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clear which variables are intractable and which are amenable to some degree of positive policy intervention.

- A substantial number of the case studies referred to above are based on research on racial succession and efforts to thwart it, rather than on integration per se. There has been more careful research done to explain how and why neighborhoods change racially than to explain the more unusual event of racial stability. It is hazardous to suggest that by simply reversing the findings in studies of racial succession a cure can be found that will promote stability. Much of what the National Academy of Sciences wrote over a decade ago still applies: "Where these situations have been studied, their small scale and diversity inhibit generalization. Furthermore, what has been written is often descriptive, impressionistic, and strongly committed to particular policies" (Millen 1973:150). The reason why some areas with comparable housing remain stably integrated while similar areas do not remains a question that will only be answered with careful, long-term comparative research and program evaluation.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Professor William Hanna for pointing out this quotation to me.

2. The Bradburn data were gathered in 1967, a year before the passage of the Fair Housing Act. Attitude surveys reported that, in 1974, 42 percent of whites reported black neighbors; a year later the proportion dropped to 33 percent (Pettigrew 1980:70-71). Variations in the questions used to determine integration, as well as other survey or sampling design factors, are most likely responsible for these shifts in responses. There is no way to assess the role of publicity surrounding the debate and passage of the Fair Housing Act in fostering these shifting responses.

3. No attempt is made to review all of the sociological and social-psychological literature on racial tipping that relates to this finding. For more details on this, see Schelling 1972; Farley et al. 1978; Farley, Bianchi, and Colosanto 1979; Goering 1978. The sometimes dramatic shifts in pro- and anti-integration attitudes of older and younger, urban and rural blacks are also not explored here (Paige 1970; Apostle and Glock 1983).

4. There are often substantial disagreements among analysts of interracial neighborhood organizing about its effectiveness. Heumann (1979:6), for example, believes that "effective neighborhood organizations can either counter or redirect institutional actions that encourage racial segregation." He notes the important role of the rate of black population pressure but argues that strong public commitment by neighborhood organizations is a necessary and, in some instances, sufficient condition for racial stabilization (Heumann 1973). Others are considerably less sanguine about the prospects that neighborhood groups can address in a sustained, legal, nonracist manner all the forces impacting areas experiencing racial transition. The commitment and amenities found by Heumann in West Mt. Airy are indeed quite "rare." The exclusion of renters from his analysis (as having "very little input into the evolution of stable integration") is not an option all neighborhoods can afford, especially because many public policy levers are designed to address the rehabilitation or construction of rental housing. Heumann also only examines public policies, such as housing rehabilitation, from the perspective

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of local organizations whereas national or federal policies and programs, which may then be utilized by local organizations, are constrained in ways that fundamentally alter the options for neighborhood groups.

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Chapter Seven
**Changing Racial Attitudes toward
Residential Integration**

LAWRENCE BOBO*

HOWARD SCHUMAN

CHARLOTTE STEEH

The separation of blacks and whites into different residential neighborhoods has been labeled the "structural linchpin" of American race relations (Pettigrew 1979). It is a key factor shaping the character of interaction between the races, and it greatly affects other matters like the potential for school integration and the type of job opportunities open to blacks. As compared to progress in the legal and economic status and general treatment of blacks, change in the racially segregated makeup of communities has come much more slowly. To what extent is residential segregation a reflection of public attitudes and preferences? Do Americans, white or black, hold attitudes that impede progress in this domain?

In an effort to shed light on these questions, this chapter reports trend results of cross-sectional national surveys of racial attitudes toward residential integration, utilizing data gathered over the last several decades. We are not the first to report such over-time changes (see Pettigrew 1973; Taylor 1979), but this analysis is unique in its connection to a larger study of changes in attitudes on a wide range of racial issues. Thus, we will regularly refer to the ways in which attitudes on residential integration resemble or differ from patterns observed for other racial issues. In addition, we report data on the attitudes of blacks and make several illuminating comparisons to the attitudes of whites.

Attitudes on residential integration are not neatly separable from attitudes in other domains of race relations. In our larger study of such attitudes—only a small part of which is reported here—two patterns emerged that tended to crosscut issue domains. First, we found recurring differences in the overall levels of support and extent of positive change depending on a key conceptual distinction between racial principles and the implementation of such principles (see also Jackman 1978; Pettigrew 1979). Attitude questions concerned with racial principles ask respondents whether they endorse broad ideals of nondiscrimination and integration, but make no reference to how such ideals might be put into practice. Implementation questions deal with steps the government

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(usually but not always meaning the federal government) might take to reduce discrimination or segregation. As shown below, principle questions generally achieve a higher level of pro-integration or pro-equal treatment response and have moved more steadily in a positive direction over time than comparable implementation questions.

Second, the degree of integration mentioned in a question influences responses. A number of questions we examined concern social distance preferences. This type of question asks the respondent how he or she would react in particular situations involving differing degrees of integration at a personal level. Such questions deal with the principle of integration, but they do so not in an abstract way, nor in terms of government enforcement, but rather at the level of the individual's behavior or feelings about being personally a part of the change. The questions can be considered abstract in another sense, however, for they ask people to *predict* how they would react in the hypothetical situation described. Importantly, whether the concern was with schools or housing, the number of blacks mentioned as being involved in the proposed integration influenced white responses.

Trends in White Racial Attitudes: The Principle of Residential Integration

Table 1 presents two questions that we classify as exclusively or primarily concerned with broad principles toward residential integration and choice. Results are given for all available time points for samples intended to represent the total white adult population 21 years of age or older. Percentages are given only for the more positive or pro-integration responses.

One of the two questions comes from the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) with data beginning in 1963; the other comes from the Institute for Social Research (ISR) with the series beginning in 1964.¹ Both of these questions are somewhat "loaded" in the sense that they emphasize individual rights, and this is especially true for the NORC item that speaks only of white rights. Perhaps for this reason, the two questions behave rather differently. The ISR question indicates that the level of acceptance of black rights approached 90 percent by 1976 and might well have exceeded that point had the question been asked since that time. The NORC question presents a somewhat different picture. Starting at a much lower level of acceptance of the right of blacks to choose any residential neighborhood they wish, the acceptance—which involves disagreeing with the item—shows signs of leveling off after 1972, though perhaps resuming a small upward slope in the last two years. However, if the break on the four-point scale for this item is made between "agree strongly" and the other three choices, the absolute level and the overall trend are more similar to the ISR version. We believe that the difference in absolute levels between the ISR and NORC versions is due to the more one-sided wording of the NORC

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Table 1. Questions Concerning Principles

Questions	Year of Survey														Last Minus First							
	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76		77	78	79	80	81	82	83
<u>Residential</u> <u>Choice 1 alt (NORC)</u>																						
% Agree slightly	21					25	18	15					18	21			17		15			-6
% Disagree slightly	20					25	19	23					26	29			29		32			+12
% Disagree strongly	19					19	34	40					34	28			38		39			+20
<u>Residential</u> <u>Choice 2 alt (ISR)</u>																						
% Blacks have rights		65				73	76	80	87	88												+23

Question Wordings and Variants

Residential Choice 1 alternative (NORC)
 "Here are some opinions other people have expressed in connection with Black-White relations. Which statement on the card comes closest to how you yourself feel? White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Blacks should respect that right."
 1. Agree strongly
 2. Agree slightly
 3. Disagree slightly
 4. Disagree strongly

Residential Choice 2 alternatives (ISR)
 "Which of these statements would you agree with: White people have a right to keep Black people out of their neighborhoods if they want to, or, Black people have a right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else?"
 1. Keep Blacks out
 2. Blacks have rights
 (Variant: In 1964 replace "anybody else" with "white people.")

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question, a phenomenon noted in other research (Schuman and Presser 1981: chap. 7), and one that indicates that adherence to principles at the abstract level is somewhat a function of how the principles are stated.

More puzzling is the partial difference in trends: although it may be due also to the question wording difference, the provision of a scale of four choices, with two degrees on each side of the issue, may play a role as well. It is possible that the movement of attitudes is not so much clearly toward acceptance of integrated housing as it appears to be when a dichotomized choice is forced, but rather is away from strong adherence ("agree strongly") to the principle of segregated housing.

Both of these questions are clearly related to a respondent's level of education. For example, in 1964, 53 percent of those with 11 or fewer years of education supported free residential choice for blacks when asked the ISR version of the question. This compares with 70 percent of those with 12 years of education (high school graduates), and 76 percent of those with 13 or more years of education (at least some college) who supported free choice. The last point at which this question was asked, 1976, reveals substantial change for all three educational levels. The percentage of whites supporting free residential choice for blacks was 80, 89, and 94 percent, respectively, for those with less than a high school education, high school graduates, and those with at least some college. These figures reflect an average change over the period covered of about +20 percent.

More recent data are available for the NORC residential choice question. The 1982 results for this question show that 82 percent of those with at least some college are opposed ("disagree slightly" + "disagree strongly") to allowing whites to "keep blacks out of their neighborhoods." In contrast, only 56 percent of those with less than a high school education favored blacks' rights, as did 61 percent of those who were high school graduates. On the whole, the effect of education on the residential choice questions is similar to that found with other racial principle questions.

In addition, responses to these questions are influenced by region. In 1964 only 38 percent of southern whites supported free residential choice for blacks when asked the ISR version of the question.² This compares with 74 percent of northern whites taking such a position, a difference of 36 percent. Similarly, when NORC first asked its residential choice question in 1963, 25 percent more northern than southern whites gave the pro-integration response, 46 versus 21 percent. These regional differences diminished over time. Thus, the difference between northerners and southerners on the ISR question dropped to only 9 percent in 1976, with 90 percent of whites in the North and 81 percent of whites in the South supporting free residential choice. But the difference between the regions undergoes less dramatic reduction for the NORC question. Although support for the pro-integration response among southern whites had risen to 57 percent by 1982, northern white support had risen to 76 percent, leaving a difference of 19 percent.

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Table 2. Implementation Question

Questions	Year of Survey											Last Minus First
	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	
Open Housing (NORC)												
1 No discrimination	34	34	35	37	40	46						+12

Question Wordings and Variants

Open Housing (NORC)

"Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself who to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to Blacks. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?"

1. Homeowner can decide
2. No discrimination

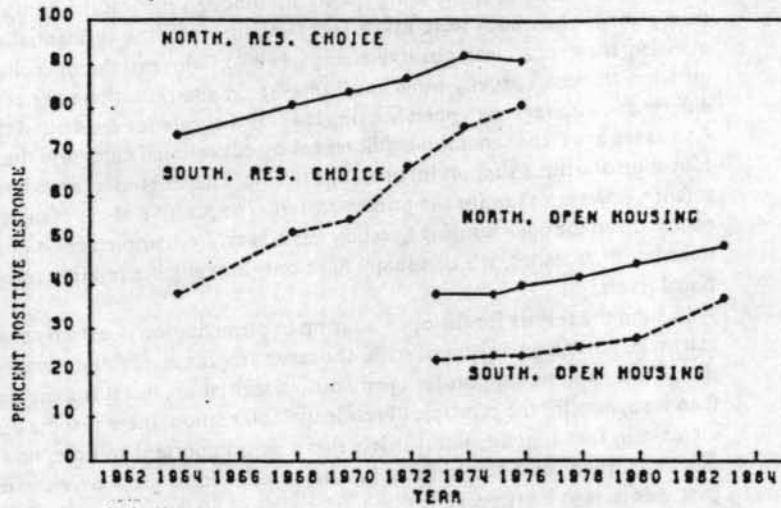
The difference between the two questions in the amount of regional convergence is, again, probably a result of differences in question wording and response levels (northern response to the ISR item having nearly reached a ceiling). There is less convergence on the NORC item with its more one-sided wording, which does not explicitly mention the rights of blacks and therefore results in lower overall support for nondiscrimination. All in all, the movement toward regional convergence, especially that observed in the ISR item, is typical of our results for most principle questions. This general pattern of convergence, where the North nears a ceiling and the South progressively catches up, includes questions concerning equal job opportunities, access to public accommodations and to public transportation, and school integration.

Attitudes toward Implementing Residential Integration

Attitudes toward implementation deal with approval or disapproval of steps that might be taken by the government to end housing discrimination or segregation. Ideally, it would be useful if the questions exactly paralleled the principle questions in both content and dates, but this is not always the case. Trend data are available for one implementation-type question concerning the issue of residential integration.

The implementation question deals with open housing laws, with results presented for the white adult population as a whole. This question, shown in Table 2, gives an indication of the extent of white willingness to enforce free choice for black homeseekers. The question also has the advantage of referring to a "community-wide vote" to prevent housing discrimination, so that concern over federal intrusion into local affairs is not relevant to the results.

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Residential Choice: 2 alternatives (ISR)

"Which of these statements would you agree with: White people have a right to keep black people out of their neighborhoods if they want to, or, black people have a right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else?" 1. Keep blacks out 2. blacks have right

Open Housing (NORC)

"Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself who to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to blacks. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?" 1. Homeowner can decide 2. No discrimination

Figure 1. Attitudes Toward Free Residential Choice and Open-Housing Laws

Table 2 and Figure 1 show that support for open housing legislation is not strong, reaching only 46 percent at the peak. This is in contrast to the upper levels reached in support of the *principle* that blacks have a right to live in white neighborhoods if they wish: 88 percent on the ISR version of the question (shown in Figure 1) and 71 percent on the NORC version. (The ISR question on residential choice seems the more appropriate one for comparison, because it, like the open housing question, presents a dichotomous choice between two alternatives that are balanced in the sense that each alternative offers an appealing rationale.) This gap between support for the principle of free residential choice and laws to implement the principle is consistent with the results for other principle-implementation pairings on such issues as school integration and equal job opportunities. Although we do not place heavy emphasis on isolated instances of differences in marginal percentages, we cannot

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disregard them when they occur repeatedly and consistently in comparisons of principle and implementation questions.

The difference in levels of support notwithstanding, there is a positive trend ($p < .001$) on the open housing question, although during the comparable time period when both were asked (1972-73 to 1976), the residential choice question showed a clear positive change (+8%), whereas the open housing question showed virtually none at all (+1%). In addition, there are regional differences with regard to open housing laws, as there are for residential choice. And there are clear monotonic differences by educational category: the more education, the more support for opening housing. The differences are somewhat smaller, however, than for the principle itself. The positive effect of increasing education on the open housing question sets it apart from implementation questions on other issues, which usually have only a negligible relation to educational levels.

In sum, the results for the open housing implementation question appear to resemble, though on a reduced scale, the results for the residential choice question. There is some support for open housing legislation, but it is more limited than is support for the principle of residential integration; there is some definite increase in that support, but it is less sharp. It is important to note, however, that support for an open housing law has continued to grow over the recent past, and it is at least possible that in this area of life attitudes toward implementation will parallel, with some degree of lag, attitudes toward principle. It will be especially important to follow future time points for this trend.

We should be cautious, however, before concluding that there is a deepening commitment to enforce open housing laws. Our examination of other principle-implementation pairings suggests that reversals in public sentiment can occur. For example, a sizable drop in the willingness of whites to endorse federal efforts to implement school desegregation occurred between 1972 and 1978. This decline occurred despite high and increasing support for the principle of integrated schooling (see Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1985:chap. 3).

