future housing program of the area.

Housing is one of the most critical areas of community life, and one of the most perplexing. The survey contains some basic data, which should be of value in obtaining some answers to the housing problem.

Section 1. The Housing Pattern

Type of Housing

The most striking element in the area's housing situation is the large proportion of trailer households. About one fifth of the households along Columbia Avenue are in this category. (See Table 43.) The trailer residents are, for the most part, the newcomers. Over half of the families who have lived in the area less than one year live in trailers, only 30 per cent of them in single family units. By the fifth year of residence, 80 per cent of the households are occupying single family units.

Crowding.

This factor is important both from the standpoint of the welfare of the communities' residents and from that of their future potential development. One way to measure crowding is to determine the ratio between the size of a household and the number of available rooms. (See Table 44.) A commonly accepted dividing line between over-crowding and a satisfactory space-people relationship is one room per person. Table 43 reveals that the area is 31 per cent over-crowded and that over-crowding in the Negro area and along Columbia Avenue is the rule rather than the exception.

Overcrowding varies markedly with the type of housing people occupy

TABLE 43

Type of Housing in Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia
Avenue Area by Units

Type of Housing	In Per Cents			
	Pasco	Kennewick	Columbia Avenue	Total
Single family units	63.0	69.6	38.2	61.3
Furnished rooms	5.3	4.2	--	4.4
Trailers	18.0	15.6	58.8	20.8
Others, including apartments	13.2	15.6	3.0	13.2
Not specified	.5	--	--	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 44

Average Rooms per Person and Percentage of Households
in Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Having Less Than
One Room per Person, by Area and Race

Area and Race	Average number of rooms	Percentage of households having less than one room per person
Pasco		
Negro	1.51	77.0
White	.57	17.0
Total Pasco	1.33	35.0
Kennewick	1.12	25.0
Columbia Avenue	.87	63.0
Total Sample	1.21	31.0

(Table 45). In trailers, and to a lesser degree in apartments and furnished rooms, the room sizes are smaller than in single family units. Overcrowding in the trailer households is apt to get worse because the adults occupying them are, on the average, a younger group, and the households are smaller. Trailer dwellers, among the adults, average 37.2 years compared with 44.2 years for adult residents of single family units; trailer households average 2.51 persons, single family units 3.63 persons. Trailer families, in other words, are the ones most apt to expand, and from Table 46, about 50 per cent of them intend to remain in the area.

Ownership.

Table 47 indicates that nearly two-thirds of the households in the area are either owned outright or being purchased by the occupants, if one accepts the ownership of a trailer within this definition. There is little difference in percentage of ownership between various areas, except that trailer ownership is greater along Columbia Avenue than among the Negroes of Pasco.

Satisfaction with Housing.

The survey sought to learn how people felt about their housing. Answers to the question are summarized in Table 48.

Satisfaction varies with the different types of housing. Those living in single family units are much more satisfied than are other groups. (Table 49.) Some of the variation in response in the above table is associated with ownership in both the single family units and in trailer's classification. (See Table 49.) With both types of housing, ownership is a very important factor in satisfaction. Single family home owners are most satisfied of these four groups and trailer renters the least satisfied.

Satisfaction with housing is almost the same for Pasco and Kennewick whites. The most dissatisfied group is the Pasco Negroes. They more frequently live in rented trailers and are more over-crowded than the other major groups. Seventy-one per cent of the Negroes were dissatisfied. This is a direct reflection of the type, size, condition of the housing, and the level of rents they pay. Their rentals, on the average, represent a higher percentage of income among Negroes than among whites, while the quality of accommodations is worse.

Those who indicated dissatisfaction with their housing were asked why. The Negroes mentioned the absence of conveniences, high rents, and unsanitary condition; more than one-half of them listed one of these reasons. Very few mentioned the size of their dwelling units. Small size, however, was the most frequent reason given by the whites. Small size and high rent accounted for most of the dissatisfaction among all groups.

TABLE 45

Average Rooms per Person by Type of Housing in Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area

	<u>No. of Rooms per Household</u>	<u>No. of Persons per Household</u>	<u>Rooms per Person</u>
Single Family Units	4.86	3.63	1.34
Furnished Rooms	1.25	2.20	.57
Trailers	1.36	2.51	.54
Others (including apartments)	2.79	3.14	.89
Total	3.59	3.23	1.21

TABLE 46

Opinions of Residents of the Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Concerning the Question, "Do you plan to move during the next three years?" by type of housing and ownership

In Per Cents

Type of Housing and Ownership	<u>Plans</u>				Total
	<u>Remain¹</u>	<u>Move²</u>	<u>Leave area³</u>	<u>Not indicated</u>	
Single Family Units					
Owners	82.6	9.0	5.6	2.8	100.00
Renters	41.3	41.3	13.0	4.4	100.00
Furnished Rooms	25.0	37.5	25.0	12.5	100.00
Trailers					
Owners	33.3	13.7	43.1	9.9	100.00
Renters	8.3	45.8	41.7	4.2	100.00
Others including apartments	28.6	40.8	28.6	2.0	100.00
Total sample	56.0	22.0	18.0	4.0	100.00

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Remain in present quarters."
2. One of the following statements checked: "Move and rent in Pasco, and rent in Kennewick," "Buy or build house in Pasco," or "Buy or build house in Kennewick."
3. Statement checked: "Leave area."

TABLE 47

Percentage Households of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents Occupied by Owners and by Renters, by Type of Housing

In Per Cents

<u>Type of Housing</u>	<u>Occupied</u>		<u>Not Indicated</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>By Owners</u>	<u>By Renters</u>		
Single family units	78.1	20.2	1.7	100.0
Furnished rooms	6.2	93.8	--	100.0
Trailers	66.2	32.2	1.6	100.0
Others, including apartments	10.2	89.8	--	100.0
Total sample	63.7	35.0	1.4	100.0

TABLE 48

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents Concerning the Question, "In general, are you satisfied with your housing?"

<u>Response chosen</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
"Yes, I am very satisfied"	46
"I am fairly satisfied"	30
"I am quite dissatisfied"	16
"No, I am very dissatisfied"	7
Not specified	1
Total	100

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question, "In general, are you satisfied
with your housing?" by type of housing and ownership
(within two types)

In Per Cents

Opinion

Not

Satisfied¹ Dissatisfied² indicated Total

Type of housing
(and ownership)

Single family units	Owners	93.0	6.4	100.0
	Renters	73.9	26.1	100.0
Total single family units		88.6	11.0	100.0
Furnished rooms		50.1	43.7	100.0
Trailers	Owners	66.6	31.4	100.0
	Renters	16.7	83.3	100.0
Total Trailers		51.9	46.8	100.0
Others including apartments		61.2	34.7	100.0
Total sample		76.0	23.0	100.0

1. Statements checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I am very satisfied" or "I am fairly satisfied."
2. Statements checked: "I am quite dissatisfied" or "No, I am very dissatisfied."

Section 2. Housing Plans of the People

This section is devoted to future plans, both as to whether people intend to remain in the area or move away altogether, and, for those who do intend to remain in the area, what their plans are for housing. This section consists of an analysis of the characteristics of the various groups and a check on what people are thinking about their future housing plans. In this way, some of the factors which influence the future growth of the two areas may be set forth, so that planning can proceed on the basis of the intentions of the population.

The information in this section may be used for projecting numbers

TABLE 49

of housing units needed in the area. Those wishing to make estimates of housing needs should plan to supply their own population estimates of the area for which they are making the projections. These population estimates can be reduced to numbers of households by the use of Table 50. The resulting number of households in the area can be multiplied by the percentage wanting to move and buy and/or wanting to move and rent, which will give the gross number of new houses desired. This figure should probably be discounted by the number of households occupying single family dwellings who wish to move, since persons moving from single family dwellings would leave space for others to move in and their desires to move would result in no net gain in housing. Thus, a formula that could be worked out would be as follows:

$$\frac{\text{estimated population}}{\text{persons per household}} \times \% \text{ in area planning to move} - \% \text{ in area}$$

wishing to move who live in single family units = new family hous-

ing units needed in area

Variation and refinements in this basic formula may be used. Such variations and refinements are indicated in the material which follows.

Plans to Move.

