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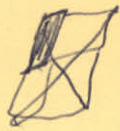
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OPEN HOUSING CONFERENCE
Morgan State College
Saturday, October 25, 1969

Those meeting in conference on this day respectfully request Governor Mandel to declare the week of February 22, 1970, (following Brotherhood week) as OPEN HOUSING WEEK.

Those meeting in conference on this day call upon the religious community, the business community, the labor community, governmental agencies, fair housing councils, civic, sororital and fraternal organizations and individual citizens in Maryland to participate in the observance of OPEN HOUSING WEEK.

Those meeting in conference this day call upon the Leadership Council For Fair Housing In Maryland to set up a special committee to accomplish the OPEN HOUSING WEEK observance. The above areas of community life would be invited to have representation on this committee. Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., the Maryland Commission on Human Relations, the Baltimore City and the county human relation commissions, will be asked to be especially helpful in this endeavor.



1. # Purpose - (Gentleman to my right)
2. Imagery - Bald. Co. -
3. Challenge to white America - Power
4. ~~What~~ What group of Blacks are we talking about?
5. A.) Dwellings not available
b.) Relocation
6. Sell Availability

House Bill 1090

- A. This bill which establishes the Maryland Community Development Administration was passed by the General Assembly, was signed by the Governor and petitioned to referendum by the Maryland Lobby.
- B. A case was brought to court, by a group including the League of Women Voters, C.P.H.A., B.N.I. and other concerned groups declaring the petition illegal. Judge W. Albert Menchine refused to hear the case to keep it off the ballot.
- C. It was put on the ballot and lost by 7.7% of the people voting for governor which does not appear to be a clear mandate.
- D. Judge Kenneth C. Proctor heard the case and declared the petition illegal on the basis of actual fraud.
- E. Two "Ripper" bills are now before the General Assembly, H.B. 422 and S.B. 821 trying to repeal H.B. 1090:
- F. In both the House of Delegates and the Senate, two readings have taken place, House Bill 422 being barely passed and Senate Bill 821 being barely defeated both times. The third reading, the decisive one, will be coming up this week.

Please notify your delegate, senator, and even the governor by letter, post card, or telegram (opinion-gram \$1.00 15 words) of your stand:

For our district, they are:

Delegates:	Mr. George Price (R)*	Maryland House of Delegates
	Mr. Robert Stroble (R)*	Baltimore County, District #3
	Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins	Annapolis, Maryland
	House Minority Leader (R)*	
Senator:	Mr. Jervis Finney (R)*	
	Maryland General Assembly	
	Annapolis, Maryland	

* These men have voted against H.B. 1090 and are for the two "Ripper" bills.

LUTHERVILLE - TIMONIUM - COCKEYSVILLE

FAIR HOUSING COUNCIL

April Meeting: April 15, 1971

"THE BALTIMORE COUNTY COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION:
ITS FUNCTION, ORGANIZATION AND RESPONSIBILITIES."

Speaker:

Mr. Robert B. Green, Jr.
Chairman, Housing Sub-committee
Baltimore County Community
Relations Commission

When: April 15, 1971, 8:00 P.M.

Where: Epiphany Episcopal Church, 2216 Pot Spring Road

Directions: From intersection of York Road and Timonium Road go east.
At second stop light make a left onto Pot Spring Road
and go partway up the hill. The church is on the left
(west side) going north.

NOTES:

1. See back for information on House Bill 1090.
2. The public is encouraged to attend meeting of the Baltimore County Community Relations Commission on the last Wednesday of each month in Room 106 of the County Office Bldg.
3. Keep this date open - next meeting, May 20.
4. A book to ponder over - BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT by J. Hecht.



*Mr. Herbert Parker
28 Allegany Ave.
Jowson Md. 21204*

OPEN HOUSING CONFERENCE

**CALLOWAY HALL
MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
HILLEN & COLD SPRING
ROAD & LANE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1969**



the Leadership Council for Fair Housing in Maryland and the Morgan Urban Studies Institute with the special help of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. and The Maryland Commission on Human Relations

1 P.M.-5:30

Purpose -



To bring leaders of the Fair Housing movement and leaders of Black civic, religious, fraternal and sororital organizations together in order to facilitate the creation of an open housing market in Maryland. (Special emphasis on the Greater Baltimore area.)