Furthermore, in order to better understand the generally low levels of support for implementation items, we conducted an experiment using different questions. The results of this experiment indicate considerable reluctance to enforce free residential choice for blacks. An ISR national telephone survey in November 1983 included two forms of a question we prepared on enforcing nondiscrimination in housing, with each form administered to a random half of the sample. Our experimental manipulation of wording distinguished between enforcement by the "government" and enforcement by "laws," the latter presumably suggesting a more orderly and judicious procedure than the former. In addition, both forms of the question speak of "a black family" (i.e., a single family) in order to reduce the possible fear by white respondents of a mass influx of blacks and thus to concentrate on the issue of legal enforcement as such. Finally, in order to avoid pressuring respondents to fit into either alternative of a simplistic dichotomy, we instructed interviewers to accept (and

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Table 3. Experiments on Support for Enforcement of Non-Discrimination in Housing

Government Version		Laws Version	
<p>On another subject, suppose a black family plans to move into a house in an all-white neighborhood, and some white people in the neighborhood want to stop them from moving in. Do you think the government should enforce the black family's right to live where ever they can afford to, or that it should be left entirely up to the white neighborhood residents to decide? (IF "OTHER" VOLUNTEERED, ACCEPT AND RECORD.)</p>		<p>On another subject, suppose a black family plans to move into a house in an all-white neighborhood, and some white people in the neighborhood want to stop them from moving in. Do you think there should be laws to enforce the black family's right to live where ever they can afford to, or that it should be left entirely up to the white neighborhood residents to decide? (IF "OTHER" VOLUNTEERED, ACCEPT AND RECORD.)</p>	
1. GOVERNMENT ENFORCE	52.2%	1. LAWS TO ENFORCE	56.1%
2. LEAVE IT UP TO WHITE NEIGHBORS	15.9	2. LEAVE IT UP TO WHITE NEIGHBORS	4.9
3. OTHER TYPES OF RESPONSE		3. OTHER TYPES OF RESPONSE	
a. Says laws already exist	0.7	a. Says laws already exist	4.1
b. Favors non-discrimination but does not support enforcement	21.7	b. Favors non-discrimination but does not support enforcement	23.6
c. Opposes enforcement, no other comments	2.9	c. Opposes enforcement, no other comments	1.6
d. Other vague responses "depends, don't know"	6.5	d. Other vague responses "depends, don't know"	9.8
	100		100
	(138)		(123)

record) volunteered "other" responses, which in fact more than a third of the respondents did offer. In the end we classified most of the "other" responses as implying rejection of legal or government enforcement, despite the frequent affirmation of support for the *principle* of nondiscrimination.

The experimental results shown in Table 3 suggest that specification of laws rather than government may make it easier for respondents to support implementation but the difference does not reach significance for the most crucial test and, in any case, is not very large. Furthermore, although the proportion supporting "laws to enforce" nondiscrimination in housing is higher than most figures for implementation items, it is considerably below the 88 percent that supported nondiscrimination in housing in principle in 1976 (the ISR residential choice item), and even below the 66 percent that in 1974 supported government intervention to prevent discrimination in access to hotels and restaurants (data not shown; see Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1985:chap. 3). It seems evident that an important segment of the population upholds the right of black people to live wherever they wish *but* is unwilling to see legal means used to enforce that right. Unfortunately, our experiment did not probe further to discover how this apparent inconsistency is best explained.

Social Distance

The third substantial set of trend questions that are available asks white respondents how they personally would feel with regard to particular situations

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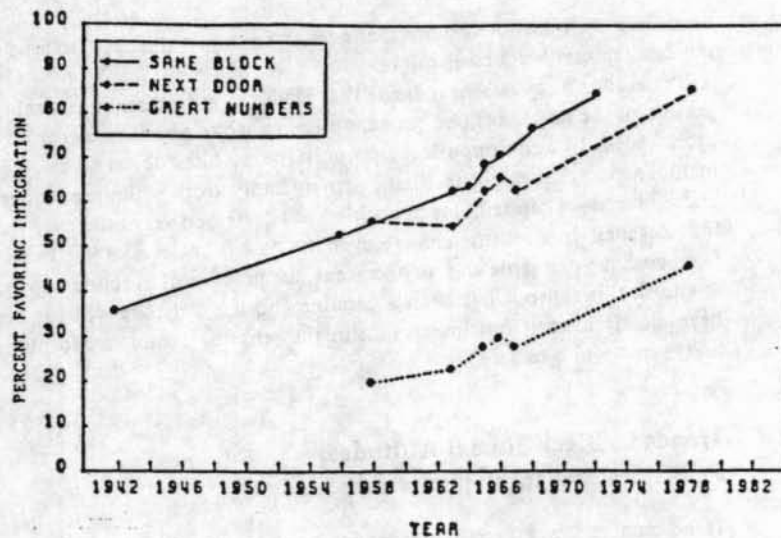
involving racial integration. Thus the questions, shown in Table 4, concern practical situations, but with the focus not on government or other political forms of implementation, but on predicting one's own behavior in such situations. For most respondents, of course, the situations are hypothetical and we are not here directly concerned with whether the predictions would turn out to be valid. Instead, we consider the predictions informative in their own right and especially useful because they differentiate rather clearly among several degrees of integration acceptable to whites at a personal level.

The first two questions in Table 4 asked whether respondents would themselves move if, at one extreme, blacks came to live "next door," and at the other extreme, "great numbers" of blacks came into the neighborhood. (Although the "next door" question is not wholly unambiguous, it is probably taken to refer to a single black family considered in isolation from other changes.) These two questions were always asked together (by Gallup) in that sequence at different points between 1958 and 1978. The third question by NORC more clearly involves a single black person or black family, specifies that income and education are the same as the respondent's, and speaks of the same block rather than next door—all of which might elicit more white acceptance. On the other hand, the inquiry has to do with this making "any difference" to the respondent (rather than with actually moving), which might more easily allow a negative answer. The time period is also different for this item (1942 to 1972) from the Gallup period, but there is enough overlap to allow close comparison.

Such a comparison, presented graphically for the total population in Figure 2, indicates that the "same block" and "next door" questions yield quite similar results, despite their several differences in wording, and both show much higher support than the "great numbers" question. All of the questions show a clear upward trend. By the end of the time periods (late seventies in one case, mid-seventies in the other), northern respondents approach 90 percent positive answers with regard to a black family moving "next door" or onto the "same block," and 48 percent for "great numbers of black people moving into the neighborhood." Separate analysis shows that southern respondents are definitely less positive, paralleling the North at a lower level over the entire period, but with some convergence in more recent years.

On the two questions about single black families, college-educated respondents in the North give more positive responses than do other educational groups, but the difference is not large and it does not hold as clearly for southern respondents. In the case of the "great numbers" question, there are no clear educational differences in either region, just as there were no clear educational differences for a question concerning the acceptability of school integration where "more than half" of the children were black (data not shown; see Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1985:chap. 3). In other words, respondent education is positively associated with personal acceptance of a small number of blacks, but this effect of education disappears when the degree of integration posed by a question is so great as to put whites in the minority. Acceptance of

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Same Block (NORC)

"If a Negro with the same income and education as you have moved into your block, would it make any difference to you?" 1. Yes 2. No

Next Door (Gallup)

"If black people came to live next door, would you move?" 1. Yes, definitely 2. Might 3. No

Great Numbers (Gallup)

"Would you move if black people came to live in great numbers in your neighborhood?" 1. Yes, definitely 2. Might 3. No

Figure 2. Attitudes Toward Different Levels of Neighborhood Integration

a single black family into one's immediate neighborhood starts at a much lower level than other social distance questions, but shows a sharp climb over the time period available. The upward slope for the housing questions thus represents the increasing acceptance in the past four decades of such small-scale neighborhood residential integration.

Despite some puzzles, the social distance questions form a generally meaningful pattern both internally and in relation to the principle and implementation questions considered earlier. The major change in the past several decades has involved rejection of absolute racial segregation and acceptance of the principle of movement by blacks into previously all-white spheres of life. This is supported by the claim by most whites that they personally have no objection and would not mind if a particular black adult, family, or child moved into their neighborhood, school, or other area of life. Moreover, this acceptance of integration goes beyond the single black individual, and similar answers would

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be given if the questions involved almost any number of blacks, so long as the number represented a clear minority.

But as soon as questions indicate that blacks might constitute a sizable proportion of the neighborhood (or school) open white objection becomes more pronounced. In addition, a large proportion of whites object to any governmental action that might facilitate such a change from white preponderance, and, so far as we can tell, this opposition has decreased very little over the past four decades. In sum, the change over the past four decades has been away from both the principle and, to an extent, the practice of absolute segregation—and in this sense it has been a genuine and large change—but it has not been clearly toward full integration in the sense of complete acceptance of blacks into white society.

Trends in Black Racial Attitudes: Principles and Implementation

Trend data on black racial attitudes are much sparser than for whites. There are several reasons for this. During the 1940s and 1950s, survey investigators interested in racial issues saw the racial problem as almost entirely one of white acceptance of equal treatment across racial lines. After all, laws and administrative rules upheld racial segregation during much of that period, and large parts of the white population still supported segregation as a general principle. As one of the major initiators of research in this area has commented: "It never occurred to us when we wrote questions in the Forties and Fifties to ask them of blacks because Myrdal's dilemma was a white dilemma and it was white attitudes that demanded study" (Paul Sheatsley, personal communication, 1984).

With the rise of new and diverse forms of political ideology, action, and organization among blacks in the 1960s, it became clear to survey investigators (who were almost always white) that blacks were not merely passive players in the rapidly changing racial scene and that black attitudes should not be assumed to be either self-evident or fixed. Beginning in the 1960s, a few questions on racial issues began to be asked of blacks as well as whites on a regular basis by the major survey organizations. But here the problem becomes one of small numbers of cases, for a typical national sample of 1,500 to 2,000 Americans yields only 150 to 200 black respondents, except in a few instances where supplements were added. These black sample sizes mean that even overall distributions of answers lack the sampling reliability we were able to count on in the analysis of white attitudes. Moreover, there are additional problems of possible race-of-interviewer effects and also because in some instances questions originally designed for white respondents are less appropriate or less clear in meaning when asked of black respondents.

Despite these limitations, the available data from national surveys on black attitudes are of considerable value. Comparisons between black and white

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Table 5. Trends in Black Racial Attitudes

Questions	Year of Survey																Last Minus First										
	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73		74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83
<u>Residential (ISR)</u> Choice 2																											
% Blacks rights							98				98	98	99	99	99												
<u>Open Housing (NORC)</u>																											
% No Discrimination																						71	71		75		

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answers to the same item turn out to be illuminating, and additional light is cast on certain of the findings for whites when we learn the extent to which blacks show similar or different trends. Therefore, with the necessary caution that smaller sample sizes for the black data make it important to avoid fixation on a single point in a time series, results will be presented for those time lines of sufficient length to allow conclusions about trends in black racial attitudes.

In Table 5 we present the record of black trends for one of the questions dealing with principles and for the open housing question. Responses to the residential choice principle question in Table 5 are very close to 100 percent in one direction at all time points. Similarly high levels of support for the principles of equal treatment and integration were found on the issues of school integration and politics (data not shown; see Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1985: chap. 4).

Do blacks respond differently than whites to questions concerning the implementation of principles? Responses concerning the implementation of principles have always received considerably less support from whites than do the principles themselves. It is rather natural to interpret this difference as due to a failure of whites to live up in practice to what they claim to subscribe to in abstract credo. It is important at this point to recognize that blacks also show something of the same disjunction. Black responses on most implementation items (not shown) are always below—and sometimes well below—the near-100 percent levels reached on several principle items.

Table 5, for example, always registers 98 or 99 percent black support for “blacks have the right to live wherever they can afford to.” Results presented in Table 5 for the open housing laws question are limited to too short a time span to establish any clear trend, but they do allow us to examine differences in levels of support for principle and implementation. During the 1978–83 period for which black data were collected by NORC, black support for a “no discrimination” law on the open housing item averaged 73 percent; that is, 25 percent less than the 98+ percent supporting black rights to free residential choice in principle. This 25 percent gap for blacks compares with a 53 percent gap for whites in 1976, the most recent year in which whites were asked both questions (one by ISR and one by NORC). Thus the gap for blacks is only half as large as the gap for whites, but both differences are substantial in absolute magnitude. Both blacks and whites find it easier to support the general principle of freedom of residential choice than they do the implementation of the principle by means of an open housing law.

Interpretation and Conclusions

The findings reported here defy simple summary or simple interpretation. On the one hand, there is evidence of a steady progressive trend toward acceptance

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of the goal of residential integration and toward support for enforcement of blacks' housing rights. These changes are lent further credence by expressed white willingness to take part in integrated living situations that involve more than a token black presence. On the other hand, support for enforcing blacks' rights to free residential choice is well below that for the principle itself. Indeed, respondents proved to be quite willing to endorse the principle and express reluctance to enforce it. Also, whites were sufficiently color conscious to reject participation in integrated settings where blacks were in the majority. What is more, there are other complexities concerning the varying impact of education and region on attitudes, and concerning the attitudes of blacks themselves. If a general label had to be applied to these findings, especially with regard to white attitudes, then perhaps the phrase "meaningful patterns of progress and resistance" would be most appropriate. Several motives or factors may serve to create the mixture of progress and resistance we have described.

One reason for the gap between principle and implementation may be that constraint of any kind is disliked and that the extent to which constraint is accepted is heavily influenced by the *degree* to which a particular policy goal is supported. When there is a strong commitment to a policy goal, support for the use of government authority to reach that goal will usually be expressed as well. This does not mean that those who support a principle but not its legal implementation are without any real commitment to the principle. Such an attempt to separate people into the truly committed and the truly noncommitted is an oversimplification, far removed from the realities of life. Thus, many of those who support residential integration in principle and oppose government implementation of such integration show their modest commitment to the principle by positive answers to social distance items. Both commitment to a principle and commitment to its implementation must be seen as continuous dimensions, and the exact balance between them is always problematic for each member of the population at each point in time. In particular, Taylor (forthcoming) has suggested that one of the prominent cultural motifs in American race relations has been the idea of voluntary, not mandatory, compliance with racial change.

A useful way to view implementation questions is in terms of the psychological forces supporting or opposing a particular response. Because there are some legitimate reasons for questioning almost any nonvoluntary change—whether it is a step to promote racial integration or some other required action—one must ask what are the forces that support implementation in each case. One force in the case of laws promoting equal treatment is a strong commitment to the principle being implemented, and another force is a personal stake in the success of implementation. Blacks tend to have both of these to a high degree where, for example, implementing free residential choice by means of open housing laws is the issue. Therefore, *most* blacks should support such steps toward implementation when asked, although enough do not to create

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small but significant "gaps" between principle and implementation. White persons, never having been denied freedom of residential choice on the basis of race, do not see any personal interest at stake, and the principle itself is probably so much taken for granted in their own case that commitment to it as a necessary bulwark is not deeply felt.

Thus the reasons for black and white attitudes on residential integration can in good part be the same, yet the balance of forces can be different enough to lead to quite different proportions that finally support or oppose a particular form of implementation. This is not the whole story, for many whites also appear to react as a group to what they perceive as an intruding group threat posed by blacks (Bobo 1983), a point we raised earlier in discussing white objections to situations where they lose majority status (see also Smith 1981).

In addition, it must be admitted that persons answering the question on the principle of residential integration probably run the full gamut from those deeply committed to the idea to those who feel quite otherwise but are embarrassed to admit it to a survey interviewer. We have no way of knowing exactly what the distribution along this continuum is, but quite likely most people fall somewhere in the middle: they feel some genuine belief in the norm but also have other beliefs that leave them conflicted on the issue. One reason to think that outright lying is probably rare in these data is the fact that there is compelling evidence that most people assume that others—in this case, white interviewers—agree with their own views, so there is little reason to expect a felt need for deception on the part of the respondents (Schuman and Kalton forthcoming). On the other hand, it is clear from other trend questions and from trends in actual behavior that many white respondents do feel conflicted about important aspects of integration and that their responses in support of integration in principle are unlikely to be translated directly into action. It is therefore essential that future research try to understand the sources of these conflicts.

One way to do this would be to pose more real-life value and preference conflicts in survey questions. As we suggested earlier, support for the principle of residential integration surely carries some force, but it may lose out when in conflict with other principles (e.g., "individualism"), or with personal preferences (e.g., to live in a largely white neighborhood). This does not mean that integrationist principles are without any efficacy, but rather that in race relations, as in other areas of life, a single principle is not the only or even the major determinant of behavior. For example, a respondent might believe that blacks should be able to live wherever they wish, but so should whites, with the latter meaning the "right" of a white family to leave a changing neighborhood in favor of a largely white neighborhood. Unfortunately, most survey questions do not simulate such real-life conflicts between one principle and another, or between principles and personal preferences, and this leads to results that are more limited to the abstract plane than need be (Schuman 1972).