Table 50 shows that within a three year period (1948-51), 56 per cent of the households planned to remain where they were, 22 per cent planned to move within the area, and 18 per cent to move away. Table 49 shows these intentions by type of housing and by ownership. Among the renter group, which is the prime market for new housing, the group in each category who wish to stay in the area is greater than the group intending to move away entirely. Home owners represent the more stable group. Table 51 indicates that the real difference between new and old residents is in their plans to move within the area which is remarkably close to the new residents seeking different housing.

Table 52, shows intentions to move by area and race. The highest percentage of those who plan to remain in their present quarters is in the Columbia Avenue area. Since 59 per cent of those interviewed in the area live in trailers, one interpretation of the data might indicate that by "Remain in present quarters" might mean to continue to occupy their trailers even though the trailers themselves were moved. It will be recalled that the percentage ownership of trailers was high (66.2%). One half the Negro households intend to move by 1951. Less than 15 per cent of the whites intend to move during the same period. Although the Kennewick area has the highest percentage of households desiring to move within the Pasco-Kennewick area, most of them wish to settle within the city or near the city of Kennewick itself.

TABLE 50

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning Question, "Do you plan to move during
the next three years?"

Response selected

Per cent

"Remain in present quarters" 56
"Move and rent in Pasco" 4
"Move and rent in Kennewick" 5
"Buy or build house in Pasco." 5
"Buy or build house in Kennewick" 8
"Leave area" 18
No response 4

Total sample 100

Recapitulation:

Remain 56
Move and rent 9
Move and buy or build 13
Total intended moves in area 22
Move away 18
No response 4
Total Sample 100

When housing plans of those living in the Pasco-Kennewick area, who are employed in Richland or Hanford, are compared with the plans of all those living in the area (See Table 53), it is clear that this group is much less inclined to remain in the area than the locally employed. In the area as a whole, more families intend to buy than to rent. The reverse is true among those employed at Richland or Hanford. This is a less stable group than those employed locally in either Pasco or Kennewick.

Some Characteristics of Those Who Plan To Remain in Their Present Quarters.

It is evident that the group planning to remain in the area is above average in the following respects: the proportion of whites, the proportion of those employed locally in either Pasco or Kennewick, the proportion of those occupying single family units. Since only five per cent of the profes-

TABLE 51

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question, "Do you plan to move
during the next three years?" by length of
residence.

In Per Cents

Plans

Not

Length of Residence	Remain ¹	Move ²	Leave Area ³ indicated	Total
New Residents	39.3	24.9	30.8	5.0
Old Residents	75.7	17.3	3.0	4.0
Total sample	56.0	22.0	18.0	4.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Remain in present quarters."
2. One of the following statements checked: "Move and rent in Pasco," "Move and rent in Kennewick," "Buy or build house in Pasco," or "Buy or build house in Kennewick."
3. Statement checked: "Leave area."

TABLE 52

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question, "Do you plan to move in the
next three years?" by area and race

In Per Cents

Plan

Not

Groups questioned Remain¹ Move² Leave Area³ indicated Total

Pasco	22.0	22.0	51.2	4.8	100.0
Negroes	63.2	18.3	14.2	4.3	100.0
Whites	54.8	19.1	21.8	4.3	100.0
Total Pasco	53.1	27.2	14.3	5.4	100.0
Kennewick	73.5	11.8	14.7	--	100.0
Columbia Avenue	57.0	22.0	18.0	4.0	100.0
Total Sample	57.0	22.0	18.0	4.0	100.0

(Continued next page)

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Remain in present quarters."
2. One of the following statements checked: "Move and rent in Pasco," "Move and rent in Kennewick," "Buy or build house in Pasco", or "Buy or build house in Kennewick."
3. Statement checked: "Leave area."

TABLE 53

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents Concerning the Question, "Do you plan to move in the next three years?" by those working in Richland and Hanford

Response selected	In Per Cents	
	Of those working in Richland or Hanford	Of total sample
"Remain in present quarters"	35	56
"Move and rent in Pasco" (or Kennewick)	17	9
"Buy or build house in Pasco" (or Kennewick)	10	13
"Move away from area"	38	18
No response	--	4
Total	100	100

sional people, owners, or managers of business, plan to move out of the area, it is unlikely that the composition of this occupational group will change.

Some Characteristics of Those Who Plan to Move and Buy or Build.

This group is much like the group who plan to remain in their present quarters. Seventy-nine per cent are locally employed (or are retired), in contrast to 44 per cent of those who plan to leave the area. Like the group planning not to move at all, only 28 per cent are skilled or semi-skilled laborers, compared with 53 per cent laborers in the group planning to move away. Similarly, the proportion of managers, owners of businesses, and professional people is high in this group.

In the group planning to build, the size of households is the largest of any of the four groupings. They are also a younger group. At the time of the survey, there was an average of 3.7 persons per household, distributed according to Table 43. If anything, these figures are too low to provide an

accurate basis for estimating the size of houses which will be needed. Many of these families will increase in size, especially among those now having two to three in each household. The figures indicate that 30 per cent and possibly more of the new houses built for sale should contain three or more bedrooms.

Table 55 gives the information about where people intend to build their homes. Of the 13 per cent of the total group who intend to buy or build, 5 per cent of the total group would like to locate in or near Pasco and 8 per cent in or near Kennewick. Three of the 13 per cent who live in Pasco, and who intend to buy or build, expressed a preference for Kennewick as a permanent location. No Kennewick residents expressed a corresponding preference for Pasco. This tendency was pointed out in the study of the occupational pattern of the area (Chapter II, Section 4), that is, that there is a tendency for Pasco to be the city of business and Kennewick to be the city of homes. Seventy per cent of those intending to acquire homes of their own in the area prefer to live in the cities themselves, while 30 per cent prefer to locate in the country nearby. This ratio is also true for those desiring to settle in or near either Pasco or Kennewick.

One means of checking the validity of the intentions of those who expressed the intention of buying or building in the area, as well as uncovering data of value, was to ask them concerning the price house they expected to build or buy, the down payment they expected to make, and the monthly payments they expected to pay. (Tables 56, 57, and 58). A range of from 17 per cent in the case of total price to 38.8 per cent in the case of down payments, failed to answer the questions. A few others made such low estimates of these factors that it was obvious that their intentions were not serious. The least realistic estimates were given for down payments. Slightly over half of those who expressed an intention to buy or build either failed to estimate the down payment they were willing to make or estimated it below \$1,500. Willingness expressed in terms of total price and monthly payments seem to conform more closely to reality.

From the available data, particularly that relating to the composition of the group, there is little reason to doubt the seriousness of their intention to remain in the area, particularly if its economic base holds up, but many who intend to buy or build may be forced to stay as renters, because of the lack of a sufficient down payment. This factor is, of course, subject to great variation in terms of the ease of credit.

Characteristics of Those Who Plan To Move and Rent.

The households falling into this category are similar to those who expect to leave the area. Over 45 per cent of them are unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. None were managers, owners or professional people. Approximately 52 per cent work in Richland or Hanford. The average size of household was the smallest of the four categories-- only 2.8 persons.

TABLE 54

Percentage of Those Residents of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Who Plan to Buy or Build in the Next Three Years by Number in Household

In Per Cents

Number in household	Of those planning to buy or build	Of total sample
1	2.1	.3
2	25.5	3.3
3	29.8	3.9
4	29.8	3.9
5	8.6	1.0
6	2.1	.3
Not indicated	2.1	.3
Total	100.0	13.0

TABLE 55

Distribution of Those Residents of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Who Responded to the Question, "Do you plan to move within the next three years?" by answering that they planned to "buy or build" in area according to plan of present residence

In Per Cents¹

Area of present residence	Intend to buy or build in		
	Pasco ²	Kennewick ³	Total
Pasco	10	3	13
Kennewick	--	16	16
Columbia Avenue	3	5	8
Total	5	8	13

1. In each case 100% equals total households in each area of present residence, i.e. Pasco, Kennewick, Columbia Avenue, and the entire area.
2. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Buy or build house in Pasco."
3. Statement checked: "Buy or build house in Kennewick."

TABLE 56

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Residents Concerning the Question Asked of Those Who Plan To Buy or Build in the Area within the Next Three Years, "What price house, including lot, would you buy or build?"