1-1:30

Registration

1:30-2

Word of Welcome by George Laurent, Convenor of the Leadership Council & by a representative of Morgan State College.

Presentation of Social Security's new Fair Housing Program & Housing Referral Service.

2 to 3

A Challenge to the Assembled



2-2:15

"The Challenge of New Opportunities in Fair Housing," James Harvey, Executive Director Housing Opportunities Council of Metropolitan Washington.

2:15-2:30



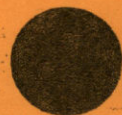
"A Challenge to Concerned Whites"

Parren J. Mitchell, Associate Director, Urban Studies Center, Morgan State College & President, Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.



2:30-2:45

"A Challenge to Concerned Blacks"



Roscoe R. Nix, Chief, State & Local Agencies, U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service. Former Executive Director, Maryland Commission on Human Relations.

2:45-3

Questions & Answers



3-3:30



Coffee Break - Coffee served in Discussion Rooms



Discussion Groups **3:30-5:30**

- a Fair Housing representative presents work of Fair Housing Councils.
- Black Community evaluates & makes suggestions
- discussion of how interested Black groups & Fair Housing Councils might work together
- additional suggestions collected for passing on to conference steering committee

2 hours are provided for discussion since the complaint of most conference attendees is that not enough time is allowed for discussion. Groups, however, will dismiss individually so that an individual group may disband before 5:30 p.m. if it has finished its discussion.

Associate Sponsors ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Baltimore Community Relations Commission/ Alpha Phi Alpha/ Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc./ Baltimore County Human Relations Commission/ Clifton S. Murray/ Woodlawn Area Workshop/ Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Epsilon Omega Chapter/ Apex Beauty School/ Avalon's Inc./ Baltimore City Lodge GUOOF/ Avalon Pleasure Club/ Baltimore Old Timers/ Bavlieds/ Bennett College Alumni Association, Baltimore Chapter/ Berkley Homemakers/ Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority/ Chi Eta Phi Sorority/ The Gems Club/ Deer Creek Lodge #103/ Baltimore Guardsmen/ Cardigans/ Dumas Brown Lodge/ Chi Eta Phi Sorority, Gamma Chapter/ The Vikings/ Phi Delta Kappa Sorority/ Zeta Phi Beta/ Blue Socialite/ Delmar Improvement Association, Inc./ Iota Phi Lambda/ East West Social Club/ Chi Psi Sigma Fraternity/ Cosox/ Daughter of Isis/ The Pannettes Social Club/ A.Y.L.I./ Dolfield Area Association/ Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority/ Baltimore Urban League Guild/ Tau Gamma Delta/ Sigma Phi Fraternity/ Progressive Lodge #1725/ Maryland League of Women's Club/ Philomathian Club/ Regents Sport Club/ E.S. William Wesleyan Service Guild/ Maryland Commission on Human Relations/ C.P.H.A./ Maryland Council of Churches/ Fair Housing Councils of Metropolitan Baltimore/ Suburban Maryland Fair Housing/ Anti-Defamation League/ Urban League/ League of Women Voters of Baltimore City/ Harford County Fair Housing/