This suggests that part of the task for the future, in addition to regular moni-

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toring of these important trends, is to develop ways of achieving better understanding of the intraindividual conflicts, ambivalences, and compartmentalized inconsistencies that are present among most whites and perhaps blacks as well (cf., Katz 1981). Simple questions that assume that people are either for or against integration can be very misleading when employed to deal with the psychological and sociological complexities of the relations between blacks and whites in the United States. Any attempt to sketch broad trends using survey data must necessarily simplify the real situation somewhat, but present inconsistencies in the trend data would almost certainly become more understandable with additions and improvements in the available set of questions.

In terms of the larger social implications of these results, it would appear that the normative definition of appropriate relations between blacks and whites has changed. Whereas discrimination against, and enforced segregation of, blacks was taken for granted as reasonable and appropriate behavior by most white Americans as recently as the 1940s, today the dominant belief is that blacks deserve the same treatment and respect as whites, and that some degree of racial integration is a positive thing.

For the future, the strong and still growing commitment to equalitarian principles by whites, and yet the serious inconsistencies when these are applied, indicate the importance of strategic choices and actions by leaders who favor implementation of such principles. Public attitudes are certainly malleable, and unless crystallized in a politically relevant way they are often ineffective; yet once aroused and pervasive, they must be viewed seriously, which is not to say that they are merely to be accepted. A leadership that sees positive racial change as desirable will need to combine clear emphasis on principled ends with carefully chosen means that can win majority support when challenged. When means not likely to win substantial support become necessary, efforts at implementation must be accompanied by equal efforts at persuasion.

NOTES

1. Most of the NORC data prior to 1972 and all of the Gallup data were obtained through the Roper Center, which provided us with specific cross-tabulations. NORC data from 1972 to 1983 were taken from the General Social Survey (GSS) cumulative tape. Most of the ISR data were taken from the National Election Study surveys, data for which were made available through the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. A more detailed discussion of data sources, coding, and analysis is provided in Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1985.

2. We employ the U.S. Census definition of the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. All other states are defined as "North" except Alaska and Hawaii, which are not included in national survey samples.

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Chapter Eight
**Success and Resistance Factors
in the Maintenance of Racially
Mixed Neighborhoods**

ROSE HELPER

In 1979, an article was published under the title, "Social Interaction in Racially Mixed Neighborhoods" (Helper 1979:20-38). Data for this article came from a review of the literature and from four studies the author made in Chicago, three dealing with mixed neighborhoods and one with real estate brokers. The article reported that relationships between neighbors and near-neighbors are friendly, or at least peaceful, where a few black families of middle-class or better social standing are dispersed in a white area, and also where a substantial number of black families live in the area. In fact, friendly and helpful interaction occurs between blacks and whites even when whites are much in the minority, except in some reported cases. The 1979 study concluded that black and white neighbors of similar socioeconomic status generally get along well. Furthermore, the presence of children increases contact between black and white neighbors.

This chapter explores in greater detail the factors that affect the stability of a racially mixed neighborhood, and, for the sake of completeness, repeats some points covered in the previous article. The discussion begins by considering a central concept: the meaning of social integration in racially mixed neighborhoods. This is followed by an examination of first, the roadblocks (resistance factors) to racially mixed neighborhoods; and second, constructive actions (success factors) that contribute to the stability of such neighborhoods.

Of the roadblocks discussed, the first and most potent is the real estate industry with its various forms of influence. Other powerful influences considered are lending agencies, school boards, zoning boards, and other departments of municipal government. The desegregated school is seen as a factor of particular importance in maintaining a mixed neighborhood, and problems concerning it are pinpointed.

Among the factors that contribute to the stability of the mixed neighborhood, dispersal of housing for low- and moderate-income black families is seen as important, but also essential is the racial integration of the school. The slowing of black in-migration is viewed as an aid to the stability of the mixed neighborhood. That white families have for some years been buying homes in areas where black families are living is emphasized, as is the importance of equal status contact between black and white. Other success factors include a good building manager, helpful amenities such as a conveniently located shopping center, and the presence of types of housing conducive to mixed living. The

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helpfulness of quota systems is discussed. Also described are the useful and intensive work of racially mixed organizations to maintain mixed neighborhoods and the beneficial effects of recently introduced Integration Maintenance programs. The growing number of interracial neighborhoods and integrated public elementary schools is noted. Suggestions for needed research follow the conclusion.

The Meaning of Social Integration in Racially Mixed Neighborhoods

In this chapter the term "mixed" is used because its definition is less arbitrary than "integrated." Here, a "mixed neighborhood" means a neighborhood containing black and white residents, or blacks, whites, and residents of other racial groups. Duncan and Duncan (1957:120) view census tracts with non-white proportions of 25 to 75 percent as tracts with a "mixed" population.

The meaning of integration varies among analysts. Some stress process and/or equality as principal ingredients but with different connotations (Northwood and Barth 1965:50-55; Moore and McKeown 1968:2; Bradburn, Sudman, and Gockel 1970:4-7; Hunt and Walker 1974:8). Heumann (1973:XI-iii) presents a threefold definition, requiring first, a public moral commitment to stable racial integration by a sizable portion of neighborhood residents; second, the physical mixture of residents; and finally, an institutional commitment and related actions to defend and maintain that stable racial mix.

Social integration is here viewed as a process. At any point in the process, social integration is a matter of degree. In a mixed neighborhood, integration refers to a growing recognition of neighbors as human beings. The same sense of integration is present in Pettigrew's (1975:141) statement on school integration: "Integration . . . means not just having children together in the same building, but rather something about the quality of the contact that goes on between them. I'm talking about humanity. I am talking about cross-racial acceptance and friendship and equity and equality." Thus, it is more accurate to describe neighborhoods where both blacks and whites live as "mixed" and to apply the term "integrated" only when some degree of mutual acceptance is occurring.

Resistance Factors

The Real Estate Industry

The real estate industry is still the main cause of problems that undermine racial mixing in residential neighborhoods. Some real estate brokers try to frighten white owners into selling their property in neighborhoods that are close to black areas, attempt to persuade white people not to enter mixed areas, and guide

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black buyers to mixed or black areas and whites buyers to white areas. Because of blockbusting and racial steering, mixed areas often become entirely black. Several researchers view the real estate industry as the major threat to stable mixed neighborhoods. Darden (1973:46-47) concludes in his study on residential segregation in Pittsburgh that "the most influential element among the discriminating forces seems to be the white real estate broker or salesman." White owners of dwellings are second to white brokers as a force for discrimination (ibid.:49).

The Back-to-the-City Movement

A further problem for mixed neighborhoods, and one often intensified by the actions of real estate agents, is the back-to-the-city movement. In major cities members of the white middle class are returning to inner cities that are the homes of the poor. Although this resettlement is bringing a striking revival to decaying neighborhoods, most of the rehabilitation results in the eviction of poor people who cannot afford to buy or rent housing.¹

Unequal Access to Market Information Channels

Another hindrance to the development of mixed neighborhoods is unequal access to market information channels. The growth of interracial neighborhoods probably would have received a boost if the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1980 or 1983 had passed. Although Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 prohibits several discriminatory practices, it does not sufficiently protect black homeseekers or home sellers. As Lake (1981:47) points out, restricted access to market information channels for both buyers and sellers raises entry costs for blacks while simultaneously reducing the eventual payoff from home ownership. Lake maintains that suburban black home buyers spend substantially more time in searching than whites, but look at fewer units in fewer communities.

Other Hurtful Outside Influences

The real estate industry is not the only problem for racially mixed neighborhoods. Heumann (1973:2-3, Abstract) describes other barriers: "The experiences of mixed neighborhoods indicate that any neighborhood which becomes obviously interracial is subject to institutional actions that accelerate transition to a new state of segregation. (These actions are taken by realtors, banks, insurance companies, school boards, zoning boards, peer groups, and many others.)"

In one case, the board of education seemed to be the main force contributing to the end of a mixed neighborhood. The first black family moved into North Beverly View, part of a community area in southwest Chicago with a population of fewer than 600, mostly middle-class people, in 1973. The white children

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had been attending school just outside the school district in which the area lies. When black parents were told their children could not attend, they protested. The white children started school, but after three days they were told they could not attend either. The Chicago Board of Education had denied admission to both groups. The school situation brought the two groups into communication and helped them to work together on other problems with more success. As for the children, some enrolled in a largely black school about a mile away, while the majority entered private schools.

In October 1974, residents organized the United Association of North Beverly View to hold the neighborhood together as a united community, establishing block clubs and committees to serve community needs. Interracial cooperation occurred on the organizational, community, individual, and family levels and in the association. Black and white residents joined in community gatherings, talked together on the streets, invited one another for dinner, and became acquainted on a first-name basis. By July 1975, the area was 60 percent black and 40 percent white and seemed to be stabilizing (Wysocki 1975).²

This neighborhood, it seems, could have continued as a mixed area meeting the needs of the residents if it had not been for the school problem. Early in 1976, because of the continuing inability of the parents to send their children to the nearby school, white residents began moving away, and the neighborhood was rapidly becoming predominantly black.

The school board is not the only municipal body that, at times, has hindered interracial associations in their efforts to maintain mixed neighborhoods. Law courts and judges may also be involved. In 1957, when blacks expressed interest in moving into a small neighborhood on the far southwestern side of Chicago (Helper 1962; 1965:135-40), white residents organized the Winneconna Lakes Area Improvement Association. When blacks moved into the neighborhood in 1958, the association elected a mixed leadership and tried to promote good community relations. By 1961, the area was 50 to 60 percent black, but the association continued to work hard to keep the area mixed. Nevertheless, other factors hindered these efforts. Crime increased and residents found it impossible to obtain more police protection. The association spent two years getting a landlord, guilty of serious violations, to court; the judge fined him \$25 and then suspended the fine. Other cases of flagrant official neglect occurred. Absentee landlords exploited buildings. Real estate brokers incited white people to sell their property. Real estate blockbusters, both white and black, undermined the goals of the improvement association, and even "legitimate" real estate firms offered little cooperation.

One factor that may have contributed to the relatively rapid racial change was the difference in status levels among the previously all-white population. Although some were white-collar business executives and professionals, most were blue-collar workers, and leaders found it difficult to unite the two groups behind common goals. This lack of unity among the white residents undermined the sense of community and added to the difficulties of the association.

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Yet, in all this change, painful to many whites who felt they had to move, and to whites and blacks who saw their efforts to maintain a mixed neighborhood fail, examples of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between black and white were common.

Zoning laws, especially in suburbs, that prevent building for multifamily use and reduce the supply of rental housing, have been a major hindrance to the development of mixed communities. At times, after great effort, the stranglehold of the zoning law can be broken—as in the case of Black Jack, Missouri, which illegally sought to block construction of a low-income housing project to prevent blacks from moving into the community. A consent decree issued by the U.S. district court ended twelve years of litigation. “The results in this case are ideal: racially integrated housing for low income tenants has been constructed; the city is now formally committed to a nondiscriminatory housing policy; and violation of the fair housing law was shown to be costly and counterproductive to the transgressor,” said Janice Cooper, general counsel of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing 1982:1-3).

Lending agencies—including savings and loan associations, commercial banks, mortgage houses, and insurance companies—have long been an obstacle in the path of mixed housing (Helper 1969:166-72). Lending agencies have barred real estate brokers from selling to black people by refusing to make loans or requiring more difficult terms for black buyers. Redlining or “writing off” an area, that is, refusing to make loans in an area that black people have entered or are likely to enter, or that lending agencies consider to be in a state of decline, is a well-known practice of many lending agencies.

Now a “greenlining” campaign has developed to end redlining. The Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations announced a pledge campaign called “greenlining” to respond to the continuing problem of redlining in Philadelphia’s neighborhoods. Greenlining involves a pledge on the part of concerned citizens to support banks that make mortgage money available to all of the city’s neighborhoods. The redlining problem has been alleviated somewhat by the Philadelphia Mortgage Plan (PMP), developed by area banks, which has brought mortgage money back into some neighborhoods. However, not all lending institutions subscribe to the PMP, not all members take the plan seriously, and the PMP itself does not operate in certain neighborhoods. Members of the Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations and cooperating groups analyze home mortgage disclosure data available by federal law. This law, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, requires commercial banks, savings banks, and savings and loan associations to list their mortgages by census tract. This enables those who are interested to determine whether a lending institution is lending money in the city’s neighborhoods.

Darden (1973:50) has a kind word to say about white financial institutions. Although he concedes that they have the power to influence the residential location of many black homeowners in the United States, he insists that there

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is little evidence to support any claim that they have done so in Pittsburgh. He also points out that it is difficult to estimate adequately the role of the lending institution as a discriminating force, for it always is the second link in the chain of operation. Furthermore, financial institutions do not deal with renters. Thus, much of the black population never comes into contact with the lending agencies. Obermanns (1981), on the other hand, concludes that Cleveland's racially diverse suburbs are not well served by area financial institutions.

The Desegregated School as a Factor in the Stability of the Mixed Neighborhood

Before the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was passed, many believed that the main roadblock to achieving racially mixed neighborhoods was the exclusion of blacks and other minority groups from all-white neighborhoods. Now it is clear that open housing legislation is not enough to ensure lasting integration. Eleanor Holmes Norton, former chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and other workers for mixed neighborhoods emphasize that the most important factor in retaining white middle-class families in the city is the condition of its school system. Jean Milgram, former executive director of National Neighbors, a Philadelphia-based federation of multiracial neighborhood organizations, noted that people most frequently asked for information, first, on how to deal with real estate practices; second, on what to do about schools; and third, on how to influence city government (Kaiser 1976). Little doubt exists about the importance of the mixed school for mixed neighborhood stability.

In an insightful paper, Wegmann (1977) examines the problems of withdrawal from desegregated schools and resegregation. Wegmann maintains that white flight is a class phenomenon as well as a racial issue. He suggests a distinction between withdrawal and nonentrance. Parents who fear for the safety of their children in the mixed school will not enter the mixed neighborhood or will withdraw from it. In anticipatory nonentrance, parents anticipate future racial change and possible unwanted effects. The concerns that lead parents either not to enter the neighborhood or to withdraw their children from the mixed school are likely to be those of quality, safety, and status. Middle-class parents often are afraid that children of a lower social class will influence their children.

Wegmann asks, "To what extent is the racially mixed school truly integrated? Are the students merely physically copresent, or are they relating to one another in an environment of mutual understanding and respect?" This aspect of desegregated schooling seems to him, and to this author, to be the heart of the issue. Furthermore, Wegmann points to the scarcity of reports about programs that structure the school to foster interracial cooperation and understanding. He draws a number of conclusions, among which the following seem the most important:

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Little formal research has been done on the motivations behind white withdrawal from desegregated schooling. Worries about the quality of education, student safety, and social status differences may be among the chief causes. To the extent that this is true it could be expected that, other things being equal, school integration would more likely be stable and successful when combined with programs of educational improvement, in settings where concerns about safety are adequately met, and when programs of which parents can be proud are featured. (Wegmann 1977:42)

Obstacles to Urban Integration

Orfield (1981:18-24), in his study of twelve cities, draws attention to certain serious problems regarding urban integration. He found little discussion of housing integration as a policy among elected officials, and even less about the connection between housing and school integration. Cities with delicately balanced school desegregation plans often pursue housing policies that are unintentionally but steadily undermining the school plan. Desegregation plans also frequently bus children out of residentially integrated neighborhoods. Among the districts he visited, only Louisville, Kentucky, has an order that explicitly exempts integrated neighborhoods from busing. In Charlotte, North Carolina, and Columbus, Ohio, children are bused from most integrated neighborhoods. Orfield maintains that with little change in court orders integrated neighborhood schools could be exempted from busing. He says Louisville's approach to exemptions could become a model.

*How Success and Failure Factors May Change over Time
as Well as Affect One Another*

Sometimes failures may contribute to success. In the back-to-the-city movement, the decline in central city neighborhoods, occurring in Washington, D.C., and other cities, resulted in large part from racial transition and particularly from the inability or unwillingness of former white owners and later the inability of black owners to keep up their property. Incoming suburbanites, benefiting from the lower housing costs in the central declining area, can build up a good, mixed neighborhood.