In Per Cents

Price	Of those planning to buy or build	Of total sample
Under \$3000	2.1	.3
\$3000 - 5999	12.8	1.7
6000 - 8999	25.6	3.3
9000 - 11,999	21.3	2.7
12,000 - 14,999	12.8	1.7
15,000 and above	8.4	1.1
Not specified	17.0	2.2
Total	100.0	13.0

TABLE 57

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Residents Concerning the Question Asked of Those Who Plan to Buy or Build in the Area within the Next Three Years, "What down payment would you be willing to make?"

In Per Cents

Down Payment	Of those planning to buy or build	Of total sample
Under \$500	--	--
\$500 - \$999	2.1	.3
1000 - 1499	10.7	1.4
1500 - 1999	10.7	1.4
2000 - 2499	6.4	.9
2500 - 2999	4.2	.5
3000 - 3499	4.2	.5
3500 - 3999	--	--
4000 and above	23.4	3.0
Not specified	38.3	5.0
Total	100.0	13.0

Options of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Residents Concerning the Question Asked of Those Who Plan To Buy or Build in the Area within the Next Three Years, "What monthly payment (Include Ins., Int., taxes)."

In Per Cents

Size of monthly payment	Of those planning to buy or build	Of total sample
Under \$30	2.1	.3
\$30 - 39	2.1	.3
40 - 49	10.6	1.4
50 - 59	27.7	3.6
60 - 69	14.9	1.9
70 - 79	8.5	1.1
80 and above	4.3	.5
Not specified	29.8	3.9
Total	100.0	13.0

Percentage of Those Residents of the Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area Who Plan To Move and Rent in the Next Three Years by Number in Household.

In Per Cents

Number in household	Of those who plan to move or rent	Of total sample
1	9.1	.8
2	45.4	4.1
3	27.3	2.4
4	9.1	.8
5	3.0	.3
6	3.0	.3
Not indicated	3.1	.3
Total	100.0	9.0

TABLE 58

Almost one half of the households consisted of two people, as shown by Table 59 and some of these were cases where two men shared the same room.

These households must be considered as definitely less stable than those planning to buy. It is the households of this type and size that are most likely to leave the area. Even so, they may be replaced by other households. Their sizes point to a need for small units, probably furnished at least in part to care for a permanently changing group of households. Such facilities are needed in any community undergoing growth and developing more commerce. The emphasis in the next few years will be in terms of people connected with construction work; later people with temporary work in the area will need places of this type.

Those intending to move and rent are almost evenly divided between Kennewick and Pasco, with little indication of a desire to shift between two communities. Table 60 is revealing in two respects: first, that almost one-fourth of the group did not specify what type of dwelling they would prefer to rent, which casts some doubts on the seriousness of their intentions; and second, while the largest expressed preference was for a single family unit, a comparison of statistical data indicates that the percentage of those preferring single family units in this group (42.4) is less than the percentage in the whole area who actually live in single family units (61.3) and the percentage of those preferring apartments (24.2) is greater than the percentage of households in the area living in apartments and similar dwellings (13.2). This is a further indication that the group desiring to rent tends to be among the less stable elements in the population. Everyone indicating that they intend to move and rent within the area named a rental figure (including heat, light, water, and cooking fuel) which he was willing to pay. Almost three-fourths expressed a willingness to pay \$70.00 or more per month.

Characteristics of Those Who Plan to Move Away.

Over 50 per cent of those planning to leave the area are from unskilled laborers' households as compared with 28 per cent of those planning to remain in their present quarters. As mentioned earlier, few in this group are professional, owners, or managers of businesses. Half of the Negroes fall in this group. The typical family in the group has no children. When the group was asked why it was leaving, no single reason stood out. Housing conditions were most frequently mentioned by the Negroes; job opportunities by the whites. Nearly 20 per cent of those who stated they were planning to leave the area indicated they were moving to Richland.

TABLE 60

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question Asked of Those Who Plan
To Move and Rent in the Area, "If you plan to rent,
would you prefer:"

Response selected	In Per Cents	
	Those planning to move and rent	Total Sample
"Single family structure	42.4	3.8
"Apartment"	24.2	2.2
"Duplex"	6.2	.5
"Other"	3.0	.3
Not Specified	<u>24.2</u>	<u>2.2</u>
	100.0	9.0

TABLE 61

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents
Concerning the Question Asked of Those Who Plan
To Move and Rent in the Area. "What monthly rent
including heat, light, water, and cooking fuel would
you be willing to pay?"

Monthly rent	In Per Cents	
	Of those planning to move and rent	Of total sample
Under \$30	3.0	.3
\$30 - 49	15.2	1.4
50 - 69	9.1	.8
70 - 89	27.3	2.4
90 and above	45.4	4.1
Total	100.0	9.0

Section 3. Conclusions

Present Housing.

There is much sub-standard housing in the area. The proportion of trailers is high and the overcrowding is great. The dissatisfaction expressed is fairly low, however.

Future Permanent Housing.

Four-fifths of the people in the area intend to remain, although between a fourth and a fifth of them intend to move within the area during the period 1948-1951. From Part I of this study, it appears that new and permanent industry will, by the time of the completion of the Columbia Basin project, bring in a new and more permanent population to take the place of those who will be leaving. While a certain segment of the population may come and go, by the time the Basin area is fully settled, the area will probably be able to support about the number it had in the summer of 1948 on a stable economic base.

In terms of housing needs, this population divides roughly into two groups. The larger group, representing about 70 per cent of the households, will have the characteristics of those who now intend to remain in their present quarters and those who intend to buy or build. There is doubt that they will be able to carry out their intentions, but their needs are fairly well fixed and they are in terms of single family dwellings. Fewer persons will probably be able to own their own homes than expressed such a desire. As a conservative guess, about five hundred new single family units will be required to take care of their needs. In general, these new units should be patterned after the single family units now occupied, since the occupations and other characteristics of those desiring them are similar to those planning to remain where they are. The one exception is that the new houses should contain a greater percentage with more rooms since the group desiring new housing is younger. Their families are already larger than the settled group and promise to increase even more. Apparently the ratio of new houses in cities and outside them should be roughly seven to three. If their is a shift between the cities of this type of housing, it will be in the direction of Kennewick, but it will not be appreciable.

The remaining 30 per cent of the population to be supported by a permanent economic base will have a less permanent character, but their housing needs will have to be taken into account. For the most part, they will consist of small families and will occupy furnished houses and apartments. Our data are not sufficiently exact to tell whether enough existing housing will be freed by those moving to new housing to take care of the additional needs of this group for single housing units or not. Additional single furnished rental units may be necessary, but no estimates of the number are possible, except that it is probably relatively small. Another apparent need

for this group is additional apartments--probably 50 to 100 units--designed for small families. A substantial proportion of these could probably command a high rental.

Future Transient Housing.

While there is no means of estimating the magnitude of the problem, it is safe to assume that the area will be subject to waves of transient workers for some time to come. The proximity of the Hanford Engineering Works is basis for this belief. It is further bolstered by the development of reclamation projects such as McNary Dam and other proposed projects along the Snake River, as well as major highway and bridge construction.

Since fluctuating transient populations will be normal for the area for some time to come, it would seem wise to plan for it. Such transient housing as is available in the area should probably be retained for transient households. Access to trailer areas should be maintained and the areas should be set up and regulated so that health conditions are at a higher level than indicated in Chapter VI. Any new transient accommodations which are provided might well be built with sufficient permanence to look beyond the immediate project which brings them into being.

In terms of numbers and of housing accommodations, these transient populations will be above and beyond the estimates made in terms of a permanent economic base.

CHAPTER VIII

SHOPPING HABITS

This chapter covers the buying habits of individuals as to the amounts of money spent by residents inside and outside the area.

Section 1. Places of Purchase by Types of Goods Purchased

Table 62 indicates that most people buy most items in the towns in which they live. Neither Pasco nor Kennewick is a dominant shopping center. Groceries tend to be purchased almost exclusively in the city where people have their homes. Few people buy groceries in Richland, in spite of the large percentage of persons living in Pasco and Kennewick who pass through there each day.

The purchase of clothing is analyzed in Table 63. Eighty-five per cent of those in the area usually buy clothing in the cities of their residence. More clothing is bought in Pasco by Kennewick residents than vice versa, but there is a tendency for more Pasco residents to shop for clothing outside the area than Kennewick residents. Walla Walla is the most frequent outside shopping center, particularly for the older residents. This outside shopping points to a source of business which might be recaptured locally.