Co-Hosts for Discussion Groups ●○

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Group 1 | Mrs. Anna Williams, The Associated Negro Appeal, Inc.
Mrs. Nancy Hulse, Timonium-Lutherville Fair Housing |
| Group 2 | Charles K. Mills, Sigma Limited
Mrs. Alice Williams, Loch Raven-Joppa Fair Housing |
| Group 3 | Mrs. Virginia J. Ellison, E.S. Williams Wesleyan Service Guild
Fr. Roessler and Susan Jacobs, Rosedale Fair Housing |
| Group 4 | S. Lee Martin, Realtor, S. Lee Martin, Inc.
Mrs. Carolyn Boitnott, Towson Fair Housing |
| Group 5 | Thomas R. Neverdon, V.S.Q's
Bill Rose, Harford County Fair Housing |
| Group 6 | Mrs. Lorraine Taylor, The Leagues
Joe Martin, Loch Raven-Joppa Fair Housing |
| Group 7 | Kiser D. Barnes, Northwood Civic Forum
Larry and Toni Dorr, Cockeysville Fair Housing |
| Group 8 | Mrs. Mary S. Johnson, Pi Beta Sigma, Inc.
George and Mary Atherton, Timonium-Lutherville Fair Housing |
| Group 9 | Mrs. June Ross, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Bill Burkhart, Cockeysville Fair Housing |
| Group 10 | Mrs. Bernice S. White, Women's Auxiliary of 3000 Block Mondawmin Ave
Les Gundy, Catonsville Fair Housing |
| Group 11 | Mrs. Fannie Mathias, Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority
John Sawhill, Owings Mills-Reisterstown Fair Housing |
| Group 12 | George Washington, Newports
Mrs. Kathy Shemer, Pikesville-Randallstown |
- Alternates: Mrs. Beverly Washington, Sequoia Social Club/ Rita Berndt, Catonsville F.H./

A Note of Thanks

Many thanks to these groups and individuals for underwriting the cost of the conference: Interfaith Fair Housing Commission of the Anne Arundel Council of Churches/ Dorothy L. Kinsman/ Sigma Ltd./ Taylor Sincerity Quality Club/ Mary S. Johnson/ Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc./ The Maryland Commission on Human Relations/ Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority/ E.S. Wesleyan Service Guild/

Fair Housing ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Leadership Council for Fair Housing in Maryland was formed April 29, 1967 and consists of representatives from over 60 organizations. The purpose of the Council is to coordinate and promote fair housing activities in Maryland. The Council is not another civil rights or housing group, but rather exists to make the programs of the various groups more effective by stimulating cooperation and coordination where necessary.

FAIR OR OPEN HOUSING
IS THE LAW OF THE LAND

The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1968 forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin: in the sale or rental of housing; in the terms or conditions of sale, rental or financing of housing (including vacant lots); in advertising such in a way that indicates discrimination or intent to discriminate. It also forbids block-busting. (Homeowners are exempted from the law in the sale or rental of their own home if done so by the owner himself and without the use of discriminatory advertizing. This law also allows an exception when the landlord lives in the dwelling which has four or less dwelling units. However these exceptions are nullified in a practical sense in regards to race because of the 1866 Civil Rights Act which is complete in its coverage).

The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1866, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 17, 1968, prohibits racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all real and personal property.

These two laws supplement each other insofar as coverage is concerned. Therefore it should be repeated: **IT IS THE LAW OF THE LAND THAT THERE SHALL BE NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SALE, RENTAL, FINANCING AND ADVERTIZING OF REAL PROPERTY. THERE ARE NO EXEMPTIONS OR EXCEPTIONS TO THIS LAW.**

The Maryland Real Estate Commission has called on all licensed brokers and real estate agents to obey the law. It should be noted that for a licensee to be involved in discrimination, even if asked to do so by an owner, is not only a violation of Federal Law but of the Real Estate Code of Ethics (Maryland law), violation of which could call for suspension or revocation of license. Thus any owner asking a licensed broker or agent to discriminate is not only breaking the Law himself and asking someone else to break the Law, but is also asking a man to jeopardize his livelihood.

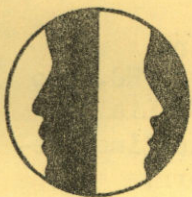
The National Association of Real Estate Boards has declared that the Supreme Court decision upholding the Civil Rights Act of 1866 is an immediate, unqualified and monumental extension of the freedom to buy, sell and rent property. To oppose the decision would only "lead to naive and contentious frustration".

Donald J. Miller
Associate Director

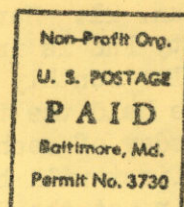
For further information, or help
if discriminated against, call:

George B. Laurent
Executive Director

Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
32 West 25th Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
Phone: 243-6007



BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOODS, INC.
32 W. 25th Street,
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
Telephone: 243-6007



Address Correction Requested

Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Dutterer
7229 Sindall Rd.
Balto. Md. 21234

CALENDAR:

Call 828-6912 for any further information on these listings.