Success Factors

The Importance of Dispersal

The concentration of black demand on mixed areas near the ghetto fosters racial transition. Dispersal policies would decrease this pressure on mixed communities and, thus, white residents of these areas would be more hopeful about their communities remaining mixed. Also, white families who were planning

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to move in order to avoid living in a mixed area might decide against it if most suburban communities were also mixed.

Varady (1974:367), in his concern about enabling racially mixed fringe communities to attain some degree of stability, suggests types of neighborhood stabilization strategies that, according to his findings, are most likely to be effective. His own results do not suggest that changing communities appeal more to the young and educated, as is stressed in local stabilization policies (those implemented within mixed areas). He argues that "metropolitan-wide housing policies aimed at dispersing low- and moderate-income black families are more likely to improve the long-range prospects for stabilizing mixed communities."

Increasing Integration in a Metropolitan Area

Although a number of discouraging situations exist in regard to desegregated schools, encouraging developments have occurred. The principal findings of a study by Richard Obermanns (1982) corroborate the conclusion of Wegmann (1977), Orfield (1981), and other researchers that the racial integration of the school cannot be considered apart from the integration of the neighborhood. Obermanns reports that, in the Cleveland metropolitan area, there were more integrated suburban districts and school buildings in 1980 than in 1978 and more students than ever before were attending integrated public elementary schools. Most of the integrated districts and schools in the area also give promise of remaining racially integrated. Most integrated suburban districts voluntarily have taken steps to reduce racial imbalance among elementary schools by closing schools, redistricting, pairing, setting up magnet schools, and encouraging students to transfer voluntarily. Segregated schooling has decreased, but it still remains the norm in the metropolitan area.

The Slowing of Black In-migration

Schnare (1977:59) draws attention to the slowdown in the rate of black in-migration to metropolitan areas and concludes that this may reduce the proportion of blacks living in highly segregated neighborhoods. Schnare suggests that, if migration continues to decrease, future increments in the number of blacks may be more evenly distributed throughout the metropolitan area. Thus, the slowing of in-migration of blacks may contribute to the development of mixed neighborhoods.

The Purchase of Homes by White Families in Areas Where Black Families Are Living

A common belief exists, especially among most real estate brokers (Helper 1969:74-75), that a white family will not buy a house for personal residence in

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an area where black families are living. Rapkin and Grigsby (1960) undertook to determine the demand for housing in racially mixed areas in Philadelphia, hardly expecting to find any white purchasers in the four mixed areas they selected for their study. They discovered that, in 1955, 2,017 bona fide transfers of ownership of residential property for owner occupancy occurred in these areas. Of this group of home purchasers, 443 were white and 1,574 were black. This finding, they say, "sheds doubt on the premise that once blacks enter a neighborhood, no white will purchase in the area thereafter." Some of the white purchasers lived previously in mixed areas. In one of the two study areas, where the housing was of good quality, white buyers outnumbered black buyers by two to one; for all four areas, the ratio of black to white purchasers was three to one (Rapkin and Grigsby 1960:17). The authors also learned that, contrary to previous research findings (Rose, Atelsek, and McDonald 1953), almost three-quarters of the white purchasers had children under 18 and half had children of school age. Further investigation revealed some unawareness of the presence of blacks in the area, some dissatisfaction, and a tendency to buy houses somewhat distant from black-occupied residences. The fact remains, however, that almost three-quarters of the white families bought homes on or adjacent to mixed blocks and one-fourth bought on mixed street fronts, but "less than a handful" purchased homes next to black residences.

Rapkin and Grigsby point out that, if it is true that white people will not buy a home next door to a black family, then the occupancy of a black family of a single dwelling unit on a block must eventually result in an all-black block. However, the experience of some real estate firms in Chicago discredits this hypothesis. Several real estate brokers refused to assume that they could not sell to white people in an area where blacks were living. They sold property, although at low prices, to white buyers for residences. One of these brokers said: "From a sale of perhaps one or two houses a year in this neighborhood, we have gone to twelve to fourteen sales per year to white families in an area where blacks are living frequently next door, between, or across the street. It has been our experience that a significant number of white people are willing and even eager to live in a coracial neighborhood providing it remains in all other respects a pleasant place in which to live" (Helper 1969:94).

Other researchers also have reported sales to white people in areas where blacks are living. Northwood and Barth (1965:37) say that, in most of the neighborhoods they studied, they interviewed some white residents who had moved there *after* black entry. Other reports, of a less systematic type, also noted white people moving into mixed areas (*Newsweek* 1971b; Stalvey 1963; Rosen and Nicholson 1959).

Types of Housing Conducive to Racially Mixed Living

The type of housing available is important to mixed living. Researchers have noted that rental units seem to be associated with mixed neighborhoods. Rental

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units often will not admit families with children, thus eliminating the problems of parents who may not want their children to attend desegregated schools. Furthermore, renting an apartment does not carry the finality and the investment burden of buying a house. Thus, childless couples who have not lived in mixed buildings before might undertake the new experience more readily (Wegmann 1977:22; Rapkin and Grigsby 1960:17; Wolf and Lebeaux 1969:504-5). Heumann (1973:XI-v-XI-vi) hypothesizes, based on the observations of several Philadelphia realtors, that, when value among housing types is constant, resistance to black entry into very dense row housing is the most severe, and, once blacks enter, it is difficult to maintain stable integration. Some of the reasons for this are the closeness of interracial living and the possibility of life-style differences—real or imagined. Moreover, because row houses tend to be less expensive than other types of housing, and because many black families are in the lower income range, the concentration of black demand would make it difficult to stably integrate row housing.

Cooperative housing has lent itself in a considerable number of cases to mixed living (Milgram 1977:173-83; Grier and Grier 1960:28-29, 199-204, 236-40). Milgram reminds us that the basic principles of cooperatives include open membership with no restrictions on race, creed, or color.

Rochdale Village (Swados 1966) presents a unique example of black-white organizational interaction in an interracial project. This housing complex, which is next to a large black ghetto in New York City, consists of twenty 14-story apartment buildings housing nearly 6,000 families. In 1966, 15 percent of the families were black and 85 percent were mainly Jewish. Some Italian, Oriental, Puerto Rican, and WASP families also lived there.³ The black residents were almost all middle-class professionals, civil servants, and technicians, whereas the whites were mainly working-class Jews.

Several black residents spoke of clashes between black-white values. The 15- to 18-year-old groups, because of parental pressure, were largely segregated, although the groups claimed they "got along great." There was some uneasiness among Jews at community meetings because of black militancy. Fear also existed among the whites because people from the adjacent black ghetto committed various offenses against white and some black residents despite project security. Yet Rochdale Village generally is an impressive case of black-white interaction, of relative harmony between members of two (in fact, more) minority groups.

As of 20 September 1976 (Weinstein 1976), there were more black residents, but a large proportion of whites continued to live there and the various ethnic groups were represented as before. Blacks and whites were participating in the village's many organizations although some blacks had formed the Black Society for black members only. Some mixed political clubs had also developed. Good relations generally existed between black and white residents.

New, well-constructed buildings make an important contribution to neighbors' relations in mixed communities. An example appears in Wolf and

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Lebeaux's (1969:107-54) case study of Lafayette Park, a residential redevelopment area near downtown Detroit. The park contained a high-rise apartment building and 186 single, low-rise units, 10 percent and under 20 percent non-white respectively, where blacks and whites maintained friendly relations. Some white residents for the first time found themselves "inviting black friends to their parties and accepting dinner invitations from black residents who had become their personal friends." Both white and black residents were pleased with the new dwellings.

The Importance of a Good Manager

The importance of a good manager for an interracial housing development has not been fully recognized. Milgram (1977:67-68) tells of Glover Park Apartments, a 73-unit, four-story, hillside building with an elevator near Georgetown in Washington, D.C. When a limited partnership organized by Planned Communities bought the building in 1962, a study by the Social Science Research Bureau revealed that 16 percent of the residents threatened to move if the building were integrated and 10 percent said they would consider moving. However, none of the white residents left when the first black families moved into the building. By 1976, the building was about 12 percent black and "there had been no white flight and no diminution of heavy white demand."

Milgram (1977:68) says the crucial factor is the "social concern of a manager, his or her regard for others" because this alone can transform an apartment house into a truly integrated community.⁴ As a result of his own experience in developing mixed communities, he maintains that it does not matter whether the manager is black or white. What does matter is the manager's concern for the welfare of every tenant.

Helpful Amenities

A good shopping center is also important in creating satisfaction among residents of a racially mixed neighborhood. Opportunities arise for greeting neighbors at the store and for eventually even shopping together (Molotch 1972:175). The convenience of a good shopping area with a parking lot nearby may override some qualms of prospective buyers in a mixed area. Carefully supervised and efficiently operated indoor and outdoor recreational facilities for adults and for adolescents—for example, a good park, playground, swimming pool, and well-stocked library—contribute to resident satisfaction.

The Importance of Equal Status Contact

Some studies have shown that equal status contact *before* moving into the neighborhood is an important factor in favorable racial attitudes. Studies by Hunt (1959), Northwood and Barth (1965), Jeffries and Ransford (1969) in

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relation to the Watts riot, and others support this proposition. Bradburn, Sudman, and Gockel (1970:406) concede that their data do not tell whether pro-integration attitudes were present before interracial contact or developed after such contact.

Improvement in racial attitudes *after* equal status contact in a mixed neighborhood was emphasized in the Deutsch and Collins (1951) study and elsewhere (Wilner, Walkley, and Cook 1955). More recently, the equal status contact hypothesis has met with some qualification. For example, the Meer and Freedman (1966) study, which tested this hypothesis, found no reduction of prejudice in the white neighbors of the black families studied.

Zeul and Humphrey (1971) regard the contact hypothesis as simplistic and contend that it implies that white attitudes toward blacks are initially negative. In investigating mixed upper middle-class suburban housing, they found a positive relationship between "cosmopolitanism" and positive attitudes toward blacks and living with black neighbors, and that a larger percentage of cosmopolitans than "locals" had *much* contact with black neighbors. The authors point to respondents' prior racial attitudes as a better explanation than the contact hypothesis.

In Ford's (1973) reexamination of the contact hypothesis within the context of public housing in a border-state city, his principal hypothesis was that a positive relationship exists between equal status interracial contact and racial tolerance. His results support the contact hypothesis for white respondents only. Equal status contact did not appear to be related significantly to reduced prejudice for blacks; greater awareness of dominant-subordinate relationships seemed indicated. Ford suggests the need to gain a thorough understanding of the conditions under which interracial contact occurs and the meaning of such contact for blacks.

Hamilton and Bishop (1976) undertook to explain the differences in response to a new neighbor as a function of the race of that neighbor. They held interviews in eighteen white areas in suburbs of New Haven, Connecticut, with women who were all white. In eight locations a black family, the first in the area, recently had bought a home. The results show a progression from apprehension about the black family before and right after it moved in to at least some degree of acceptance after it had lived in the area for a year. The authors cannot explain their findings by the interracial hypothesis because such interaction was infrequent. They conclude that the most important determinant of differences in racism for the respondents was the fact of having lived in an integrated setting. Changes observed over time were due to a disconfirmation of negative expectations.

Given the preceding qualifications, it is still valid to conclude that equal status is important for good interracial relations. The absence of competition also is a necessary ingredient. Wilner, Walkley, and Cook (1955:4), in their review of some thirty-six studies, conclude that these support "the general hypothesis that equal status contact between members of initially antagonistic ethnic groups

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under circumstances not marked by competition for limited goods or by strong social disapproval of intergroup friendliness tends to result in favorable attitude change." Allport (1954), in his concept of constructive contact, stresses the importance of equal status, common goals, interdependence, and the support of authority. Emphasis on the common goals of two groups may enhance the sense of equal status, and working together for a common goal becomes a powerful solvent of prejudice. Interracial contact also requires the explicit support of authority and the benefit of a favorable social climate (Social Science Panel 1972:14-17; McFall 1974:10).

Quota Systems

Although some believe that quota systems introduce legal uncertainty and have urged project developers to use them only under "the most compelling circumstances," in some cases such systems have helped projects or communities to retain their mixed character. Milgram (1977:56, 58, 67) describes the necessary and successful use of quotas in three of the projects he developed.

In Park Forest, Illinois, the community maintains the principle that the village and its governing body must determine when an area is overrepresented by persons of a specific race and when affirmative marketing activities are required. Nothing in the Integration Maintenance Program, as administered by Park Forest, purports to control rates of racial change. The program only purports to keep housing markets open to all seekers, to stop panic, and to encourage, through voluntary affirmative marketing, purchase or rental by persons of a race that is underrepresented in a subarea (Heumann 1981:iv). The assistant to the village manager indicated that the village considered an area underrepresented when the proportion of black residents in the area was lower than the proportion of black citizens in the greater metropolitan area at the same income level (ibid.:22).

Desirable ratios can exist and continue in projects even when there are no quotas (Milgram 1977:59-60). The U.S. Supreme Court has not, however, established the constitutionality of "benign quotas" (Social Science Panel 1972:19; Heumann 1981:69).

The Work of Mixed Organizations to Maintain Racially Mixed Neighborhoods

The joint efforts of residents to prevent neighborhoods from becoming completely black are now rather familiar happenings in the United States. Organizations formed for the purpose often began as white associations (Mikva 1951) with the stated goals of improving their neighborhoods. When blacks approach, major emphasis often focuses on keeping them out. When this fails, the organizations change their goal to that of maintaining their areas as mixed neighborhoods. Soon the membership and boards of such organizations become mixed.

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To keep the area mixed, an association tries to prevent panic selling and white flight, to bring into the area white people of the same socioeconomic standing as those who have left (Watts et al. 1964:11), and to prevent, or correct, housing neglect. The group also tries to bring in black families of suitable social level, but the overriding concern is to maintain white occupancy (Abrahamson 1959; Leacock, Deutsch, and Fishman 1965; Helper 1965; Damerrell 1968; Wolf and Lebeaux 1969; Kusner 1972). To achieve its goals, the organization sets up committees, develops block clubs, holds meetings and social gatherings, distributes information, and tries in every way it can to bolster the morale and cohesion of the residents.

Organizations established in community areas of Chicago to protect neighborhoods and to keep them mixed reveal impressive cooperation between blacks and whites with a variety of programs and procedures (Helper 1979:26-29). Organizations in many other cities also show much racial cooperation.

Two cases, each unusual in its own way, each involving a hardworking organization, illustrate what such groups can accomplish.

The Park Hill Area of Denver: A Neighborhood in Search of Itself. The Park Hill area of Denver, Colorado, has aroused doubt and conjecture about itself as a mixed entity in the minds of some of its residents and of some researchers (O'Dell 1973). The area consists of three parts, the North, the South, and the Middle. Mostly young black families live in the North, whereas mostly older white, richer families live in the South and the Middle is mixed. The Middle area is distinct in significant ways from the North and the South. O'Dell (p. 3) claims that "a potential base for a long range mixed and diverse community is now present in the middle area." However, the chairwoman of Greater Park Hill Community, Inc. (GPHC) maintained that "it's one big Park Hill," and that "what happens in one part affects the other." The Middle community may be the nucleus of the kind of community envisioned by the corporate goals of GPHC.

The future character and stability of this potentially mixed community remain, however, an open question. There are several indications that the Park Hill area may be on its way to becoming one mixed community. GPHC, which has existed since 1969, seems to draw solid support from all three geographic areas. Several realtors operating in the Park Hill area believe that the residential pattern has stabilized and have said repeatedly that the change from white to black in the Middle area has stopped. GPHC is working assiduously to make and keep Park Hill a united, mixed community.

West Mt. Airy Neighbors: The Development of the Organization and the Need for a Moral Commitment. Because a relatively high level of racial integration has been achieved in West Mt. Airy, a neighborhood in Philadelphia, it is important to examine features contributing to its success. Heumann (1973), in his study of West Mt. Airy, discusses the requisites for stable integration in a neighborhood. Because we live, he says, in a society in which residential segregation is the prevailing pattern, and because a neighborhood that becomes

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visibly interracial is subject to institutional actions that accelerate transition to a new state of segregation, rapid transition toward segregation will occur unless the interracial community can organize consciously to confront and defeat these pressures.