Data concerning buying habits for automobile accessories and automobiles are found in Table 64. They supply another example in which Pasco tends to be the center of trade, especially among the old residents. However, no such clear pattern exists for groceries, furniture, electrical or household goods.

The people of the area, particularly the older residents, make the major share of their purchases at home except for automobiles and automobile accessories, which are purchased by Kennewick residents in Pasco, and for clothing, which Pasco residents purchase outside the area.

Section 2. Attitudes within the Area toward Stores

It is already apparent from Tables 62, 63, and 64 that older residents do their shopping locally more than do newer residents. Tables 65, 66, 67, and 68 attempt to show the attitudes of various groups in the area toward prices in the stores. The results reinforce the conclusion that newer residents show greater dissatisfaction concerning the local stores than do older residents. This is more true, however, of the new white residents of Pasco and Kennewick than of those along Columbia Avenue. It is not true for Negroes. Unlike the other new residents, the Negroes were near the average for the area in expressing favorable opinions concerning the local stores,

and slightly above the old residents in answering every question except: "If new stores were to come into the area, do you think they would be able to stay in business?" It will be recalled from a previous chapter that the Negroes felt that general stores were one of the places in which they encountered the least discrimination.

Except for the ease of getting things in the stores, the people of Kennewick express, on the whole, more favorable attitudes than do those of Pasco. This is true of the new white residents as well as the other groups. Since shopping is so largely confined to the city of one's own residence, this is essentially a comparison of the attitudes of people toward the stores in the places in which they live.

There is no implication in Table 68 that prices in Pasco and Kennewick actually are higher than in surrounding areas. The important fact is that people think so, just as they think that new stores might succeed in the area. This latter opinion may be influenced by the crowded conditions of stores at the time of the survey, but the two opinions taken together tend to dilute the favorable impression toward stores gained through the reading of Tables 63, 65, and 66. The chief conclusion of this section, however, is that as in areas of civic development, so in his shopping, the newcomer feels somewhat left out. Plans to welcome him and acquaint him with the resources of the community would appear financially profitable as well as sound in a civic sense, if his attitudes and buying habits are any indication.

Section 3. Richland Shoppers

While Richland was not a shopping center for residents of Pasco and Kennewick at the time of the survey, even for those who worked in Richland, Pasco and Kennewick were shopping centers for those who lived in Richland. Shopping facilities in Richland lagged behind the growth of the population, and merchandising was not on a competitive basis, hence many Richland residents made frequent and extensive purchases either in Pasco or Kennewick. This Richland business was one of the subjects explored in the mail questionnaire to Richland residents. September, 1948, was taken as a base month to study purchases of Richland residents in Pasco and Kennewick. Seventy-six per cent of those replying stated they had shopped in one or both cities during that month. The most frequently indicated amounts spent during the month were \$23.00 in Pasco and \$16.00 in Kennewick. Almost 70 per cent of those reporting spent less than \$50.00. While some families reported expenditures as high as \$2,000.00 during the month in the two cities, from notations made on the questionnaires, it appears that monthly expenditures over \$100.00 were for non-recurring purchases, items such as furniture or automobiles. While these would bring the average amounts purchased to over the \$23.00 and \$16.00 figure quoted, the typical or most frequently indicated amounts may give a better idea of the size of expenditures than would quoting the average.

TABLE 62

Responses of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents to the question "In which town do you usually buy groceries?, Clothing?, Furniture?, Electrical Goods?, Household Goods?, Automobile and Accessories?," tabulated to show those who usually buy merchandise in the city of their residence.

Groups questioned	Groceries	Clothing	Furniture	In Per Cent ¹		
				Electrical Goods	Household Goods	Automobiles and Accessories
Pasco						
Negroes	97.4	97.1	--2	--2	--2	--2
New white residents	96.2	74.1	73.0	82.9	85.4	72.7
Old Residents	100.0	87.2	93.1	92.9	97.6	92.2
Total Pasco	98.3	85.2	87.3	89.8	93.6	85.8
Kennewick						
New Residents	93.7	84.2	89.5	79.2	87.2	72.4
Old Residents	100.0	87.6	89.1	98.1	98.2	73.5
Total Kennewick	98.6	85.8	89.2	89.1	92.9	72.9
Columbia Avenue ³	97.1	73.5	89.2	86.9	90.0	85.7

1. The base for the percentages in the number indicating purchases is not the total number in the group.
2. Too few reported to complete percentages
3. Purchases include those in Kennewick and in the Columbia Avenue Area.

TABLE 63

Responses of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents to the question, "In what town do you usually buy clothing?" by area and length of residence.

Place of purchase	In Per Cent ¹			
	Pasco		Kennewick	
	New	Old	New	Old
Pasco	74.1	87.2	13.2	19.7
Kennewick	5.6	4.3	84.2	87.6
Richland	--	1.1	1.3	1.6
Walla Walla	11.1	11.7	6.6	11.5
Yakima	3.7	2.2	--	1.6
Mail Order	5.6	1.1	5.3	1.6
Other	20.4	9.6	3.9	4.9

1. Some persons gave more than one source of purchase

TABLE 64

Responses of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents to the question, "In what town do you usually buy Automobile Accessories?" by area and length of residence.

Groups questioned	Source	
	Pasco	Kennewick
Pasco		
New Residents	72.7	12.1
Old Residents	92.2	3.1
Kennewick		
New Residents	19.0	72.4
Old Residents	18.4	73.5

TABLE 65

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents concerning the question, "In general, do you think the stores are doing a good job serving the needs of the community?"

Groups questioned	In Per Cents				
	Opinion				Total
	Yes ¹	Trying ²	No ³	No answer	
Pasco					
New Residents					
Negroes	67.5	12.5	20.0	0.0	100.0
Whites	35.2	44.4	14.8	5.6	100.0
Total New Residents	48.9	30.9	17.0	3.2	100.0
Old Residents	52.2	40.4	7.4	0.0	100.0
Total Pasco	50.6	35.6	12.2	1.6	100.0
Kennewick					
New Residents	53.2	36.7	10.1	0.0	100.0
Old Residents	59.7	28.4	10.4	1.5	100.0
Total Kennewick	56.2	32.9	10.3	.6	100.0
Columbia Avenue					
New Residents	33.3	40.8	25.9	0.0	100.0
Old Residents ⁴	--	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	26.5	44.2	29.9	0.0	100.0
Total New Residents	48.5	34.5	15.5	1.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	53.0	36.3	10.1	.6	100.0
Total Sample	50.5	35.3	13.1	1.1	100.0

1. Answer: "Yes, they are providing good service."

2. Answer: "I think they may be trying, but they just can't serve all the people." (Continued next page)

3. Answer: "No, they have so much business they don't care about getting more customers."
4. Too few in categories to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 66

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents concerning the question, "On the whole, do you think that prices in the local stores are higher than those of neighboring communities?"

Groups questioned	In Per Cents			
	Opinion			Total
	Yes	No	No answer	
Pasco				
New Residents				
Negroes	57.5	42.5	0.0	100.0
Whites	46.3	37.0	16.7	100.0
Total New Residents	51.4	39.4	9.6	100.0
Old Residents	41.5	50.0	8.5	100.0
Total Pasco	46.3	44.7	9.0	100.0
Kennewick				
New Residents	49.4	45.5	5.1	100.0
Old Residents	44.8	52.2	3.0	100.0
Total Kennewick	47.3	48.6	4.1	100.0
Columbia Avenue				
New Residents	51.9	22.2	25.9	100.0
Old Residents ¹	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	55.9	20.6	23.5	100.0
Total New Residents	50.5	39.5	10.0	100.0
Total Old Residents	44.0	49.4	6.6	100.0
Total Sample	47.6	44.2	8.4	100.0

1. Too few in categories to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals

TABLE 67

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents concerning the question, "If new stores were to come into the area, do you think they would be able to stay in business?"