Jan. 14. Dundalk-Turner's Station FHC. Film documentary on organized crime. DeLawder Hall, Dunman Way, Dundalk Shopping Center, 7:30 P.M.

Jan. 20. Pikesville-Randallstown FRC. "Prejudice Anonymous," Beth Israel Congregation, Liberty Road, 8 P.M.

Feb. 17. Pikesville-Randallstown. "Black Militancy and Civil Liberties," with Chester Wickwire and John Roemer of ACLU. Sudbrook Methodist Church, 8 P.M.

Feb. 21. Dundalk-Turner's Station FHC. "Conflict in the Street," a discussion, at St. Timothy's Church in Turner's Station, Walnut Ave., 7:30 P.M.

Jan. 27. Catonsville FHC. Part IV of Counseling on Home Buying, "Black and White Hang-ups." Grace AME Church, Winters Lane between Edmondson Ave. and Frederick Road, 8 P.M.

Jan. 26. Loch Raven-Joppa FHC. Joint meeting with Parkville-Carney. Arrangements are being made for a discussion of the U. S. Civil Rights hearings, which were held August, 1970. St. Ursula's Church, Putty Hill and Harford Roads, 8 P.M.

Jan. 21. Harford County FHC is initiating regular monthly meetings to be held the third Thursday of each month. The first will be in Belair, at the First Presbyterian Church at 8 P.M. The second meeting will be Feb. 18 at the same place and time.

GOOD NEIGHBORS

COME

IN ALL COLORS

FROM THE COUNCILS...

Caroline Boitnott, Towson FHC, writes: "We have felt the need for some time to reach a larger segment of our community. Therefore we are taking our message to other groups. In Nov. we sent out letters to 21 local fraternal and service organizations offering to provide speakers to discuss Fair Housing and meaningful integration of our community. So far, we have received three responses, one positive, one negative and one maybe.

"This month we plan to sit down with members of NECO to see how we can help each other." Towson FHC will be joined by the Lutherville-Timonium-Cockeysville FHC in this meeting with NECO. Those interested in further details may call 252-4678 or 828-5706.

On Dec. 21, letters were delivered to members of the Baltimore County Council requesting that two Black communities in Lutherville not be rezoned commercial, but remain residential, as adopted by the Planning Board. These letters were signed by 430 County residents. The signatures were collected by members of the Lutherville-Timonium-Cockeysville FHC and by members of the Edgewood United Methodist Church in Lutherville. See the article on zoning for background details.

Members of Dundalk-Turner's Station FHC (Chairman Bob Norris, Linda and Warren Harris, and Mr. and Mrs. Moses Pounds) decorated a tree before Christmas in Center Plaza. This was part of a project sponsored by CPHA. Its purpose, as Bob Norris explained it, was "to symbolize the coming together of people throughout the Metropolitan Area into downtown Baltimore; to give us the feeling of unity in our diversity." Thirty trees altogether were decorated.

Chairman Jim Williams, Severna Park FHC, told us that Eddie Miles, of the Baltimore Bullets, and his family have moved into a previously all-white area in Severna Park. They have been living there for about a year, and have told Jim that their reception by their new neighbors has been friendly and pleasant.

THANK YOU

...to Rosedale FHC for the fine job they did in preparing the first issue of the NEWSLETTER for mailing, and to Parkville-Carney FHC for the same work on this second issue.

SUPPORT

...the work of Christopher R. Gaul and WJZ-TV. Mr. Gaul is investigative reporter for WJZ-TV. He has been conducting an in-depth investigation of certain lending institutions and their relationship to housing speculation, and presenting his findings over WJZ-TV news. This investigation was much needed. Also needed is broad community support for Mr. Gaul's work and his courage and that of his TV station. Please show your support by writing to: Mr. Alan J. Bell, General Manager, WJZ-TV, Television Hill, Balto., Md. 21211.

WELCOME...

...to Alice Williams, now Chairman of the Loch Raven-Joppa FHC. She will become a Coordinator of all the Councils in January, 1971.