Thus, according to Heumann, a moral commitment by the residents becomes the critical dimension if a neighborhood is to attain and maintain stable integration. He examines predisposing factors in West Mt. Airy that led to a moral commitment to stable integration. Along with a great diversity of housing, West Mt. Airy has retained an open space system and has developed different recreational and cultural facilities that attract residents with a variety of life-styles. Heumann concludes that this socioeconomic heterogeneity produced four factors that fostered an atmosphere in which a moral commitment to stable integration could evolve. These factors are (1) a diversity of living arrangements providing diverse reasons for moving into and remaining in the neighborhood; (2) a more tolerant population, having had to tolerate a high level of socioeconomic diversity; (3) more likelihood of attracting blacks and whites with shared interests because the variety of living arrangements increased the chances for blacks and whites with like interests to meet; and (4) a greater likelihood of evolving an effective interracial organization. A final predisposing factor was that the blacks who sought housing on the black-white frontier in the early 1950s were willing to give integration a try. Still, he says, even with all these predisposing factors, a mixed neighborhood may succumb to total racial transition if individual moral commitments fail to evolve into institutional actions to withstand institutional pressures in the larger society for local racial homogeneity.

From its beginning in 1958-59, West Mt. Airy Neighbors (WMAN) was different from most neighborhood associations formed to prevent racial transition. The organization did not try to hold onto white people or to prevent black entry. It was a large, well-organized, mixed group with a highly coordinated and carefully planned program. WMAN did not establish racial proportions. It tried to heighten demand for West Mt. Airy as a place to live by lowering the turnover rate and raising the level of housing prices. "Above all, a single sense of community, centered around the theme that different races can live together harmoniously, was deemed necessary" (Heumann 1973:52).

WMAN viewed local real estate brokers as the greatest problem. Members felt that most of them were showing homes on a racially selective basis. WMAN asked its large membership to demand that brokers show both white and black potential buyers housing on all blocks and, through its membership, asked community residents to inform the executive secretary when they intended to sell. The association then channeled these sales to "cooperative" brokers. Most sellers did cooperate. Most brokers cooperated once WMAN became a "clearing-house" controlling local business and steering potential customers to cooperative brokers on a rotating basis. The organization asked citizens to report blockbusters to the central office and dealt effectively with these persons. WMAN also employed other methods to monitor other harmful, ex-

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ternal threats, such as discriminatory zoning or acts that would damage the physical appearance or health of the area.

The neighborhood association developed committees for every possible need of the community, and decentralized itself to give precedence to issues surrounding interracial living on the block level. Racial integration began to coincide with a sense of community in West Mt. Airy. Membership at the time of the study amounted to more than one-third of the residents of the neighborhood, and West Mt. Airy was 58 percent white and 42 percent black. As a result of his research, Heumann concludes that WMAN is a key reason for the sense of community in West Mt. Airy: "WMAN is viewed as a guarantee of stability and a major source of community identity for many respondents. This sense of community and the WMAN role in strengthening it also seem to be an important factor in attracting both black and white residents to West Mt. Airy" (Heumann 1973). The situation in West Mt. Airy demonstrates that stable racial integration is virtually impossible without constant vigilance and careful, conscious planning.

Interracial Neighborhoods throughout the United States

Other stable interracial neighborhoods exist elsewhere in the United States. National Neighbors, founded in 1977, is an interracial, interfaith organization working for open housing (SOHI 1977). *The Directory of Interracial Neighborhoods*, 1977, assembled by National Neighbors, describes 144 interracial communities and the programs of their interracial organizations. Among these communities, many of which are suburbs or parts of large cities, are some that show substantial heterogeneity both in type of housing and in population, whereas others are quite homogeneous in both characteristics; good relations occur in both types of communities. In these communities, dispersed in 28 states of the nation, local organizations appear to be effective and to foster a sense of community. Most organizations have a wide range of activities. One example, from the program of Greater Park Hill Community, Inc., of Denver, Colorado, illustrates the diversity of their activities:

Park Hill covers a large residential section of five hundred blocks in northeast Denver. The area as a whole contains 37,000 people. . . . Today the active citizens' organization is called Greater Park Hill Community, Incorporated (GPHC), a name selected in 1969 when the Park Hill Action Committee joined the Northeast Park Hill Civic Association to form one organization. The goals of the organizations have merged: they are to achieve and maintain an integrated community, work to eliminate prejudice and discrimination, work for better schools, cultural and recreational programs, and prevent community deterioration.

The organization holds a monthly town meeting, distributes its monthly newsletter through block workers on more than four hundred of the five

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hundred thirty-five blocks, and welcomes newcomers at wine and punch parties in homes three times a year. Three paid staff people and many volunteers working out of the GPHC office coordinate a multitude of programs serving the community and representing the community.

The organization also cooperates with the Colorado Heart Association in a community education campaign. . . . There is an active police-community relations committee which has sponsored Operation Identification, Neighborhood Watch programs, and provides periodic luncheons for policemen and community residents in private homes. GPHC received two major awards for pioneering human relations programs—a Human Relations Award from Beth Joseph Congregation and an award from the Cosmopolitan Club of Denver.

Many of these organizations are making strong efforts to counter the destructive actions of real estate companies and are fighting against unlawful real estate practices. Organizations report effective audits, court cases, and efforts to educate, to influence, and even to win the cooperation of real estate people.

Integration Maintenance Programs: The Park Forest Case

Integration Maintenance (IM) programs are a recent development in the United States. The village of Park Forest, Illinois, formally adopted such a program in 1973.

Park Forest is located near the southern limits of Cook County and has a population of about 27,000. The village was a "planned community," built by the American Community Builders and incorporated in 1949. Early in its history, Park Forest took an interest in open housing. A Commission on Human Relations (CHR) was created by the Village Board of Trustees in 1951 to study issues surrounding the entrance of minority families and to plan for peaceful relations in the community. Black families began to move into the village in 1959.

In 1965, Park Forest began to be concerned about the phenomenon of "clustering" of black residents caused by the tendency of real estate agencies to market homes near black residents exclusively to other black buyers. In a 1965 memorandum to real estate agencies, the village president urged brokers to encourage purchases by white buyers near black residents. The real estate agents received a similar memorandum again in 1968. In January 1968, the village formally adopted a comprehensive fair housing ordinance. By 1973, black residents comprised approximately 5 to 7 percent of the population. The increasing black population prompted concerns that clustering and eventual resegregation of parts of Park Forest might occur without affirmative actions to forestall this result. The village formally adopted an Integration Maintenance Program after advice from other municipalities (Heumann 1981:17-18).⁵

The IM Program of Park Forest involves educational programs and real

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estate activities, legal problems and public relations, and counseling on housing. It is also concerned with planning, commercial development, revitalization, and school desegregation. Of a total of 30 activities in which Park Forest is involved, 27 are funded by the municipality, but other funding comes from other sources.

The IM Program also monitors racial change in surrounding communities and keeps track of regional institutions that can affect the traffic in potential buyers seeking housing in Park Forest's price range. The ultimate goal of the IM Program is stable integration. More specifically, it is striving for a stable, integrated neighborhood; a unitary, open housing market; and enlistment of the real estate industry as a full partner of the program. Some adversaries have challenged the IM Program in the courts but the program has so far survived these tests.

A comparative analysis of similar suburban municipalities with IM programs throughout the country was designed to gain perspective on the Park Forest experience (Heumann 1981:1-15). Fewer than 25 suburban municipalities with IM programs were found. From this universe, 16 programs in comparable communities were identified. All 16 were located in midwestern and northeastern states. Only 3 suburban municipal IM programs were as old or older than the Park Forest program. Analysis revealed that the typical IM Program concentrates responsibility for activities on a specific implementation source, usually its own municipal staff. Park Forest, however, divides the implementation responsibility among staff, contractors, and voluntary groups with heavy emphasis on contractors. The rate of racial change is slowing in some suburbs with IM programs, including Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights in the Cleveland area; University City, Missouri; and Oak Park, outside Chicago.

Racially Diverse Suburbs Are Stable and Increasing

Using birth rate data, Obermanns (1980) found that the number of what he terms "racially diverse" suburbs among 700 suburbs in 23 major midwestern metropolitan areas had doubled from 98 in 1970 to 204 in 1978, and that most of the 204 suburbs were stable and resisting resegregation.⁶ Obermanns makes it clear that only 70 to 100 of the racially diverse suburbs were internally integrated. About 50 were internally segregated, and another 50 had nonblack minorities. The typical racially diverse suburb had a population of fewer than 25,000 (152 of 204 suburbs) and a racial composition of 5 to 39 percent nonwhite births (175 of 204 suburbs). Thus, most were small to medium in size and predominantly white in births and population.

Blacks also were found to be moving in increasing numbers into "open suburbs"—that is, those with 2 to 4 percent black births. The latter movement eased the pressure on other suburbs to resegregate. Only 30 percent of the midwestern suburbs had predominantly nonwhite births in 1978. His report also indicates that an overwhelming majority of suburban nonwhite births occurs in racially diverse or nearly all-white suburbs rather than in nearly all-

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black suburbs. Obermanns sees the suburbs with their small self-governing groups as better equipped than cities to make integration work.⁷

Conclusion

Among the factors that destroy the stability of racially mixed neighborhoods, some of the most damaging are indifferent, inept, or corrupt agencies of city government; irresponsible or prejudiced real estate brokers; uncooperative lending agencies, which sell property to black or white buyers who are not financially capable of maintaining it; and various fears and negative preconceptions of white people concerning black people that prompt them to move.

One finding stressed by researchers and informants is that white families with previous equal status experience with blacks more readily enter a neighborhood where some black people already are living than those lacking such experience. They also engage in more contact with black neighbors in the mixed neighborhoods.

Some factors that contribute to stable interracial neighborhoods are supportive municipal governments in all departments; truly integrated and good quality schools; well-operated recreational and cultural facilities; good quality buildings; concerned managers or managing agents; and shopping centers with plenty of parking space. Integration Maintenance programs are also proving to be an effective instrument for keeping interracial communities mixed.

Another important finding is the notable cooperation that occurs among black and white residents in organizations established to maintain racially mixed neighborhoods. Examples of friendships and solidarity are common. The evidence is clear that some blacks and whites are working well together in the struggle to achieve true integration against great odds.

In 1968, the following conclusion appeared in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (1968:1): "This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." It is true that in the 1960s there was much violence and destruction in U.S. cities and that black rioters often were dissatisfied persons, extremely hostile to whites, more likely on the basis of class than of race, and almost equally hostile toward middle-class blacks (ibid.:73). However, from studies on black-white interaction in mixed neighborhoods, what emerges is not a picture of two societies growing constantly further apart, but one of members of two racial groups striving for a good, common life in common neighborhoods. Although hostility exists and racial conflict occurs, evidence of substantial cooperation and goodwill between members of the two racial groups remains.

It may be that Joseph D. Lohman's (1957:78) forecast will prove true, that "the resulting patterns for many years to come, and perhaps as long as can be imagined would be that many Negroes would live with Negroes, and many

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whites would live with whites, and many Negroes would live interchangeably with whites but by their own choice." It may well be that some neighborhoods will remain white, some will remain black, and others will be mixed. However, present findings indicate that it is not improbable that more and more will become mixed.

Additional Research Needed

Several issues for further research are important to expand our knowledge of how to foster interracial neighborhoods and to strengthen their maintenance. It would be helpful to be able to compare white people's conceptions of black people in the eighties with their conceptions of earlier years. It is equally important to study black people's conceptions of their white counterparts. How do members of each group respond to living next door to one another or sharing the same school and classroom? How does the blue-collar worker of a white ethnic group now view mixed neighborhoods?

Research also is needed on topics of less direct significance but of underlying importance in regard to housing. For example, Tremblay (1981:27-30) has found that we know little about the social bases of housing preferences and that, as a result, it is nearly impossible to answer accurately the question of whether different segments of the American population have divergent housing preferences. The Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency discovered the following factors to be all-important to resident satisfaction in their mixed income developments: well-designed, well-constructed, and well-maintained units were accepted by both whites and blacks despite the socioeconomic diversity of the residents (McFall 1974:15, 18). Parallel research is needed in areas that are both racially and economically mixed.

No one has probed the full significance of the varied endeavors of interracial organizations to accomplish their single purposes, especially the social-psychological aspects of these activities. In this regard, studies by Saltman (1971) and Heumann (1973) are worthy of note. Yin, in *Conserving America's Neighborhoods* (1982:xii), discusses the vitality of citizen organizations and their importance in maintaining and strengthening the neighborhood. Equally deserving of investigation are the umbrella organizations that foster community-wide cooperation among citizens.

All of these issues pose important questions for urban sociologists, students of housing, and researchers in race relations who want to take up the slack in interracial neighborhood research.

NOTES

1. The middle-class reinvestment in the cities probably had more impact in the nation's capital than anywhere else. In June 1977, the Washington Center for Metro-

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Urban Studies reported that Washington, with a black population of 71 percent (according to the 1970 census), had begun to show increases in its white population. Many of the newcomers, young and college educated, were settling in the Adams-Morgan section, a diverse neighborhood a mile and a half from the White House, about one-third white and two-thirds black and Hispanic. Important changes occurred in small residential streets; row houses occupied by three or four families became single-family homes (ibid.:5): "The local community group, the Adams-Morgan Organization, is engaging in a kind of legal guerilla warfare against the real estate people, encouraging tenants to resist. The group recently won a small but significant victory when it forced a developer, under threat of suit, to relinquish 9 of 26 houses that he had bought on Eaton Street. The tenants plan to buy and rehabilitate them with a combination of commercial and low-interest Federal housing loans." The Adams-Morgan Organization maintained that it did not oppose middle-class whites moving into the neighborhood, but was fighting real estate practices by which hundreds of people were evicted without help in finding new housing.

2. The three association officers interviewed (white president, black vice-president, white treasurer) expressed satisfaction with the situation.

3. Blacks and whites participate in the many functioning organizations of the village.

4. The case of Glencleft in San Diego, California (Milgram 1977:76-77), also attests to the importance of a devoted, innovative, and aggressive manager. Glencleft, a unit rental development built as FHA Title 9 Defense Housing, opened in 1953 with 100 percent occupancy, at higher rents, and with a high percentage of black tenants. With vacancies and vandalism, the housing declined and was sold in 1955. Seven months later, there was 100 percent occupancy, at higher rents, and 75 percent of the residents were white. The manager, Mrs. Christine Kleponis, had observed that many whites were willing to rent rehabilitated units next door to blacks.

She proceeded to organize block parties and arranged for loans of tools and gifts of seed to families who would use them. Because of her management capabilities she was elected to the boards of directors of the local NAACP and Urban League. The resolution creating the Integration Maintenance Program said, in part:

WHEREAS, the President and Board of Trustees recognize that an open community is not necessarily synonymous with a stable integrated community; and
 WHEREAS, the Village of Park Forest places a positive value on its heterogeneity and ethnic integration and the maintenance of same is an implicit goal of the Village of Park Forest:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED . . . that we affirm our earlier commitments to open housing and to them add a commitment to the official policy: integration maintenance, defined as "the use of education and service programs to encourage the continuation of integration in the community," which operation will ensure the continuance of a stable, multi-racial community.

5. Oberman defines "racially diverse" communities as those whose births are between 40 and 94 percent nonwhite. The 204 racially diverse suburbs in 1978 had the following racial composition:

10% NW Births + 89	60-79% NW Births + 11
11% NW Births + 54	80-89% NW Births + 3
2% NW Births + 31	90-94% NW Births + 4
4% NW Births + 12	

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7. Among the results of his study on "Quality of Life Indicators in Racially Diverse Communities" (Obermanns 1981), those on crime and academic performance are of particular interest. Obermanns points out that differences in the level of nonwhite composition within this group of suburbs do not usually appear related to differences in the quality of community life. He found that, except for East Cleveland and Painesville, violent crime rates in the racially diverse suburbs vary little from the average for all suburbs. Cleveland Heights and Euclid are the safest of these suburbs and, together with Berea and Bedford Heights, are below the suburban average. In academic performance, Obermanns used the National Merit Scholarship competition as a measure, because he could find no widely accepted measures of school performance that were comparable across community boundaries. His findings showed that, in a number of racially diverse suburbs and schools, continued high academic performance can be compatible with racial integration.