In Per Cents						
Groups questioned	Opinion					Total
	Yes ¹	If a fair job ²	Would have trouble ³	No ⁴	No answer	
Pasco						
New Residents						
Negroes	7.5	82.5	5.0	--	5.0	100.0
Whites	63.0	35.2	1.8	--	--	100.0
Total New Residents	39.4	55.3	3.2	--	2.2	100.0
Old Residents	30.9	53.2	10.6	2.1	3.2	100.0
Total Pasco	35.1	54.3	6.9	1.1	2.6	100.0
Kennewick						
New Residents	58.2	32.9	5.1	1.3	2.5	100.0
Old Residents	32.8	50.7	13.4	--	3.1	100.0
Total Kennewick	46.6	41.1	8.9	.7	2.7	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New Residents	74.1	14.8	--	--	11.1	100.0
Old Residents ⁵	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	70.6	20.6	--	--	8.8	100.0
Total New Residents	51.5	41.0	3.5	.5	3.5	100.0
Total Old Residents	32.7	51.8	11.3	1.2	3.0	100.0
Total Sample	42.9	46.9	7.1	.8	3.3	100.0

1. Answer: "Yes, there is just too much business for the stores already here."
2. Answer: "I think they could probably compete all right if they would do a fair job."
3. Answer: "I think they would have trouble staying in business."
4. Answer: "No, stores already here would keep most of the business no matter how good the new stores were."
5. Too few in categories to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 68

Opinions of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents concerning the questions, "In general, do you think it is easy to get the things you want in the stores here?"

	Per Cents					
	Opinion					
Groups questioned	Easy to find every-thing ¹	Easy to find most things ²	Difficult to find many things ³	Difficult to find anything ⁴	No answer	Total
Pasco						
New Residents						
Negroes	70.0	22.5	5.0	2.5	0.0	100.0
Whites	18.5	48.2	25.9	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total New Residents	40.4	37.2	17.0	3.2	2.2	100.0
Old Residents	35.1	48.9	11.7	3.2	1.1	100.0
Total Pasco	37.8	43.1	14.4	3.2	1.5	100.0
Kennewick						
New Residents	45.6	25.2	24.1	5.1	0.0	100.0
Old Residents	55.2	29.9	11.9	3.0	0.0	100.0
Total Kennewick	50.0	27.4	18.5	4.1	0.0	100.0
Columbia Avenue						
New Residents	14.8	66.7	18.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Old Residents ⁵	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total Columbia Avenue	11.8	61.8	23.5	0.0	2.9	100.0
Total New Residents	39.0	36.5	20.0	3.5	1.0	100.0
Total Old Residents	41.7	41.1	13.1	3.0	1.1	100.0
Total Sample	40.2	38.6	16.8	3.3	1.1	100.0

1. Statement checked by person interviewed: "Yes, I think it is easy to find practically everything I want in the stores here."
2. Statement checked: "I think it is easy to find most things."
3. Statement checked: "I think it is difficult to find many things."
4. Statement checked: "No, I think it is difficult to find anything."
5. Too few in categories to give reliable percentages. However, segment is included in the totals.

TABLE 69

Types of merchandise reported by Richland residents as having been purchased in Pasco and Kennewick during September 1948 by city where purchase was made.

Type of merchandise	Per cent of total reporting city	
	Pasco	Kennewick
groceries	45	56
clothing	47	35
furniture	9	6
household goods	27	24
electrical goods	12	5
autos and auto accessories	35	24

TABLE ak

Reasons reported by Richland residents for shopping in Pasco and Kennewick during September 1948 by city in which shopping was done.

Reason given	Per cent of total reporting city	
	Pasco	Kennewick
Lower prices than in Richland	31	33
Wider selection of merchandise	80	74
Better service than in Richland	25	29
Enjoy going to another town to shop	14	13
Enjoy Ride	10	7
More stores	52	37

It is clear that more Richland people shop in Kennewick for groceries and more in Pasco for other items. These latter items usually carry a higher price tag than groceries, particularly those typically purchased on out-of-town trips. This may account for the fact that typical expenditures, as noted above, were higher in Pasco than in Kennewick. When one recalls that Richland people did report substantial purchases in Pasco and Kennewick, whereas the reverse was not true, it is apparent that these cities, rather than Richland, serve as the regional shopping centers.

Thirty per cent of the Richland people expressed the opinion that prices were generally lower in Pasco than in Richland, twenty-eight per cent that they were lower in Kennewick, whereas only five per cent believed that Pasco prices, and three per cent that Kennewick prices, were higher than those in Richland. Prices were not the most important feature which led Richland people to shop in Pasco and Kennewick, however. It is clear that the major attraction in both cities was their wider selection of merchandise.

For the two years before the survey, because of a lack of alternatives, the retail stores of Pasco and Kennewick filled many of the needs of the expanding Richland population and the new, relatively temporary community of North Richland. At the time the survey was in progress, Richland had launched a program to expand its retail and service capacity and to introduce competition into local trade. Those Richland people who reported purchases in Pasco and Kennewick during September 1948 were asked if they planned to continue purchases in these cities after Richland's expansion plans had materialized. Two thirds of those reporting purchases in Pasco and Kennewick answered this question. Of those answering, 81 per cent said they planned to continue to shop in Pasco and Kennewick, although many thought that the volume of their outside purchases would be less when the new stores in Richland were complete. To recapitulate, of the total Richland group replying to the questionnaire, 76 per cent shopped in Pasco and Kennewick in September 1948, and about 42 per cent planned to continue after Richland was to have expanded its retail facilities, although many of these predicted they would purchase less in Pasco and Kennewick than they reported when answering the questionnaire.

The fact that many Richland people indicated they would probably continue to shop in Pasco and Kennewick may mean that they do not believe the expansion will make Richland stores adequate to meet their needs. On the other hand, Richland's improvements could be such, not only to hold Richland trade at home, but to make Richland an important shopping center for the residents of Pasco and Kennewick. This would come about in those lines where Richland stores would stock a selection of merchandise at competitive prices. Such a development would have an adverse influence on the business potential in certain retail lines and, through it, the growth of Pasco and Kennewick.

There is nothing in the shopping practices of Richland residents to support the notion that a large centralized commercial area will be developed

along Columbia Avenue. Only about half of the Richland residents reported making purchases there, and their typical monthly expenditure was under \$15.00. Less than a fifth of the expenditures was over \$30.00. This would seem to be a precarious trade, most of which would be terminated by further development of grocery stores and filling stations in Richland.

Conclusions

1. In the realm of retail purchases, the two cities tend to be self-sufficient.
2. Neither city is a shopping center for the other to any significant degree; such differences as do exist are in favor of Pasco.
3. New white residents are substantially less satisfied than old residents with local retail outlets; they not only say so, but they purchase more outside the city in which they live. Negroes are better satisfied with the stores than any other group.
4. The people of Kennewick show a somewhat more satisfied attitude with their stores than do the people of Pasco, except in their satisfaction with the selection of merchandise available.
5. On the whole, the local residents are well impressed with their stores and believe they are trying to do a good job, even though half of those expressing an opinion think prices are higher locally than elsewhere and believe that new stores would have a fair chance of succeeding in competition with the ones now established.
6. While Richland provides virtually no shopping outlet for local residents, Pasco and Kennewick provide substantial shopping opportunities for the residents of Richland.
7. The chief attraction of Pasco and Kennewick stores to Richland people is in the wider selection of merchandise they carry.
8. Pasco tends to be the more attractive shopping center for Richland residents in all lines of merchandise they carry.
9. The development of greater and more competitive retail facilities in Richland will affect retail volume in Pasco and Kennewick to the degree that Richland stores provide a greater selection of merchandise at competitive prices. At the least, this development may be expected to reduce the shopping of Richland residents in Pasco and Kennewick, at the most to attract trade from Pasco and Kennewick to Richland.

APPENDIX A:

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The majority of the data for Chapters 3-8 was gathered by interviewers during the months of August and September, 1948. The interviewers called on householders in their homes, and conducted an interview which lasted approximately one hour. The interviewers worked from questionnaires designed to secure facts about the families which the householders who were being interviewed represented. It was also designed to secure important information bearing on their habits and attitudes. The questionnaire attempted to get at those habits, attitudes and facts which have the greatest bearing on the growth of the community and the satisfaction, or the lack of satisfaction, of the people who lived there.

Before the survey proper was conducted, a tentative questionnaire was pre-tested on thirty-five householders. These householders were not picked with great care except that great care was used in seeing that both old and new residents were represented among the thirty-five. The results of the pre-test questionnaire were tabulated, and on the basis of these results the questionnaire was revised into its final form.

The interviewers consisted of a graduate student at The State College of Washington and a number of persons, mostly school teachers, who had been in an Extension Class of the project leaders. A colored interviewer was used for the colored section of East Pasco. A danger to be guarded against in using this technique is that the personality of the interviewer may introduce some bias into the answer. A careful check of the types of answers received by each interviewer indicates no detectable bias due to the personality of the interviewer.

TABLE 70

Number of People Interviewed in Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area in Sample

<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>
Pasco	189 ¹
Kennewick	147 ²
Columbia Avenue	34

1. One of these families is a Negro family living in Pasco more than 5 years. It has been omitted from the sample whenever "length of residence" and "race" were together as classifications.

Table 70 (con't.)

2. One of these families did not give length of residence. It has been omitted from the sample, therefore, when "length of residence" has been used as a classification.

The areas surveyed were Pasco, including the section known as East Pasco; Kennewick proper; and an area called in the write-up Columbia Avenue. Throughout the survey these three areas are treated separately. The Columbia Avenue Area may be defined roughly as the group of people living along the highway between Kennewick and the "Y." Specifically, the Columbia Avenue Area is bounded on the east by the western City Limits of Kennewick, on the west by the west boundary of the "Y," on the south by the railroad tracks, and on the north by the river.

Once the areas had been defined, the problem was to select the households within the areas where the interviews would actually take place. To be sure that a household actually interviewed would be typical of all of the households in the area, it was necessary to adopt a procedure which would leave their choice entirely to chance--a random sample. The first step in this procedure was to select the blocks within which the interviews would take place. This selection was achieved by assigning numbers to blocks on the city maps of each area, then drawing numbers corresponding to the numbers of the blocks on the maps by chance from a basket. Next, the households within each block whose number had been drawn from the basket were plotted. The households where the interviews were to take place were also drawn by chance from a basket just as the blocks had been drawn from each area by chance. The interviewers were then instructed to interview the households which had been drawn in the selected blocks. They were left no discretion in the selection of households to be interviewed. The result was a sample of 370 households in the three areas selected. (See Table 70) The ratio of householders interviewed to the actual number of households and to the actual population is different for each of the three areas. The Pasco sample represents one interview to each forty-two people; the Kennewick area, one to each thirty-eight people; and the Columbia Avenue area, a ratio which is not entirely certain. It probably is slightly higher than the Pasco sample.

For purposes of studying the data, the most important distinction is the length of time in which people lived in the area. This distribution is shown in Table 71. As explained in the Introduction to Part II, those who have lived in the area less than five years have been classified throughout the survey as "new" residents. Those living in the area five years or longer have been classified as "old" residents. New residents have moved into the area since the middle of 1943. This breakdown was chosen because it corresponds roughly with the beginning of the Hanford Project, which was the major factor in attracting large numbers of presently located new people to the area.

TABLE 71

Distribution of Sample of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Residents by Length of Residence in Area

<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Less than one year	26.2
1 - 2 years	18.1
3 - 4	9.7
5 - 9	12.4
10 - 14	6.2
15 - 19	5.7
20 - 24	4.8
25 - 29	5.7
30 and over	10.8
Not indicated	.3

TABLE 72

Per cent of New Residents of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue (less than 5 years) by Area and Race

<u>Area and Race</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Pasco	
Negroes	97.6
Whites	36.3
Total Pasco	49.7
Total Kennewick	53.7
Total Columbia Avenue	79.4
Total Sample	54.0

Another important breakdown of the new residents of Pasco was into a classification of Negroes and whites. This breakdown permitted the concentration of all Negroes into one classification since they all lived in Pasco, and since, for all practical purposes, they had all come within five years preceding the time of the survey.

The basic breakdown used to analyze most of the data thus consists of a division into three areas, Pasco, Kennewick, and Columbia Avenue, with each area in turn being broken down into old and new residents, and with the new residents in Pasco being broken down in turn into Negroes and whites. Thus each basic breakdown includes, first, area of residence; second, length of residence; and third, race.

TABLE 73

Breakdown of Pasco-Kennewick Survey Sample into Area, Length of Residence, and Race

Pasco
New Residents
Negro
White
Old Residents
Total Pasco
Kennewick
New Residents
Old Residents
Total Kennewick
Columbia Avenue
New Residents
Old Residents
Total Columbia Avenue
Total New Residents
Total Old Residents
Total Sample

The use of the "area sample" method which has been described above, is the technique most universally used to secure a scientific sample. Studies have consistently demonstrated the superiority of the area method of sampling to other methods. In other words, the households actually interviewed in this study are typical of the households of the area. The one question that can be raised is as to the representative nature of the Columbia Avenue sample. This area lacked a fairly uniform block system. It was difficult to find people at home for interviews; therefore, such interviews were taken over a long span of time, and people were moving in and out of the area so rapidly that the sample actually becomes a sample of a floating population. This is further complicated by the fact that no good estimates of the total number of households or persons residing in the Columbia Avenue Area were available. It is, therefore, difficult to state what ratio the thirty-four interviews in the Columbia Avenue Area bore to the number of households or the total populations actually residing in the area. It will, therefore, be difficult to say what numbers of people are actually represented in the opinions expressed by those interviewed in the Columbia Avenue Area. Since, however, the Columbia Avenue Area is so different from the other areas covered by the survey, it has been valuable to keep it separate and to treat it as a unit by itself. The data gathered is probably rea-

sonably representative of the population in this area, and the integrity of the samples for Pasco and Kennewick has been preserved by treating it separately.

Once the households to be interviewed had been selected, the next problem was to select the person within the household to be interviewed. Interviewers were instructed to interview the heads of households or their spouses. About three-fourths of the interviews were with women, for the most the wives of the heads of households. Since the interviews were conducted normally during business hours, the woman of the house was generally the one home. This proportion between men and women is further emphasized by the fact that a number of the men interviewed were single men. The net result is that the data and opinions have been gathered from a preponderance of wives of heads of households.

TABLE 74

Percentage distribution of households in the Pasco-Kennewick Survey by the number of persons in the household

<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	5.1
2	30.8
3	26.8
4	17.8
5	8.9
6	4.3
7	1.9
8	1.1
9 and over	.8
Not indicated	2.4

The age of the interviewee of the sample was weighted with older men. However, the age of the women in the sample is typical of the age distribution of the women in the population of the area. As a whole, they were four years younger than the average population of women in the State of Washington. These age differentials are accounted for largely by the new group whose average age was considerably lower than the group who had lived in the area five years or longer.

No attempt was made to define the term "family" or to determine the size of families in the sample. Size of household is a better measure of population, since it can be applied to living units which are more easily observed than "families" in the strict sense of the word. The average number of persons per household in the sample was 3.23. (Table 74)

TABLE 75

Average Size of Households in Sample of Pasco-Kennewick-Columbia Avenue Area

<u>Segment of Population</u>	<u>Average Size of Household</u>
Pasco	
New Residents	
Negro	2.23
White	3.17
Total New Residents	2.77
Old Residents	3.46
Total Pasco	3.01
Kennewick	
New Residents	3.24
Old Residents	3.40
Total Kennewick	3.32
Columbia Avenue	
New Residents	2.62
Old Residents	4.14
Total Columbia Avenue	3.00
Total New Residents	3.08
Total Old Residents	3.44
Total Sample	3.25

TABLE 76

Average Size of Household by Age of Female Head of Household of Pasco-Kennewick Survey.

<u>Age of Female</u>	<u>Average Size of Household</u>
15 - 19	3.17
20 - 29	3.72
30 - 39	3.83
40 - 49	3.23
50 - 59	3.03
60 - 69	2.75
70 and over	2.25

The average household size for new residents is 3.08 persons, compared to 3.44 persons for old residents. For those residents who have lived in the area less than one year, the figure is 2.75 persons. (Table 75) The smaller families of the new residents is largely a reflection of their younger age. (Table 76)

The younger new family has only .46 children per household in school, whereas the older family living in the area for more than five years has an average of .72.

It is desirable to reappraise the sample at this point. There is every reason to believe that representative households were contacted, except for some doubts concerning representativeness of the rather fluid group of households in the Columbia Avenue Area. Within the household, the information and opinions gathered is largely that of the woman of the house, and where the household consisted of single men, of that man. It is not representative of the opinion of either the head of the house, or of young people who are either in their late teens or early twenties and who have as yet not established their own households. Children's opinions likewise are omitted. While we cannot be sure that the data given by the women of the house and the opinions expressed by them are the same as those which would have been given by the man of the house, we have reason to believe that they would be relatively the same since the opinions given by women and those given by men do not seem to vary in any significant respect. One exception to this is that women did not seem to be sure of the exact nature of their husband's occupation. (See Chapter II, Section III, The Occupational Pattern.)

In addition to the questionnaire used for conducting interviews in the area, a questionnaire of a supplemental nature was mailed to every tenth resident of the City of Richland. These questionnaires attempted to get general opinions about the desirability of living in Pasco, Kennewick, and the Columbia Avenue Area, and also attempted to get specific information about buying habits and shopping preferences in Pasco and in Kennewick. The sampling techniques of this questionnaire were not as exact as those used by the interviewers. Forty-seven per cent of the questionnaires mailed were returned. This always raises the questions of what the other 53 per cent of the people to whom questionnaires were sent would have said. In general, the questionnaires seemed to have been returned by a better than average group, so far as educational level is concerned and by those who had strong opinions one way or another. While the returns may indicate some bias, they retain considerable validity and the opinions contained in them throw a good deal of light on the growth and possibilities of the area.

After the interviews had been finished and checked, the data from the questionnaires was transferred to IBM punch cards, one for each questionnaire. The data was then sorted and gathered into tables. Those tables showing a significant relationship have been included in the study. Many tables have been discarded. A few of the questions asked in the questionnaire and some of the data gathered in the questionnaire has not been used because it

apparently had a minimum significance for the development of the communities once the results were exempt. Most of the data gathered in the questionnaires, however, is embodied in the study.

APPENDIX B:

COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

PASCO-KENNEWICK SURVEY, 1948

CONFIDENTIAL

1-3 Schedule No. _____ Date _____
()

4 Address _____
()

5 City _____
()

6 Sex - Age _____
()

7 Race _____
()

8 Type of housing
() Regular or private 1 () Trailer 3 ()
Furnished room 2 () Other 4 ()

9 Do you own this unit? Specify
() Own 1 () Rent 2 ()

10 If owner -- For how much would you rent this unit per month (unfur-
() nished)? _____

If renter:

a. What is the contract monthly rent \$ _____

b. What additional average monthly amount
is paid for heat, light, water and cooking
fuel \$ _____

c. Gross monthly rent \$ _____

11 Number of rooms in this unit _____
()

12 Number of bedrooms in this unit _____
()

13 Number of persons regularly living in unit _____
()

14 How many years have you lived in this house _____
()

15 How many years have you lived in the
() Kennewick-Pasco Area _____

16	In general are you satisfied with your housing?	
()	Yes, I am very satisfied	1 ()
	I am fairly satisfied	2 ()
	I am quite dissatisfied	3 ()
	No, I am very dissatisfied	4 ()
	Why on (3) or (4)	
17	Do you plan to move within next 3 years?	
()	Remain in present quarters	1 ()
	Move and rent in Pasco	2 ()
	Move and rent in Kennewick	3 ()
	Buy or build house in Pasco	4 ()
	Buy or build house in Kennewick	5 ()
	Leave area	6 ()
	Why?	
18	Where would you prefer to make your home?	
()	Inside Kennewick or Pasco	1 ()
	Outside the cities	2 ()
19	If you plan to buy or build	
()	What price house, including lot, would you buy or build? \$	
20	What down payment would you be willing to make?	
()		
21	What monthly payment (Include Inc., Int., taxes)	
()		
22	If you plan to rent would you prefer	
()	Single family structure	1 ()
	Apartment	2 ()
	Duplex	3 ()
	Other	4 ()
21	What monthly rent including heat, light, water, and cooking fuel	
()	would you be willing to pay? \$	
23	In what community have you spent the most years of your life?	
()	How big was this community?	
()		
24	Of the communities you have lived in during your life which one	
()	have you liked best?	
()	How big was this community?	
25	Do you think the population of Pasco and Kennewick is:	
()	Too big	1 ()
	Too small	2 ()
	Just right	3 ()
26	How large do you think Pasco and Kennewick will become?	
()		

27	Do you think that the present increase will continue for the	
()	next five years?	
	Yes 1 ()	No 2 () Undecided 3 ()
28	Which city do you think will grow faster, Pasco or Kennewick?	
()	Pasco 1 ()	Kennewick 2 () Undecided 3 ()
	Why?	
29	On the whole are the newcomers who have taken up permanent resi-	
()	dence here during the past few years as good people as are the old	
()	residents?	
	Yes, I am sure they are	1 ()
	They are no better and no worse	2 ()
	I don't think so, but I am not sure	3 ()
	No, I am sure they are not as good as the old residents	4 ()
	How strongly do you feel about this?	
	Very strongly	5 ()
	Fairly strongly	6 ()
	Not so strongly	7 ()
	Not at all strongly	8 ()
30	If you had \$10,000 to invest, would you buy real estate in this	
()	town even at today's high prices?	
()	Yes, I couldn't lose	1 ()
	I think I would buy	2 ()
	I don't think I would buy	3 ()
	No, it would be an almost sure way to lose money	4 ()
	How sure are you about this?	
	Very sure	5 ()
	Fairly sure	6 ()
	Not so sure	7 ()
	Not at all sure	8 ()
31	Do you think that it is good for the community to have people	
()	working at Richland or Hanford to live here permanently?	
()	Yes, it is a good thing	1 ()
	I think so, but I am not sure	2 ()
	I don't think so, but I am not sure	3 ()
	No, it is harmful to the community	4 ()
	How strongly do you feel about this?	
	Very strongly	5 ()
	Fairly strongly	6 ()
	Not so strongly	7 ()
	Not at all strongly	8 ()

32 In general, do you think the community is a better place to live
 () because it has grown rapidly during the last few years?
 () Yes, it was just what this town needed 1 ()
 I think it is some better 2 ()
 I guess it has hurt the town more than it has helped it 3 ()
 No, it's the worst thing that could have happened 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?
 Very strongly 5 ()
 Fairly strongly 6 ()
 Not so strongly 7 ()
 Not at all strongly 8 ()

33 What things do you like best about this town?
 () (See appropriate card)

34 In what town do you usually buy?
 () Groceries P Pasco
 Clothing K Kennewick
 Furniture R Richland
 Electrical Goods W Walla Walla
 Household Goods Y Yakima
 Automobile and Accessories M Mail Order
 O Other (Specify)

35 Have you made any large purchases (i.e. stove, living
 () room chair, coat, etc. during the past year?
 (Specify) _____

36 If new stores were to come into the area, do you think they would be
 () able to stay in business?
 () Yes, there is just too much business for the stores
 already here 1 ()
 I think they could probably compete all right
 if they would do a fair job 2 ()
 I think they would have trouble staying in
 business 3 ()
 No, stores already here would keep most of
 the business no matter how good the new
 stores were 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?
 1. Very strongly 5 ()
 2. Fairly strongly 6 ()
 3. Not so strongly 7 ()
 4. Not at all strongly 8 ()

37 In general, do you think the stores are doing a good job
 () serving the needs of the community
 () Yes, they are providing good service 1 ()
 I think they may be trying, but they just can't
 serve all the people 2 ()
 No, they have so much business they don't
 care about getting more customers 3 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?
 Very strongly 4 ()
 Fairly strongly 5 ()
 Not so strongly 6 ()
 Not at all strongly 8 ()

38 In general, do you think it is easy to get the things you want
 () in the stores here?
 () Yes, I think it is easy to find practically every-
 thing I want in the stores here 1 ()
 I think it is easy to find most things 2 ()
 I think it is difficult to find many things 3 ()
 No, I think it is difficult to find anything 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?
 1. Very strongly 5 ()
 2. Fairly strongly 6 ()
 3. Not so strongly 7 ()
 4. Not at all strongly 8 ()

If res. answers (3) and (4) ask what items _____

39 On the whole, do you think that prices in the local stores are
 () higher than those of neighboring communities?
 () Yes 1 ()
 No 2 ()

How sure are you about this?
 Very sure 5 ()
 Fairly sure 6 ()
 Not so sure 7 ()
 Not at all sure 8 ()

40 What kind of job considering the overcrowding do you think
 () the local schools are doing?
 () They are doing an excellent job 1 ()
 I think they are doing a pretty good job 2 ()
 I think they are doing a poor job 3 ()
 They are worse than most schools 4 ()

- 40 (con't.)
- How strongly do you feel about this?
- Very strongly 5 ()
- Fairly strongly 6 ()
- Not so strongly 7 ()
- Not at all strongly 8 ()
-
- 41 What branches of the city government do you think are the best?
()
-
- 42 What branches of the city government do you think are the worst?
()
-
- 43 On the whole, would you say that the water supply is a danger to
() the health of the town?
- () Yes, water here is very poor 1 ()
- I think the water is probably poor 2 ()
- I think the water is pretty good 3 ()
- No, the water supply is excellent 4 ()
- How sure are you about this?
- Very sure 5 ()
- Fairly sure 6 ()
- Not so sure 7 ()
- Not at all sure 8 ()
-
- 44 In general, do you think the sanitation in this town is good?
- () Yes, the sanitation is excellent 1 ()
- () I think the sanitation is pretty good 2 ()
- I think the sanitation is pretty poor 3 ()
- No, the sanitation is terrible in this town 4 ()
- How sure are you about this?
- Very sure 5 ()
- Fairly sure 6 ()
- Not so sure 7 ()
- Not at all sure 8 ()
-
- 45 On the whole, do you think that the medical facilities (hospitals,
() doctors, nurses, and dentists) are adequate?
- () Yes, anybody who needs medical care gets
excellent attention 1 ()
- I think a good share of the people get the attention
they need 2 ()
- I think medical care is pretty poor here 3 ()
- No, people just cannot get good medical
treatment here 4 ()

Continued on next page.

- 45(con't.)
- How strongly do you feel about this?
- Very strongly 5 ()
- Fairly strongly 6 ()
- Not so strongly 7 ()
- Not at all strongly 8 ()
- If respondent answers (3) and (4) hand him appropriate card.
-
- 46 In general, do you think the recreation facilities are adequate for
() the adults?
- () Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()
- How strongly do you feel about this?
- Very strongly 5 ()
- Fairly strongly 6 ()
- Not so strongly 7 ()
- Not at all strongly 8 ()
- If "No" what facilities are needed?
-
- 47 In general, do you think the recreation programs are adequate for
() the youth in this town?
- () Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()
- How strongly do you feel about this?
- Very strongly 5 ()
- Fairly strongly 6 ()
- Not so strongly 7 ()
- Not at all strongly 8 ()
- If "No" what improvements should be made?
-
- 48 Do you think that the community should try to improve the housing
facilities for temporary workers?
- () Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()
- If "Yes" -- What do you think the community should do?
-
-
- 49 In general, do you think that most of the leaders in this town are
() capable and ambitious and really trying to do their best for all
() the people?
- Yes, I am sure they are 1 ()
- I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()
- I do not think so, but I am not sure 3 ()
- No, I am sure the leaders are not capable 4 ()

(Continued on next page)

49(con't.)

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Fairly strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

50 In general, do you think real friends are hard to find in this town?

()

() Yes, I am sure they are 1 ()

I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, I am sure they are easy to find 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

51 On the whole, do you feel that there is more crime than you would expect in a town of this size?

()

() Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()

How sure are you of this?

Very sure 5 ()

Fairly sure 6 ()

Not so sure 7 ()

Not at all sure 8 ()

52-56 What do you think are the five most important problems which Pasco and Kennewick will face during the next five years?

()

() (See appropriate card)

()

()

()

57 On the whole, do you think everyone helps to decide how community activities should be run?

()

() Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()

How sure are you about this?

Very sure 5 ()

Fairly sure 6 ()

Not so sure 7 ()

Not at all sure 8 ()

58 Do you think this town will ever seem like home to you?

()

() Yes, it does now 1 ()

I think it may in time 2 ()

I don't think it will, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, it never will 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

59 The total population of Pasco and Kennewick is about 15,000 at the present time. How many Negroes do you think live in Pasco and Kennewick?

60 How many Negroes do you think should live in the two cities?

61 In general, do you think that segregation would solve the Negro problem in Pasco and Kennewick?

()

Yes () JK No () AB

In general, do you think that there is segregation now in Pasco and Kennewick?

Yes () AJ No () BK

If answer is "Yes" Where?

62 Do you think that the proportion of Negroes in the population of Kennewick and Pasco will increase during the next five years?

()

Increase 1 () Decrease 2 () Stay same 3 ()

63 Do you think that practically all of the Negroes living in Kennewick-Pasco area came from the South? (Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, etc.)

()

Yes _____ 1 () No _____ 2 ()

How sure are you about this?

Very sure 5 ()

Not so sure 6 ()

Fairly sure 7 ()

Not at all sure 8 ()

64 What contacts have you had with Negroes while living in Kennewick or Pasco?

()

Just in the stores and on the street 1 ()

Work with them 2 ()

In the home as domestic servants 3 ()

(Continued on next page)

64(con't.)

As neighbors 4 ()

In organizations such as PTA, church groups etc. 5 ()

Other (specify) _____

65 Suppose a Negro family moved into the place next door to you.

() Do you think you would move?

() Yes, I would move out as quickly as possible 1 ()

I think I would start looking around for another place 2 ()

I think I would wait and see what kind of a family it was 3 ()

No, I wouldn't think any more about it than if it were a white family 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

66 On the whole, do you think that Negroes are being treated fairly

() in this town?

() Yes, I am sure they are 1 ()

I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, I am sure they are not treated fairly 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

67 In general, do you think that ideas of "white supremacy" and "keeping

() the Negroes in their place" are opposed to the principles of American

() democracy?

Yes, I am sure they are 1 ()

I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, these ideas are perfectly consistent with democracy 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

68 Do you think that Negroes should be encouraged to leave the area?

() Yes, I certainly do 1 ()

() I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, it is perfectly all right for them to stay here 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

If respondent indicates (1) or (2) in first section ask "Why do you think Negroes should be encouraged to leave?" (Try to get specific answer)

69 If you were eating in a restaurant and a Negro sat down at the next

() table before you had been served, would you get up and leave the

() restaurant?

Yes, I certainly would 1 ()

I think I might, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think I would, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, I would go on and order the meal 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

70 In general, do you think that it is all right for Negroes to buy their

() groceries in the same stores as white people do?

() Yes, I am sure they should 1 ()

I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()

I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()

No, they shouldn't buy in the same stores 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly 5 ()

Fairly strongly 6 ()

Not so strongly 7 ()

Not at all strongly 8 ()

71 In general, do you think it is a good thing for the country, all people

considered, to have many Negroes moving from the South to northern

or western cities?

Yes, I am sure it is helping the country 1 ()

(Continued on next page)

71(con't.)

- I think so, but I am not sure 2 ()
 I don't think so, but I am not sure 3 ()
 No, I'm sure it is hurting the country 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

- Very strongly 5 ()
 Fairly strongly 6 ()
 Not so strongly 7 ()
 Not at all strongly 8 ()

- 72 If you were in the movies where there were only a few vacant seats
 () and a Negro sat in the seat next to you, do you think you would leave?
 () Yes, I certainly would 1 ()
 I think I would, but I am not sure 2 ()
 I don't think I would, but I am not sure 3 ()
 No, I'd continue watching the movie 4 ()

How strongly do you feel about this?

- Very strongly 5 ()
 Fairly strongly 6 ()
 Not so strongly 7 ()
 Not at all strongly 8 ()

73-75

- () Occupation of family head _____
 () Type of employment _____
 () Place of employment _____

- 76 Check the broad income group in which your total household money
 () income for 1947 fell. (Exclude income of servants, lodgers, or hired
 hands) Give respondent appropriate card.

- 77 Number of people in household employed _____
 () Exclude income of servants, lodgers, or hired hands _____

- 78 Highest grade completed in school by you _____

- 79 What newspapers do you read regularly?
 () (Hand respondent card)
 () What magazines do you read regularly?

- 80 Number of children in household attending school?
 ()

For Refer

Not to be taken from