...to Caroline Boitnott, Towson FHC, who becomes H.O.M.E. Liaison Chairman at this time, replacing Toni Dorr.

FROM THE EDITORS

Season's Greetings! We ask you to 'phone your hot scoops to Dickens Warfield (828-6912) or to Sylvia Rogers (661-3972) and your program plans. Our next deadline is Feb. 18 — and remember, be sure to show this to a non-Council friend.

"Food for Deep Thought"
The Fair Housing Dilemma

OPEN HOUSING AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By **BARBARA KRASNER**
formerly with AFSC

Nationally, in the fields of school desegregation, voter registration and open housing, it appears that we have arrived at a stone wall. This is neither a judgmental statement nor one of despair but rather, for me and others in cities like Boston, New York and Philadelphia, a statement of increased awareness of the degree of the entrenchment of racism and hypocrisy, and of the concomitant failure of nationwide efforts to confront and eradicate bigotry. It is interesting to reflect that perhaps earlier and more accurately than most others, realtors knew the dimensions of the problem.

In an article called "Blues from Dixie" (*The Nation*, 11/28/66), Paul Good mentions some of the elements which "will increasingly cripple private efforts to encourage Southern Negro voter participation." They include the following:

- A. The dimension of fear.
- B. The diminishing ability of civil rights groups to put volunteers into the field.
- C. White political manipulations aimed at scotching black militancy and maintaining an uneasy but politically profitable status quo.
- D. White liberal refusal to complete the job.
- E. Lack of support from Negro groups that should know better.

These same elements may increasingly cripple private efforts to encourage Northern Negro attempts at open occupancy.

Recently James Bevel, director of the Chicago Project for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that **NEGROES MUST BE TAUGHT THEY CAN MOVE ANYWHERE THEY WANT TO.**

Taking Bevel's assumption as fact, I would suggest that there are several strands which must be brought together in discussing the housing situation in Philadelphia. Among them are the fair housing council movement itself, and (for lack of better words) the "how-to-do-it" and the "you-can-do-it" levels within Negro communities.

Fair Housing Councils

First let us consider the fair housing council movement and the black community. For reasons which are understandable (lack of funds and staff time, the implicit difficulties of the volunteer system and, perhaps, a trace of naivete,) the fair housing council movement has not operated in Negro communities except for infrequent and sporadic appearances.

There has been no comprehensive plan of action, no literature aimed at a Negro market, little presence of fair housing people in black communities, little participation (let me stress that word—participation) with Negro organizations big or small, little advertising commercially and not even a real attempt at a blanket distribution of brochures telling about the efforts of or the existence of the fair housing movement.

If the fair housing council movement regards itself, as it rightfully should, as a primary factor in the teaching process which Bevel suggests is needed in the Chicago experience (and my feeling is that the Philadelphia situation closely parallels Chicago's), then the teaching must begin. The fact that it has, by and large, been non-existent is a serious disadvantage when we consider the degree of black resistance, paralysis and fragmentation. It may also be an asset in that our attempts, once they are taken seriously, may be forceful and creative. Until such teaching takes place, we must put away any real hope of immediate results of more than a trickle of Negroes who are both willing and able to take that long step out of the ghetto onto ground that is not contiguous to the ghetto.

Further, let fair housing council people end their assumption that there is something desirable intrinsic to white communities and that their advantages outweigh the disadvantages. The "Black Power" advocates and the Chicago marches into the suburbs have exposed the degree of racism of white people. Perhaps, collectively, we need to ponder anew, "Would you (as a Negro) want to live next door to one of them?" With these understandings, the plowing and seeding can begin.

The Black Dilemma

The vast majority of Negroes do not know "how to" go about looking for a house or an apartment in areas that aren't black or changing. Visiting housing developments or apartment samples is, by and large, simply not part of the black mentality. Fair housing people know what happens when traditional paths for home seeking, e.g., "white" newspapers, realtors, etc., are taken; so do many Negroes, out of their own experience or that of a friend or relative. Hearsay adds to these already negative first or second-hand accounts of prejudice and there results a feeling that it just can't be done. And there exists very little living proof that it doesn't have to be that way. As for fair housing councils or even human relations commission, state or city, vast numbers of Negroes don't even know they exist.