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ADKER 058406 (HUD1)

Section IV
Racial Desegregation and
Federal Housing Policies

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Introduction

JOHN M. GOERING

"It's the first time I've ever been kicked out of my home," one elderly Texas resident recently complained. Another felt they were all being "shoved around like cattle" (*Newsweek* 1983:18, 20). Seventy-nine-year-old Iva Sewell's reaction was adamant: "no matter what happens, I'm not moving over yonder to that colored neighborhood" ("Desegregation Order" 1983). These reactions, from residents of federally subsidized public housing, arose after a federal court ordered twenty-five white and a like number of black tenants to swap apartments to achieve desegregation. The public housing authority (PHA) of Clarksville, Texas, had violated the Constitution, the federal judge stated, by creating and maintaining racially separate housing projects, flouting "the law of the land by purposefully selecting and assigning tenants by race for the purpose of segregating them by race" (*Lucille Young v. Housing Authority* 1983:6).

Such purposeful, illegal segregation is not confined solely to Clarksville. An additional sixty public housing authorities, for example, are currently the subject of intense examination as part of another federal court suit, *Young v. Pierce*. In this case, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is accused of having "knowingly acquiesced" in the maintenance of racially segregated housing systems throughout East Texas. The plaintiffs are seeking the elimination of discrimination and the desegregation of both public and assisted housing throughout thirty-nine East Texas counties. HUD should, the plaintiffs charge, end its complacency and act to "affirmatively further" the policies of fair housing. This "affirmative" mandate includes movement toward a more racially balanced pattern of occupancy (*Young v. Pierce* 1982; *Clarence Givens v. Prairie Creek* 1985).

The *Young* case has not yet gone to trial, although the issues in the case are similar enough to the earlier *Clarksville* decision to have sparked considerable activity by HUD. These actions began with four underlying premises. First, whatever actions were taken should not involve the massive, mandatory transfer of tenants as the first or only remedy. Second, the public housing authorities must be given the responsibility of proposing effective solutions that suit the characteristics and needs of their own tenants. Third, HUD would concentrate its attention on PHAs that were already in violation, or apparent noncompliance, with Title VI. Title VI, the 1964 law prohibiting discrimination in federally assisted housing, is the specific legal tool around which remedies would be fashioned. The fourth and final premise for HUD's actions was that the Title VI enforcement process would be implemented in coordination with HUD's funding of the rehabilitation or modernization of the physical condition of the public housing stock.

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1911
1912

The following table shows the results of the
investigation conducted by the
Department of the Interior, Bureau of
Geological Survey, during the
years 1911 and 1912. The
table is divided into two columns,
one for each year, and the
rows are headed by the
names of the States and
Territories. The figures
shown in the table represent
the number of acres of
land which were surveyed
during the year, and the
number of acres which were
found to be suitable for
agriculture. The total
number of acres surveyed
during the two years was
1,234,567, and the total
number of acres found to be
suitable for agriculture was
567,890. The following
table shows the results of
the investigation conducted
by the Department of the
Interior, Bureau of
Geological Survey, during
the years 1911 and 1912.

1911
1912

The initial step in this process was a February 1984 notice by HUD's secretary ordering the "disestablishment" of racially dual public housing systems. HUD, he wrote, was beginning a "more comprehensive and intense" response to the problem of segregated public housing in East Texas than had ever been undertaken (Pierce 1984). Each PHA then submitted a plan for the relocation of tenants to achieve some level of measurable desegregation, using available vacancies and waiting list applicants. No clear record of successes or failures is yet available from this initial effort. Initial indications are that there have been varying reactions from the executive directors and tenants. In some PHAs, only lip service is given to complying with HUD's order to desegregate. Tenants provide medical exemptions that prevent their moving, there are no vacancies of the right size to accommodate desegregating moves, or there are not enough applicants for available apartments. In other resistant PHAs, white tenants leave their subsidized units and move to private market housing or to subsidized housing in other communities. Another group of PHAs has been cooperative and has achieved modest levels of desegregation in roughly two years. Whites have moved into previously all-black projects, and blacks, often the elderly, have moved into white projects. Some executive directors have gone to all available sources, including churches, clubs, nursing homes, and factories, to find new applicants to balance the racial composition of their waiting lists. There are also some PHAs where it is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve significant levels of desegregation. PHAs that have an overwhelmingly minority or all-white population in occupancy and on their waiting lists have few options to achieve system-wide desegregation.

Efforts to desegregate the nation's public housing stock were extended to the entire nation in 1985. In January, all of HUD's regional offices were instructed to begin the process of eliminating racial segregation that resulted from "official actions." PHAs are to be examined on an individual basis in order to design remedies that will be hand-tailored as well as effective. In February 1985, public housing authorities were informed that their chances of receiving a portion of fiscal year 1985 funding for the rehabilitation or modernization of public housing units would significantly increase if their modernization plans were linked to housing desegregation. A large portion of the \$80 million in funding was made available in 1985 to complement efforts to desegregate authorities illegally segregating tenants. Thus, in 1985, HUD began what appears to be an aggressive effort to use its manpower and resources to reduce the level of segregation in its low-rent public and assisted housing stock.

HUD's actions, however, are likely to be constrained by the fact that there is incomplete agreement within the Executive Branch of the federal government about how federal resources should be used to promote desegregation. Questions have been raised about the legality of using race-conscious desegregation practices in the absence of a finding of purposeful or intentional discrimination. Budget officials have questioned the wisdom of using federal dollars to "reward" PHAs that have broken the law. Critics wonder why PHAs that have

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used HUD's funding for decades to illegally segregate their housing are to be again funded to undo these past practices. No one, indeed, is sure of whether the existing limited resources of the federal government are capable of efficiently and thoroughly reviewing the racial occupancy of nearly 3,000 PHAs and 10,000 projects in efforts to hand-tailor desegregation strategies. Monitoring these individual plans to ensure compliance will be a mountainous task, with no existing data systems in place to record transitions in racial occupancy (Rodrigue 1985).

Proposed reductions in HUD's funding for the operation and repair of the public housing stock in 1986 and 1987 will also limit its ability to promote desegregation. Scarce resources will have to be targeted on emergency repairs and the most physically inadequate housing, leaving few if any resources to use as incentives for desegregation (Kurtz 1985:A1; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 1985). Congress may also elect to focus on other housing priorities, further limiting HUD's ability to desegregate or "deconcentrate" its housing.

There is indeed a long history of congressional pressures that have altered many of the original objectives of the federal low-rent public housing program, introducing numerous programmatic changes that have made it difficult to administer HUD's Title VI desegregation requirements at the same time all of its other rules and requirements are adhered to. There are, in fact, so many potentially conflicting requirements regarding the selection, or preference, systems for tenants that even well-run PHAs have difficulty understanding their multiple obligations. Conversely, skillful public housing managers can readily use HUD's myriad requirements to mask discriminatory purposes (Wood 1982:71; Struyk and Blake 1982:84-92; Kaplan 1985). That is, the long history of evolving legislative and judicial pressures on the operation of the public housing program has not produced a simple nor readily administrable program, regardless of issues of race. Incompetent public housing managers may readily mismanage all aspects of public housing, including race-related tenant selection and assignment (Miller 1985).

Congressional and Executive Branch concerns about desegregation are not the only obstacles to HUD's recent initiatives. The sheer size of the problem facing federal planners is awesome. There are nearly 10 million residents of federally assisted housing living in 3.7 million units, with a majority of them in segregated projects. Housing for the elderly is predominantly white and HUD's family projects are either racially mixed or predominantly black and Hispanic. Newer, Section 8 housing also tends to be more heavily occupied by whites whereas the older, traditional public housing stock is predominantly minority (Burke 1984, 1985).

The size of the problem would in the long run be manageable if there were cooperation from the public housing authorities and jurisdictions subject to desegregation efforts. However, the racially motivated resistance mentioned earlier is likely to be encountered in most localities. A recent, eight-day series

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of articles in the *Dallas Morning News*, for instance, uncovered blatant examples of racist attitudes of state and local housing officials throughout many parts of the United States. Public housing officials were openly critical of the federal court order in Clarksville, labeling it "communistic," admitted they were using "scare tactics" to keep blacks out of the predominantly white Section 8 housing program, and were unwilling to respond to HUD's new desegregation plans. One PHA board member stated: "Unless we're forced to (integrate) I don't see why we'd have to. . . . Now, if it would be absolutely necessary, if the courts and a judge said so, then we'd have to. But I don't see any point in it" (Flournoy and Rodrigue 1985:8A). Not only is there likely to be resistance to recent desegregation plans, but there is also deeply entrenched resistance to the location of low- and moderate-income rental housing for families in communities throughout the nation. Suburban jurisdictions often resist accepting housing families because of the fear of an influx of minority poor (Rodrigue and Flournoy 1985).

This opposition has been at the core of previous failures of HUD policies to promote residential desegregation or deconcentration. After the passage of major fair housing legislation in the 1960s, Congress and the courts looked for new means by which HUD programs could reduce the segregation and spatial isolation of minority poor households. The chapters in this section provide assessments of most of the major policy tools designed and implemented during the 1970s that were aimed at fostering racial "deconcentration," or more "open" patterns of racial occupancy.

Vernarelli provides a basic chronology and assessment of efforts to promote some form of racial "spatial deconcentration." A variety of internal HUD working groups struggled to provide clearer focus for the 1974 congressional requirement to reduce the spatial isolation of the minority poor. He accurately summarizes many of the judicial and legislative pressures that led to modest demonstrations, to HUD inaction, and, by 1981, to a softening of HUD's requirements related to the siting or location of assisted housing (Egan et al. 1981). The Regional Housing Mobility Program, for example, was initiated in 1979 to provide incentives to regional planning bodies to expand housing opportunities across jurisdictional boundaries, linking city to suburbs. With \$2 million in initial funding for housing counseling programs, Section 8 housing certificates were to be exchanged among cooperating PHAs.

This modest effort to promote spatial deconcentration, however, quickly became the subject of intense criticism. Opponents of the program said there was a conspiracy on the part of the federal government, and others in private research centers, to forceably move black people out of central cities in order to make room for wealthier whites who wished to return (Calmore 1979). The Regional Housing Mobility Program, it was argued (De Bernardo 1979:7), was designed to move inner-city minorities from the cities to suburban "South African-style bantustans or concentration camps." Organizations that were funded to implement regional mobility plans confronted such criticisms at the

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local level, with the program characterized "as an experiment devised by insensitive people to toy with other people's lives" (Truslow 1982).

Black elected officials and some civil rights organizations joined in the attack on the goal of spatial deconcentration. They argued that the program would "destroy" nonwhite political and cultural ties in the city because of the broad prohibitions against building low-income housing in segregated areas (Calmore 1979). "Mayors and even some HUD officials say the policy conflicts with other HUD objectives and is restrictive and arbitrary, 'allowing housing only where it's not wanted and not putting it where the people are in dire need,' in the words of Victor Marrero, HUD's undersecretary" (Stanfield 1980:1024; McKay 1977:187).

Even a HUD-commissioned assessment of the Regional Housing Mobility Program concluded that "enabling a household to move to a greater number of jurisdictions without increasing the available supply of affordable, decent housing there merely increases the number of areas where a household may look for yet unavailable housing" (Metropolitan Action 1982:89). PHAs were reluctant to participate in interjurisdictional programs when there were insufficient resources to serve their own housing needs. The study also noted the risk that mobility programs were offering the poor fictive housing opportunities in the suburbs at the same time that white, middle-income households were gentrifying inner-city neighborhoods (ibid.:88-89).¹

Criticisms of HUD's Regional Housing Mobility experiment reflect a longstanding concern that HUD policies place equal opportunity goals ahead of the goal of supplying adequate housing to those in need (National Housing Policy Review 1974:24; Listokin 1976:58-59). As part of the congressional debate over passage of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1980, for example, an amendment was proposed to prohibit HUD from excluding from consideration proposals for housing solely because the proposed site was located in a segregated area. Congressmen representing urban areas strongly opposed HUD's site selection criteria that resulted in housing going to areas that did not want it rather than to the areas that needed it most.² Congressional criticisms in 1980 were in part responsible for HUD's decision to soften its site and neighborhood standards. In January 1981, a notice was issued to all HUD field offices increasing the flexibility of their administration.

Gray and Tursky's chapter clearly reveals that there was already wide latitude in the siting of HUD-assisted housing after the initial requirements for location in "non-impacted" or less segregated areas. Programs established before 1974 clearly served more minority households and were primarily located in minority neighborhoods. More recent programs, including Section 236 and Section 8, have been less concentrated in minority areas, with a greater concentration of units in suburban areas. The occupants of suburban units are, however, more likely to be white elderly or white families. No information is available to reflect the impact of recent changes in site selection standards on the location and occupancy of HUD projects.

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A major implication of the above study is that the location of a project does not ensure that it is available to house eligible minority households from central city ghettos. All too often housing built in suburban or predominantly white communities is occupied by whites, thereby limiting the effects of site selection on desegregation.³ HUD, in fact, has relatively few tools to effectively influence the tenancing or occupancy of projects once they have been built. The major program is the Affirmative Fair Housing Marketing Program. This program, based on regulations designed to implement Title VIII, requires private developers and managers of most of HUD-assisted and subsidized housing to market to those "least likely to apply" for that housing regardless of race, ethnicity, or sex. A modest amount of research (Region IX 1974; Rubinowitz, Greenfield, and Harris 1974; Jaclyn 1976) has indicated that there are substantial problems in the consistency of HUD area office administration and monitoring of this program.

The presence of affirmative fair housing marketing plans appears to have a modest effect on projects marketing to blacks, with the clearest effect in areas outside of the central city. One study of affirmative marketing (National Capitol Systems 1983) found, however, that there was often a substantial gap between what developers stated was their racial occupancy goal and actual occupancy; indeed, the correlation between expected and actual occupancy was only .40 for blacks, .59 for Hispanics, and .32 for whites.

The results of such studies leave a large number of questions unanswered about how to bridge the gap between affirmative marketing and project integration. No data, for example, are available on what information actually reached what types of households in the eligible population, the alternatives they considered, and the role—if any—that affirmative marketing played in their decision to move to a specific project. In addition, no data are available on a control or comparison group to determine how their housing search process differed from those selecting affirmatively marketed projects. The failure of projects to reach their anticipated occupancy goals could, therefore, be the result of disinterest by those "least likely to apply," unrealistically high or low occupancy goals, some form of discrimination in tenant assignment by developers, or the fact that the projects were located in deteriorated areas unattractive to qualified households. Limited evidence, for example, suggests that affirmative marketing is more successful in reaching its goals when projects are located in racially mixed areas rather than in black neighborhoods (National Capitol Systems 1983).⁴ There is, then, a long leap from programs aimed at disseminating information to minority households in the hope that this information will broaden the range of their housing choices and the actual racially balanced tenancing of a project on a more or less permanent basis (Struyk and Blake 1983).⁵

Affirmative fair housing marketing rules do not apply to HUD's current major housing assistance program, the Section 8 Existing Program. In this program, HUD's subsidy goes directly to the tenant who may then choose to

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use the certificate to move or to reduce the rent burden in his or her current apartment. Stucker's study, in this section, reviews evidence concerning the extent to which this program has promoted racial integration. The Section 8 program and its predecessor, the Experimental Housing Allowance Program, did encourage modest levels of desegregation. The minority families who moved went to areas in which the minority population was 7 to 8 percent lower than their former census tract. Nonminority families also experienced a slight, 3 percent increase in the minority population in their new census tracts. Despite these desegregating moves, a substantial portion of Section 8 recipients either do not move or fail to use their certificates. Minorities, often with large families, are less likely to be able to use their housing certificates than nonminorities (60 percent to 45 percent).

There is no research evidence to document Section 8 certificate holders' experience with racial discrimination in searching for and locating acceptable housing. Low vacancy rates, low levels of affordable rental housing, or discrimination could all result in these "inefficiencies" in program operation. Ongoing research on the use of housing vouchers may provide needed information on the extent of mobility generated by this current revision of the Section 8 Existing Program. This new program, however, is serving only very poor households—those whose incomes do not exceed 50 percent of the median income for the jurisdiction—rather than earlier programs, which served those having up to 80 percent of the area's median income. Limitations on the number of vouchers, plus income limits, will further circumscribe the extent to which minority households will be able to afford to move to housing in less segregated areas, when the rents are higher than covered by program standards or exceed the household's ability to add additional out-of-pocket costs (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 1985:H8).

The above assessments of HUD's efforts to achieve deconcentration or desegregation of housing clearly reveal only minimal progress in the few years before the programs were altered. Because of congressional vacillation, black opposition, bureaucratic delays, and decreasing funding for costly new construction programs, there have been no long-term, coordinated, adequately funded efforts targeted on the desegregation of public and assisted housing. Before the recent intensive efforts aimed at desegregation in East Texas, there was consistent opposition to utilize limited housing resources to place families in suburban or white communities when conflict, violence, and heavy political costs were the most likely outcome. The racial prejudice and discrimination uncovered by the *Dallas Morning News* in 1984 and 1985 is strikingly similar to that reported nearly thirty years ago: "There's no question about it—our whole problem in getting a project going today is the integration, open occupancy issue. . . . Most U.S. citizens are so unready to accept Negroes as neighbors that they are exercising their sovereignty to prevent it, if possible" (Shaffer 1958:57).

The reasons why housing desegregation programs succeed or fail are not,

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however, solely a matter of poor program design and funding. There are a variety of contextual or macro-level forces that help to determine whether such programs succeed. The chapter by Goldstein and Yancey in this section, for example, provides a careful examination of major contextual factors responsible for the racial segregation of public housing in one city, Philadelphia. Using data relating the location of public, assisted, and scattered-site housing to the demographic and economic characteristics of the city, they search for causal relationships between racial segregation, the location of subsidized housing, and the "historical ecology" of the city. The authors relate the changing employment base of the city, real estate values, and distance from the central business district to the probability that an area has become ghettoized. They conclude that the location of public housing did not lead to its racial stigmatization and white flight. Areas selected for assisted housing after 1950 had lower property values, with less expensive land, and were located in older sections of the city where minorities were already located. Ethnic communities, close to employment, were closed to both minorities and public housing. There were, therefore, a variety of forces that influenced the "trajectory of racial transition" that were of crucial importance in fostering and maintaining the racial segregation of both private and public housing. Housing programs appear to have had little influence in establishing this trajectory.

The effectiveness of housing programs in fostering desegregation can thus be profoundly affected by the characteristics of local neighborhoods and job markets. Yinger's study concludes this section with additional insights and a critique of many of the social and public policy influences that limit the design and effectiveness of federal desegregation efforts. Racial preferences and discrimination in the private housing market, according to Yinger, powerfully influence opposition to housing integration. A small desegregation program, placing a few subsidized units inconspicuously in receptive communities, might succeed. Temporary ceiling quotas on racial occupancy might also be needed to prevent white flight. Yinger's design rules are stringent: "a program that sets unrealistic integration goals, such as a high percentage of blacks in a few suburbs is bound to fail." Without substantial, if not massive, resources a "medium" size effort at desegregation will also fail. With limited resources, he counsels, small demonstration programs would be a useful beginning to show the workability of the process and goal.

The shift of federal housing resources away from "costly" new construction programs is an important constraint on opportunities for even modest demonstration efforts. Severe resistance to regional or interjurisdictional fair share arrangements further narrows options for the use of housing vouchers for non-traditional desegregation moves (Rodrigue and Flournoy 1985). It is, however, highly likely that amendments to the Fair Housing Act will be proposed in 1986 that will significantly strengthen the federal government's ability to reduce discrimination. Modest increases in staffing for Title VI investigations and new resources to encourage desegregation by public housing authorities

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offer further prospects for change. It is clear, however, that the federal government, and HUD in particular, will no longer have the major housing assistance tools needed to create rapid, effective impacts on public sector housing segregation either in response to plaintiffs' requests for remedies, for demonstrations, or for major programmatic interventions.

Summary

Social science research and evaluation studies have produced a number of generalizations concerning the relationship between housing desegregation and federal policies. These generalizations, however, constitute an assessment of specific constraints rather than a heuristic model of determinants and impacts of housing desegregation. The absence of careful studies of the effectiveness of past and current federal, state, and local fair housing enforcement programs is an example of a major gap in understanding how to assess the utility and costs of such programs in reducing segregation.⁶ The following is, therefore, a prescription for future policy research rather than a model for policy intervention:

- Racial segregation has been fostered and maintained by multiple influences operating at the local, regional, and even national level.
- Imperfect social science understanding of how and where to intervene in the process of desegregation and resegregation puts limitations on sensible, planned action. Policymakers are aware that attempts to intervene may exacerbate the situation, causing additional racial tensions, white flight, or litigation. Unraveling the multiple determinants of segregation will require complex negotiated solutions by multiple actors affecting both public and private sector housing and neighborhood developments. The compartmentalization of housing, transportation, education, and welfare policies, for example, may need to be selectively reintegrated to reverse the ghettoization of blacks. Such major structural alterations will only occur incrementally, if at all, with concern for the relative autonomy of states and local jurisdictions.
- Housing programs were, from the very beginning, designed to be run in collaboration with private developers and local government officials: "All of the programs administered by this agency [in 1956] rely basically upon private and local initiative and place reliance upon local responsibility in meeting housing needs. The role of the Federal Government in the housing programs is to assist, to stimulate, to lead, and sometimes to prod, but never to dictate or coerce, and never to stifle the proper exercise of private and local responsibility" (quoted in McEntire 1960:295). From their inception, federal policy actions have been vulnerable to the decisions and cooperation of local officials, developers, and residents. Congressional unwillingness to establish a centralized, powerful housing development agency has left its imprint on most HUD programs. Recent administrations have reemphasized the importance of public-

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private sector cooperation as well as the importance of state and local government prerogatives. These seems to be, therefore, little congressional or Executive Branch enthusiasm for asserting HUD's authority and rights over local prerogatives, making HUD's programs and civil rights obligations partially hostage to local situations and pressures.

- HUD's multiple constituencies and interests often work at cross-purposes. Neighborhood revitalization and housing rehabilitation programs, for example, often have the effect of improving conditions within ghettos whereas HUD's housing insurance (FHA) and production programs have, at least in the past, softened the market for inner-city housing. Paralleling this, some of HUD's efforts appear to be aimed at increasing household mobility whereas others are designed, indirectly, to discourage it (Clark and Moore 1980:310).

- The use of subtle, ostensibly nonracial reasons or procedures for excluding blacks by public agencies and communities is difficult to prove. Evasive practices have been in use for decades and courts are still wrestling with the means to detect racial purposes behind actions that are on the face racially neutral (Foley 1973; Fishman 1978; "Legitimate Objectives of Zoning" 1978; Krefetz 1979). This problem is continually confronted by federal agencies, such as HUD, in attempting to prove discrimination or racial segregative actions under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

- Some local jurisdictions have consistently evaded any responsibility to rehouse blacks in better quality, less segregated areas by simply not applying for federal funds (Krefetz 1979:299n; Tomasson 1981). Federal leverage or coercive powers are heavily linked to HUD's ability to manipulate the purse strings in order to promote more racially tolerant behavior.

- Budgetary constraints on the implementation of public policy choices are real at every level of government and will limit the degree to which public officials will prioritize their fiscal obligations to achieve desegregation. Also, Congress has been known to turn off the financial spigot for housing programs when it suspected they were being used to achieve residential desegregation (McEntire 1960:296; *Congressional Record*, 30 September 1980). Budgetary constraints will also continue to limit the amount of federal funding for much of the research needed to address the unanswered issues regarding how, and with what level of effort, to intervene to promote desegregation (Hartling 1980:277-80).

- The programs available to address housing segregation or integration fail to deal with the more fundamental black problem—high concentrations of poverty and lower average incomes. Increasing the purchasing power of black households as one key to unlock improved housing opportunities has been the concern of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and others for only roughly a decade. The absence of evaluations of EEOC's efforts makes it difficult to know how well such a tool serves what types of black households and how long it will take before such complaint-driven policies

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will provide a more equitable employment profile for most minorities. HUD's programs, therefore, only marginally address the problem of limited incomes, which are responsible for a varying but substantial portion of residential segregation (McGrew 1981).

• The long history of residential segregation in American cities has yielded some benefits along with its multiple costs. Segregation has fostered varying levels of political consciousness, institutional development, cohesion, and leadership within the black community. It has facilitated modest levels of control over community programs in some areas and a small but growing number of black local elected officials (Bryce, Cousar, and McCoy 1978; Karnig and Welch 1980:3-4). Opponents of desegregation assert that efforts to disperse blacks throughout a city or metropolitan area only succeed in destroying their political leverage over municipal resources, leave white political machines untouched and unthreatened, and destroy the cultural and institutional fabric of the black community.⁷ High levels of racial discrimination and prejudice will continue to make it difficult to distinguish voluntary from involuntary segregation, dampening the enthusiasm of black community leaders to support programs for housing desegregation and integration.

The gloomiest forecasters need not, however, be accurate in anticipating no effects from HUD's current drive to reduce public housing segregation. A climate for change may have been fostered in which at least a portion of the nation's PHAs realize that it is better to cooperate with HUD than to risk the "worst case" of a Clarksville remedy. HUD field staff may become more effective through intraagency coordination of available information, training, and technical assistance. Local public officials, sensing an opportunity to address a pariah problem, may cooperate with PHAs and HUD in reducing the inequities in services provided to black public housing projects and in promoting the acceptance of new projects. In Chicago, for example, Mayor Harold Washington is pressing to build up to 2,000 units of scattered-site housing, after decades of local resistance and political opposition. The projects will be small, "built in conformity with existing architecture," and developed in conjunction with the enforcement of antiblockbusting legislation to allay the fears of homeowners (Henry and Thomas 1983). And in Philadelphia, local residents in the Whitman Park area reluctantly, but passively, accepted the tenanting of federally subsidized housing which they had opposed for nearly twenty-five years (Klibanoff 1982:1B). Recent research also reveals general acceptance of scattered-site housing in nearly 90 other American cities (DeMuth 1985:20-21).

No one will know for some time how well these efforts will succeed, under what conditions, at what cost, and for how long. Segregation in private sector housing will remain substantially untouched, as will its catalysts—discrimination, prejudice, and poverty. Evaluations and case studies are desperately needed to understand the effectiveness and constraints on recent judicial and administrative actions to desegregate.

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NOTES

1. Limited evidence suggests that relatively few certificate holders used them to move from the city to surrounding suburbs, and in one case families moved back to the central city because of the absence of affordable rental housing in the inner suburbs (Holshouser 1983:39-A, 50).

2. Others in the House and Senate, however, were concerned that the amendment could be misinterpreted to mean that HUD no longer had to support the goal of racial integration in housing (*Congressional Record*, 30 September 1980:S-13952) or that the amendment could suggest some diminishing of HUD's authority to enforce Title VIII. As a result of these concerns, the House-Senate Conference Committee reported a modified amendment that stated: "The Secretary [of HUD] shall not exclude from consideration for financial assistance, under federally assisted housing programs proposals for housing solely because the site proposed is located within an impacted area." The committee went on to say, however, that this provision "in no way diminishes HUD's duty to promote equal opportunity and enforce the statutory and constitutional prohibitions against racial discrimination" (*Congressional Record*, 30 September 1980:H-9812).

3. Thirty years ago Robert Weaver, then serving as the administrator of New York State's Housing Rent Commission, noted that site selection was a limited means of promoting residential mixing: "Where a public housing development is located in, or contiguous to an existing, established area of nonwhite concentration, it almost invariably becomes an all minority group project. This is occasioned by the pressure of nonwhites to get into the unit and the disinclination of whites to enter and remain in a predominantly colored community. . . . Also, it is more difficult to introduce white tenants into a previously all-Negro or predominantly Negro public housing project than to bring nonwhites into a previously all-white development" (Weaver 1956:86).

4. Requirements issued in 1982 for the administration of the Affirmative Fair Housing Marketing Program may reduce the variability in the administration of this program. These requirements, however, do not establish racial residency requirements or quotas, although residency "preference" may be utilized as long as it is used in "a manner that housing opportunities will not be denied to any particular group" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 1982:2-19). HUD field staff are instructed to monitor occupancy data, applicant pool information, and the criteria for selecting tenants used by the owner, as well as demographic patterns and trends. As these requirements are implemented, it should be possible to determine whether such directives have effected the successful implementation and standardization of this program and promoted higher levels of racial mixing. The monitoring of such plans is limited because data regarding the characteristics of tenants are currently supplied on a voluntary basis by PHAs and are, therefore, notably incomplete. It is also reasonably clear that the data sent to HUD are not always accurate or verified for errors (Sadacca 1981).

5. One of the least well-researched tools available to influence the racial balancing of tenants in HUD-assisted housing is the tenant selection and assignment policy adopted by the developer or PHA manager. These policies include provisions for allocating units based on various criteria for need or merit according to preference rules established by HUD as well as by state or local authorities. Those displaced by public

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slum clearance or emergencies, the handicapped, veterans, large families, or others are often given varying priorities, or weights, in assigning units to prospective tenants. There is often a long waiting list of applicants for assisted housing (from 5 to 10 years in many large housing authorities), and tenant selection policies are the basis for allocating scarce housing resources to the needy. Because of such shortages, some authorities may only be able to house emergency cases.

Where there are vacancies or modernization of units that create vacancies, tenant selection policies can exert a greater influence on the degree of dispersal or integration of family and elderly units. Limited research indicates that the managers have considerable latitude in selecting and placing white and black tenants and may use their discretion to segregate and discriminate (Luttrell 1966; Lazin 1973; Bauman 1977:125; Struyk and Blake 1983; Kaplan 1985). Struyk and Blake (1983:10), for example, note the wide range of practices employed by HUD area offices in addressing tenant selection policies of public housing authorities: "HUD area offices are providing different degrees of latitude to authorities. In effect this means there are numerous sets of regulations, not one." The lack of consistent, rational procedures in implementing these regulations is an issue that has not been systematically researched (Kaplan 1984).

6. Very little research has been done on the implementation and effectiveness of federal fair housing laws to document their utility in reducing segregation in the rental or sales markets of cities. Nationwide, federal, state, and local fair housing agencies receive less than 5,000 fair housing complaints a year. The low volume of complaint activity is the likely result of a score of factors; ineffective enforcement techniques, lack of awareness of laws, inadequate staffing, and shortages of funds have long been known as limitations of fair housing enforcement programs (Social Science Panel 1972:61; GAO 1978; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1979, 1983). Because of inadequate staffing and confusion over HUD's own regulations, relatively few recipients of HUD funding were examined to determine whether they were illegally segregating their tenants (GAO 1978:10-17).

There is, then, little evidence about the conditions under which Title VI or VIII enforcement techniques work best. Federal fair housing enforcement strategies have never been carefully evaluated, with no information on the effect of an administrative or court decision on the defendant or on other parties. A well-publicized case in which a discriminator is caught and punished might deter others from similar practices. The news of the victory might also sensitize minority groups to their rights to complain or sue, thereby generating additional complaints.

There is no way at present to determine the effects of local or Supreme Court decisions, Department of Justice actions, or HUD conciliations on the general level of racial discrimination either in the community affected or in those indirectly impacted by the ruling. Only by comparing areas with different levels of law enforcement, or different histories of legal action, could some insight be gained about the relationship of remedies to levels of discriminatory practices in the private and public housing markets.

7. A judgment offered nearly thirty years ago still reflects a not insignificant viewpoint within the black population: "So long as integration remains segmental and in process, Negro institutions and organizations which serve in the breach or which exist to protest or to mobilize for more participation will have a place in the Negro community" (Lewis and Hill 1956:121). Such institutions represent an adjustment to the continuing presence of community needs and discriminatory opportunities.

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Chapter Nine

Where Should HUD Locate Assisted Housing?

The Evolution of Fair Housing Policy

MICHAEL J. VERNARELLI*

Since 1968 the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has held a legislative mandate to affirmatively promote fair housing in the administration of its housing programs. Yet during the time since passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, the department has received little legislative direction on how to carry out its duties under Title VIII of the act. As a consequence, HUD fair housing policy has evolved in a complex process, the result of interaction among the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the federal government. The purpose of this chapter is to chart the evolution of HUD's efforts to promote fair housing through the location of assisted housing.

The policy development process has been marked by ambiguity about the meaning of the fair housing mandate itself and the definition of key terms. Throughout the seventeen-year period since the 1968 Civil Rights Act was enacted into law, there have been a variety of interpretations of the meaning of "affirmatively promoting fair housing." A second problem has been the definition of key operational terms that have been used by the courts, Congress, and HUD. These terms include, but are not limited to, "area of minority concentration," "sufficient and comparable opportunities," and "racially mixed area." Furthermore, the societal environment and attitudes toward racial integration by minorities and nonminorities alike have provided a constantly changing milieu for policy development and implementation. Ambiguity and uncertainty have been the hallmarks of this evolutionary process. A time line or chronology of the major policy events in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches is presented in Figure 1.

This chapter begins by discussing the development of the fair housing mandate through legislative and executive actions, as well as the first HUD initiatives undertaken in the early 1970s and the development of "fair share" plans. Considered next is the interaction between federal courts and HUD in the determination of assisted housing location policy prior to the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act. Two court cases—*Gautreaux* and *Shannon*—have contributed significantly to this process. Although there obviously has

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	<u>EXECUTIVE BRANCH</u>	<u>LEGISLATIVE BRANCH</u>	<u>JUDICIAL BRANCH</u>
1962	Executive Order: required non-discrimination in federal programs		
1964		Civil Rights Act: Title VI required non-discrimination in federal programs	
1967			<u>Gautreaux litigation initiated</u>
1968		Civil Rights Act: Title VIII prohibits discrimination and in its own programs required HUD to affirmatively promote fair housing	
1970			<u>Shannon litigation initiated</u>
1971	Executive Order: Supported the concept of fair housing		
1972	Site Selection Criteria developed by HUD		
1974		Housing and Community Development Act: gave new legislative direction to the fair housing goal	
1976	Gautreaux Housing Demonstration: metropolitan-wide housing demonstration in response to <u>Gautreaux litigation</u>		
1978		GAO report on HUD compliance with Fair housing goals of 1974 HCD Act	Litigation on application of HUD site selection criteria
1980		Housing and Community Development Act: Reflected changing view of application of site selection criteria	
1981	Clarification of site selection criteria published		
1983	President transmits Fair Housing Amendments to Congress		
1984	HUD acts to desegregate Public Housing		

Figure 1. A Chronology of Major Fair Housing Policy Developments

been some interdependence between the cases (early *Gautreaux* rulings were cited in the *Shannon* case), it is useful to discuss separately each case and its concomitant policy response. This is because *Gautreaux* resulted in a demonstration using the Section 8 Existing Housing Program. On the other hand, *Shannon* resulted in HUD site selection regulations designed to increase hous-

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ing opportunities for minorities primarily in the Section 8 New Construction Program.

The discussion then turns to several major policy developments since passage of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, and reviews HUD policy decisions, recent court cases, and the results of oversight by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) in the policy development process. The chapter concludes with comments assessing the current position of HUD fair housing and location policy.

Development of the Federal Fair Housing Mandate

Since the federal government became deeply involved in the housing market during the Great Depression, location policy has evolved from an essentially passive posture to active promotion of fair housing. Initially, housing policy was designed to be consistent with prevailing real estate attitudes regarding racial integration.¹ Early policies enacted for both the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the public housing program reinforced existing segregated housing patterns.²

The federal fair housing mandate began to develop in the 1960s. In 1962 President Kennedy issued Executive Order 11063, which banned discrimination in federally administered programs. This was followed by the landmark civil rights legislation. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 required non-discrimination in federal programs much like the earlier executive order. Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 remains to this day the most significant piece of legislation in the area of fair housing. This act requires HUD, among its many obligations, to affirmatively promote fair housing in the administration of its housing programs. Although these legislative and executive actions required HUD to affirmatively promote fair housing, they included little direction on how to accomplish this goal. Legal scholars, in reviewing this mandate, have found that the acts do not clearly define the nature and extent of HUD's responsibility in affirmatively promoting fair housing.³ One interpretation is that HUD is responsible for seeing that racial integration occurs through the administration of its housing programs. Another interpretation is that HUD must provide expanded housing choice both for those served by its housing programs and for the private housing market. A third interpretation is that HUD is only responsible for affirmative actions regarding its own housing programs.

In the early 1970s, under Secretary Romney, HUD attempted to induce communities to locate more assisted housing in suburban locations. The means of inducement was to make the deconcentration of assisted housing within a metropolitan area a condition for local communities' receipt of HUD housing and community development funds. HUD met stiff opposition from suburban groups but nonetheless pressed on with the policy. Secretary Romney emphasized that the alternative to voluntary desegregation was court-ordered deseg-

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regation, and that the former was more desirable. The HUD policy received a boost when President Nixon publicly endorsed HUD desegregation efforts in 1971: "By 'equal housing opportunity,' I mean the achievement of a condition in which individuals of similar income levels in the same housing market area have a like range of housing choices available to them regardless of their race, color, religion or national origin."⁴

Despite these attempts, the policy initiatives of this period appeared to have little impact: "The get-tough strategy did not succeed, mainly because HUD could not offer most communities enough of an economic reward to justify a local political confrontation over racial integration. The most conspicuous failures were in suburban communities."⁵

The early 1970s also saw the development of fair share plans implemented by area-wide planning organizations. Fair share plans have been defined as "dispersal policies for the future development of lower income units."⁶ The goal of fair share plans was the balanced geographic distribution of assisted housing resources.⁷ This includes placing housing where it is most needed and best suited as well as expanding the choice of housing locations for assisted families. This approach to planning represented the first metropolitan-wide attempt to increase the housing opportunities for assisted families. The fair share approach was incorporated into the HUD planning process at the federal level after passage of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act.

The Interaction of HUD and the Courts in Determining Location Policy

Two court cases have been of particular importance in the development of HUD's location policies. Although a certain degree of interdependence exists between the cases, it is useful to discuss each separately. The *Gautreaux* case, initiated in 1967, is not completely closed. HUD's response to *Gautreaux* was to attempt voluntarily to widen housing opportunities for minorities in the Chicago metropolitan area through the Gautreaux Housing Demonstration. The *Shannon* case was adjudicated in 1970. The primary response by HUD was the promulgation of site selection criteria designed to assess the impact on minority concentration in a given area surrounding a proposed HUD construction project for low-income persons.

The plaintiffs in *Gautreaux* were a group of tenants in public housing in Chicago who filed suit against the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA).⁸ They claimed that CHA and HUD had followed discriminatory practices in locating public housing projects in Chicago and in selecting tenants for given projects. Projects located in nonminority areas had virtually no black tenants whereas the reverse was true for projects in minority areas. The court found in favor of the plaintiffs, ruling that CHA had followed discriminatory practices both in site selection and in tenant selection. To remedy the situation, the court ordered

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that the city of Chicago be divided into two areas, a Limited Public Housing Area and a General Public Housing Area. The Limited Public Housing Area consisted of all census tracts that had minority populations of 30 percent or more and all other census tracts within one mile. The General Public Housing Area contained the remaining census tracts in Cook County. The court ordered that the first 700 new units of public housing be built in the General Public Housing Area.

After several more years of litigation, the district court entered its final judgment against HUD. The court ordered HUD to cooperate with CHA "in its best effort to increase the supply of low-rent public housing on a nondiscriminatory basis."⁹ The original plaintiffs appealed this decision on the basis that metropolitan relief was required to remedy the situation. The district court's order provided limited relief only to the city of Chicago, as no other jurisdictions had been parties to the suit. The appellate court remanded the case to the district court for a metropolitan-wide relief plan.¹⁰ HUD appealed this decision to the Supreme Court. On 20 April 1976, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the original plaintiffs that metropolitan-wide relief was permissible.¹¹

In response to the Supreme Court ruling, HUD entered into an agreement with the plaintiffs to voluntarily provide metropolitan-wide relief. This initial agreement, in June 1976, provided for several commitments on the part of HUD to expand the housing opportunities for low-income minorities in the Chicago metropolitan area. The most significant commitment was the development of the Gautreaux Demonstration. This demonstration included the use of Section 8 Existing certificates on a metropolitan-wide basis with extensive counseling and outreach services. Since the initial agreement expired, HUD has renewed modified agreements with the plaintiffs in attempting to provide relief on a metropolitan-wide basis.

The *Gautreaux* case and the Gautreaux Demonstration were significant events in the evolution of fair housing policy. First, the Gautreaux Demonstration represented the first large-scale effort on the part of HUD to redress the discriminatory effects of its past policies. Second, the Supreme Court ruled that HUD has the right to use its discretion in allocating assisted housing units to local housing agencies based on compliance with fair housing statutes and federal regulations. Finally, some thought at the time that the Gautreaux Demonstration might serve as a prototype for similar programs in other metropolitan areas. As we shall see in the discussion on fair housing policy development since 1974, below, HUD officials later decided that the Gautreaux Demonstration was not applicable on a nationwide basis.

In *Shannon v. HUD*, the courts went a long way toward defining the nature and extent of HUD's responsibility to assess proposed sites for assisted housing in accordance with the fair housing goal.¹² In the original *Shannon* case, residents (both black and white), businessmen, and representatives of local civic organizations brought suit seeking an injunction against HUD's support of an assisted rental housing project in an urban renewal area of Philadelphia. The

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original urban renewal plan called for owner-occupied housing to be located on the site in question, but HUD approved a change in the plan that allowed for rental housing without following official agency procedure for making such changes. In the initial complaint, the plaintiffs argued that they had made substantial investments in the area based on the urban renewal plan that called for owner-occupied housing. The plaintiffs maintained that rental housing on the site would increase the minority population in a predominantly minority area. The district court denied the request for an injunction and the plaintiffs appealed the case.

Upon appeal in 1970 the plaintiffs maintained that, in reviewing project proposals of this type, HUD had no procedures to assess the impact of the proposed project on the racial concentration in the neighborhood. The appellate court overturned the lower court decision, finding in favor of the plaintiffs. The court found that HUD had not fulfilled its obligation to affirmatively promote fair housing. Specifically, the court said the undue concentration of people of a given race, or socioeconomic group, in a given neighborhood could subject persons to discrimination, "defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program or activity as respect persons of a particular race."¹³

The court directed HUD to formulate standards for sites and neighborhoods with respect to racial and economic concentration: "We hold . . . that the Agency must utilize some institutionalized method whereby, in considering site selection or type selection, it has before it the relevant racial and socio-economic information necessary for compliance with its duties under the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts."¹⁴ The court went on to suggest examples of criteria that might be used to review proposed project sites. Although the court identified affirmative fair housing as an important goal of national housing policy, it recognized the existence of other important, competing goals: "There may be instances where a pressing case may be made for the rebuilding of a racial ghetto. We hold only that the agency's judgment must be an informed one; one which weighs the alternatives and finds that the need for physical rehabilitation or additional minority housing at the site in question clearly outweighs the disadvantage of increasing or perpetuating racial concentration."¹⁵

HUD's response to this ruling was expedited publication of project selection criteria in January 1972. Project selection criteria vary from program to program but the basic message is the same. The standards for the Section 8 New Construction Program adopted after passage of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 are a good example:

The site and neighborhood shall be suitable from the standpoint of facilitating and furthering full compliance with the applicable provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Executive Order 11063, and HUD regulations issued pursuant thereto.

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The site shall not be located in an area of minority concentration unless (i) sufficient comparable opportunities exist for housing for minority families, in the income range to be served by the proposed project, outside areas of minority concentration, or (ii) the project is necessary to meet overriding housing needs which cannot otherwise feasibly be met in that housing market area. An "overriding need" may not serve as the basis for determining that a site is acceptable if the only reason the need cannot otherwise feasibly be met is that discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, creed, sex, or national origin renders sites outside areas of minority concentration unavailable; or a racially mixed area if the project will cause a significant increase in the proportion of minority to nonminority residents in the area.

The site must promote choice of housing opportunities and avoid undue concentration of assisted persons in areas containing a high proportion of low-income persons.¹⁶

Thus, these standards explicitly recognize the department's responsibility under the civil rights statutes. The regulations state that projects are not to be located in areas of minority concentration unless comparable opportunities exist in nonminority areas or the project is necessary to meet overriding needs in the minority areas.

The regulations, though consistent with the *Shannon* ruling, are ambiguous about the definitions of minority concentration, area of minority concentration, overriding housing needs, and sufficient, comparable housing opportunities. This ambiguity has become obvious through a series of cases in which the courts have wrestled with the definitions.

Further, the regulations prohibit the location of a project in a racially mixed area, if doing so would cause a significant increase in the minority percentage of total residents. This regulation, too, is fraught with definitional ambiguity. It attempts to address the problem of tipping, where a HUD action might upset the racial balance of a mixed area and the area eventually would become predominantly minority. The determination of this eventuality is, of course, an extremely difficult, if not impossible, task in many instances. Not surprisingly, a number of cases regarding this determination have come before the courts. A discussion of several representative cases is presented below.

Fair Housing Policy Development since 1974

Since 1974, fair housing policy has evolved in a number of interrelated areas. The passage of the Housing and Community Development (HCD) Act in 1974 provided HUD with a new, if somewhat ambiguous, legislative direction. In the wake of the Gautreaux Housing Demonstration, HUD policymakers attempted to recommend modifications to regulations governing the administra-

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tion of assisted housing programs by public housing authorities (PHAs) to promote fair housing. These efforts, and the U.S. General Accounting Office oversight regarding HUD's fulfillment of fair housing goals stipulated in the 1974 HCD Act, are discussed in the second part of this section. The third part of this section deals with HUD's implementation of site selection criteria, while simultaneously attempting to reduce the ambiguity in the wording through the issuance of Clarification Notices. Concern with site selection criteria reflected the continuing debate regarding the efficacy and appropriateness of using site selection criteria to promote fair housing. Attempts by HUD to clarify site selection criteria, and a number of important court cases brought against HUD for its application of existing site selection criteria, are discussed in the final part of this section.

Passage of the HCD Act in 1974 led to renewed departmental interest in the fair housing goal and further emphasized HUD's duty. Under Title I, the act specified the following goals: "the reduction of the isolation of income groups within communities and geographical areas and the promotion of an increase in the diversity and vitality of neighborhoods through the spatial deconcentration of housing opportunities for persons of lower income and the revitalization of deteriorating or deteriorated neighborhoods to attract persons of higher incomes."¹⁷ These goals, rather than helping to clarify the fair housing mandate, only added more ambiguity and uncertainty to already clouded legislative directions. The meaning of the term "deconcentration" was unclear. Also, the goals of revitalizing deteriorating neighborhoods and promoting spatial deconcentration may, in some instances, be mutually incompatible.

Under provisions of the act, communities applying for Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) must complete a Housing Assistance Plan (HAP). The HAP is the document that surveys the condition of housing in the community and specifies a strategy to conserve or expand the housing stock, principally for lower income persons. One purpose of the HAP is to identify proposed locations for assisted projects that will avoid concentrations of assisted families and provide lower income families, especially minority households, with greater choice of housing opportunities.

The HCD Act of 1974 created the Section 8 Existing, New Construction, and Substantial Rehabilitation programs.¹⁸ These programs have served, in part, as vehicles to meet the fair housing goal, although the fair housing goal itself was not directly referenced in the section of the act (Title II) that created the Section 8 program.

Patricia Harris took office as secretary of HUD in 1977 with a commitment to increase mobility and housing opportunities for minorities; she also inherited prior legislative and judicial mandates in this area. In May 1977, Secretary Harris established the Gautreaux Task Force. The purpose of this interdepartmental group was to analyze HUD housing policies in the light of the *Gautreaux* litigation. