tered by the Commission itself. A second difficulty is that in evaluating the effects of the law, one tends to think in terms of quotas—how many Negro clerks have been hired in proportion to the total population of the Negro community? Yet SCAD constantly reiterates that quota employment is not compliance with the law. How many members of a minority group must an employer hire, then, to comply? No specific amount, the Commission answers, merely all those who best qualify for each opening.

These are genuine problems the Commission faces in assessing its work, yet they do not appear to be insoluble. It is hardly conceivable that its own preachments should be an effective barrier to self-evaluation. In the present stage of the law's operation it does not seem to be necessary to judge its effectiveness by measuring its achievements according to some standard of what is the "proper" number of members of minority groups for each type of job in each firm or industry. A more simple test, the increase in the jobs held by and the openings available to such employees from year to year, should be adequate for the present and well into the future.

There is still another aspect to the problem of evaluating the Law Against Discrimination and SCAD's administration of it, and to evaluating any piece of legislation in the area of group relations. To what extent, it may be asked, does the law succeed in eliminating prejudice, not merely discrimination? It is an explicit or unstated assumption of most advocates of this kind of legislation that the removal of intergroup barriers by law will eventually lead to the reduction of the prejudice which is said to be the motivation for discriminatory practices. The Lavanburg Foundation is sponsoring a study of a biracial housing project in Pittsburgh which shows, according to one of the directors of the study, that "under appropriate institutional and administrative conditions, the experience of interracial amity can supplant the fear of interracial conflict."[27] Are the "institutional and administrative conditions" which result from the Ives-Quinn law likewise the appropriate ones to bring about such a change? The answer to this question can be obtained only with the sponsorship of SCAD. The procedure would be to test a group of workers for racial prejudice in an establishment which the Commission finds has excluded members of minority groups. After the company has complied with the law, and previously barred persons are employed, another test can be administered to the same group of workers at certain intervals of time. Such a series of tests would permit some definite conclusions as to the role of law and coercion in the elimination of intergroup hostility; it would show where the coercion and the sanctions are effective and where this feature of a legal system must not be applied. It is doubtful, however, that such tests would reveal much except after an interval of some years.

[27] Merton, *The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy,* 8 ANTIOCH REV. 210 (1948).

This limitation, indeed, applies to many of the statements in this discussion, especially to the "trends" reported in the next section. This study deals with only four and a half years of a new type of law, and this fact must be taken into account throughout.

B. *Statistical Summary*

Most of the complaints filed with SCAD charge discrimination because of race and color, that is, they charge anti-Negro employment policies. The proportion of such charges to the total number of complaints is rising. (See Table 1.) During 1945-46, covering the first eighteen months of the law, 63 per cent of the complaints charged discrimination because of race and color. During 1947 this category was 75 per cent of the total, in 1948 it was 73 per cent, and in 1949 it rose again to 75 per cent. Meanwhile complaints charging discrimination because of creed, involving mainly Jews, have been declining both relatively and absolutely. During the first 18 months of the law such cases were 21 per cent of the total; they were 12 per cent of the total in 1947, rose to 18 per cent in 1948, and declined to 15 per cent in 1949.

Employers are the main objects of charges in complaints filed with SCAD. (See Table 2.) From the inception of the law until the end of 1949 employers were the respondents in 81 per cent of all complaint cases. The proportion of employment agencies as respondents has been rising slowly, although the absolute number from July 1945 through July 1949 is only 113. During the first 18 months of the law agencies were the respondents in only three per cent of all cases, but this proportion rose to six per cent during 1947, to ten per cent in 1948 and to 13 per cent in 1949.

A NOTE ON THE TABLES

The tables which follow have been prepared from data in the text and tables of SCAD's annual reports. Beginning with the annual report for 1947 SCAD has presented the data for the year just ended and for the cumulative period since July 1, 1945. To obtain the annual data for the earlier periods, given in the tables which follow, it has been necessary to subtract the annual data for the later periods from the cumulative totals since July 1, 1945. SCAD from time to time reclassifies cases closed in previous years. The result is that adding the annual totals across a table does not always yield the exact cumulative total given in the last column; the discrepancy in Table 1 ranges from one to 12 cases, in Table 2 from one to two cases, in Table 3 from one to 14 cases, in Table 4 from one to 17 cases and in Tables 5 from one to four cases.