As for the actual potential of the Negro housing market, numerically, statistics seem to indicate that it is there and growing. According to the national census of 1960, in Philadelphia there were at that time 32,000 non-white families with incomes of \$6000 or more. Of these, two-thirds were homeowners but lived in old houses built before 1949. Of this figure (32,000) 10,000 were renters. Possibly the number of non-white families earning over \$6000 has increased in these 6 years since the 1960 census. In addition, (again from the 1960 census) there were 30,000 families in the \$3000 to \$6000 income bracket. A portion of these could also be potential buyers or renters in presently white neighborhoods. To identify this market, there are civil servants, blue collar workers, insurance company employees, teachers, workers in industrial parks, dentists, engineers and physicians, barbers, beauty shop operators and bartenders, just to name a few.

Black Problems

Most important of all, perhaps, are the factors and sources operating against open housing within the Negro community itself.

First of all there are those attitudes and factors which are common to both communities, black and white. They include apathy and blind fear, good housing within present neighborhoods, political and psychological bifurcation of city and suburb, negative feeling about racially-mixed socializing and inter-marriage, a reluctance to abandon a known quantity for an unknown one, racial hostility and repressed hatred, fear for children, a desire to take the easiest and least controversial path, a generally negative feeling about integration, i.e., integration is not a value, a sense of responsibility toward present neighborhoods and a reluctance to let them deteriorate, and finally, that most legitimate of all human inclinations—self-interest. This last item is probably the only one on the list which warrants further comment.

How shall we define self-interest? Organization heads and community leaders are often so besieged with other problems that discussing or championing open housing is low down on their list of priorities. The same may be said of clergymen—with the additional problem of some of their church buildings carrying heavy mortgages, and their subsequently needing a full congregation to pay the bills. A need to maintain a constituency is also present for Negro business owners and political figures, including ward leaders; and, in fact, the goal of solid, ethnic-bloc politics and voting power is an all-American tradition.

There are also those factors operating against open housing which are more specifically, although not entirely, indigenous to black America at this point in its history. These factors operate to some degree even among Negroes who do eventually take open housing opportunities. Broadly speaking, these factors can be separated into the following categories:

- (A.) Trust and Mistrust.
- (B.) Gilded Ghettos: Their Real and Imagined Conveniences.
- (C.) Entrenched Patterns of Mobility and Traditional Habits of Home Seeking.
- (D.) Self Hatred.
- (E.) Black Power.

A brief exploration of each of these categories may be helpful.

Trust and Mistrust: As contradictory as it may appear, both trust and mistrust play negative roles regarding open housing attitudes in Negro communities. Among many people there is, on the one hand, a belief that all it takes to get the home of one's choice is money. There seems to be an amazingly uncynical commitment to the American myth that all one needs to do is work hard, earn money and then you'll be like everybody else. This kind of response has come from all age levels, black and white alike.

Example: One physician's wife said that she and her husband had been told that there were no houses available by nine real estate agencies before they realized that something was wrong.

Example: Another woman who had requested lists of FHA repossessions from a real estate broker reported that the lists which she received were limited to areas in NW Philadelphia which are presently in transition. Although she and her husband had specified NE Philadelphia in their request, she could not believe that this had been done intentionally.

This indicates, of course, that the average Negro home seeker bears a burden that is entirely absent for his white counterpart. He must have a degree of expertise in detecting duplicity before he can even see a house in the neighborhood of his choice.

On the other hand, a kind of mistrust and skepticism also prevail: Is the fair housing movement for real? What's in it for fair housing people? Many Negroes don't internalize radio and newspaper advertisements, or open housing literature or statements. To many, and justifiably, these are just more empty promises.

Gilded Ghettos—Their Real and Imagined Conveniences: Obvious among the conveniences of an area with which one identifies are proximity to friends and relatives, familiar modes of public transportation, the need for only one car (and sometimes none), a proximity to center city, i.e., "where the action", availability of food preferences, and long time attachments to churches, organizations, barbershops, beauty parlors, physicians and dentists. The possibility of parallel or supplementary experiences in other communities is offset by lack of information and an "island of safety" mentality born of experience in other aspects of life. Thus the process of cognitive dissonance sets in and one's choice is rationalized.

An interesting analogy may be found in South America's employment picture where the problem has been the refusal of skilled and professional labor to be mobile—to leave the areas to which they have deep loyalties.

Entrenched Patterns of Mobility and Traditional Habits of Home Seeking: A frequent pattern of upward and outward mobility that has evolved out of a system of neighborhood restriction in the Philadelphia area has been the flow of Negroes from North Philadelphia to West Philadelphia, and then, perhaps, on to the Cobbs Creek area and more recently to Wynnefield and NW Philadelphia. But apparently for many Negroes, Germantown retains a social status, *sine qua non*.

The idea that there is anywhere else to live appears not to be a guts-level consideration for many middle and upper class Negroes. It is conceivable that some feel like one young woman whose family had just moved to Germantown and who reflected that "Now that we're here, we found out that it's not all that great." Nevertheless, for the socially aspiring, it appears to be as preposterous to move to the suburbs (all other factors considered) as for a South Philadelphia Jew of twenty years ago to have moved to King of Prussia when he could choose Wynnefield. In fact, moving to King of Prussia still is a pretty unlikely option for socially aspiring Jews.

Traditional habits of home seeking for Negroes, with ample support from white bigotry, have become rigid and self-perpetuating. The story is well known. Negro newspapers, with rare exceptions, carry homes available only in black or changing neighborhoods. Negro real estate brokers find themselves in a difficult position. They resent the humiliating treatment accorded to them and their clients by white real estate brokers, rental agents and home owners alike. They have no guarantee of a commission should a sale or rental actually be transacted. They don't know the suburbs and as small business men often don't have the time or resources to learn them.

And finally, for Negro home seekers and brokers alike, the complaint orientation of the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Commissions on Human Relations is the final blow. Untold time and money spent in winning cases and losing apartments and houses cannot be endured without traumatic results. One realtor stated recently that unless more "owner-willing" (to sell to Negroes) houses were made available to Negroes, that he personally is prepared to declare a moratorium on open housing for the next five years rather than expose his clients (and probably himself) to any more humiliation and indignities.

There is indeed a reason why Negroes say, "I'm no pioneer." Reflecting back to the fear and trepidation of my parents on considering a move from a Jewish ghetto in South

Philadelphia to a religiously mixed neighborhood in West Philadelphia, and the trauma that such anticipation brought in the abstract—and in the absence of threats of physical violence—I have come to temper my own sense of exasperation at that plaintively spoken phrase.

Self-Hatred: Although self-hatred may operate in the opposite direction to encourage people to run away from their surroundings in an attempt to lose their identity, it also operates to keep them in ghettos.

Example: After the Chicago marches for open occupancy (Summer, 1966), some Negroes expressed intense regret. They had been embarrassed by what they regarded as militancy and conflict initiated by Dr. King and felt that "Now we've got to prove ourselves all over again before whites will want us in their neighborhoods."

Example: The same feeling about "our cause being set back a hundred years" is directed against Stokely Carmichael in particular and against the "Black Power" cry in general—by some Negroes. This attitude is reflected in the December 1966 issue of Ebony Magazine. In the "Letters to the Editor" column, the question is poignantly raised by a college student at the end of a long and thoughtfully written letter: "My point is—is it more important to be a Negro American . . . or an American?"

Our society stands condemned by the need for such a question to be posed.

Another manifestation of the traumatizing results of the "white is right" mentality which white racism has transferred so successfully and at such deep levels to so many blacks is the color problem which exists among Negroes.

Example: Speaking in a group of about eighteen people including four adult counselors, four seniors from the Philadelphia High School for Girls said that rather than whites, they regarded as their immediate problem the "light-brights" ("and damn near white")—the young people and adults who, like most whites, operate on a racial basis dictated by the "acceptable" color of their skin. The youngsters reflected both anger and envy but their overriding emotion was resentment at "those people" who (in the girls' opinion) couldn't be bothered concerning themselves with the problems of anyone.

Again, following a white racist mentality, some Negroes regard social problems arising among people who are black as "Negro problems" whose roots are skin color.

Example: A young Negro stated that her family had moved from several neighborhoods to escape Negroes who made the neighborhood undesirable. The fact that this situation has its counterpart in white America was not present for her.

"Self-association with social problems interpreted as "Negro problems" brings shame and self-rejection; a sense of being not worthy enough to live among whites.

On the other hand there is the build-up of guilt feelings on the part of blacks who want to or do, in fact, move out of ghetto neighborhoods for the legitimate goal of more adequate housing. Many of these individuals, even those who are involved in the struggle for human rights, "laughingly" say, "Cecil (Moore, president of the Philadelphia NAACP) would call me a part-time Negro."

Black Power: This summer's cry of black power has been forcefully addressed black and white alike. To the white community it has said, "Go back to where you live, learn the degree of your own racism and then teach it to your own community. Then, perhaps, racism can end."

To the black community, "Black Power" is saying, "Reject the brainwashing of racism, be proud of your blackness, help your own people affirm their identity, and organize politically and economically so that your cries can turn to power. Only in this way will our strength and dignity grow, only in this way can we ever hope to be free for our own sake and at our own speed rather than at the pace dictated by the white man's time schedule and for the purpose of assuaging the white man's guilt."

"Black Power" groups like the Black Peoples Unity Movement and the Young Militants of North Philadelphia are calling for sacrificial giving on the part of blacks. They are suggesting that Negroes abandon their search for immediate material satisfactions and better physical conditions in order to use their energies to bring about a climate that will permit black young people to grow in dignity and self-affirmation. Naive? Perhaps.

They are pointing to the sickness that is white America. They see clearly our collective and frantic search for things rather than a concern for people, for material gains rather than for maturity and the sensitivity and responsibility that maturity brings to individuals and societies alike. They are suggesting that they'd rather not be associated with whites. The "Black Power" people are unreasonable. Men in search of truth have always been unreasonable.

The "Black Power" people are ambivalent about open housing. As well as anyone else, they know the explosive nature of the real estate structure, they know that there is no room in the ghetto for an expanding population, they know that freedom means freedom of choice and all that freedom implies. Some tentatively agree that open housing is a necessity, but all to whom I have spoken insist, as do many other Negroes, that other matters come first.

And there are a variety of other specific considerations operating against open housing. They include the fair housing movement's historical narrowness of focus on middle income housing and on one-type-of-housing service—to the total exclusion of other services; the problems, however understandable, surrounding the fair housing movement's

inability to deliver the goods. And finally, there is the paradoxical situation of fair housing councils not existing in those many areas with a great deal of moderate cost housing, e.g., most of Delaware County, because of the aggressively hostile nature of many residents. The Fiferoffs of Pennsylvania would provide the natural first step out—economically—for those young families who might lead the way.

Conclusions

Practically speaking, this article attempts to point to the fact that the fair housing movement presently finds itself caught between two poles. On the one hand there are those people who believe that the system of housing discrimination can be altered if enough Negroes can be provided to seek for housing in all-white communities; and that until there are more Negro home seekers available to compensate for the amount of energy that fair housing people have to expend to locate these homes, there is no point in wasting time in an abstract search. This view may be clearly seen in the question, "How can I, possibly ask volunteers to look for homes when there are no Negroes to move into them once they're found?"

On the other hand there are those people who feel that the system of housing discrimination can be altered if enough home owners who will willingly sell to Negroes can be found. These people feel that unless there are at least a reasonable number of homes which Negroes can get to see without exposing themselves unendingly to one kind of indignity after another, they are prepared to declare a moratorium on the entire issue and, in fact, let the ghetto grow.

This is a polarity which is crying to be transcended; a polarity which, I think, points to a broadening and deepening of fair housing activities in the white community; to a deep commitment to reach out to and function imaginatively within black ghetto areas; to an end to the philosophy of "salvation via fair housing council membership"; and to a beginning of in-depth participation with individuals, organizations, institutions and structures within the entire Metropolitan Philadelphia area.

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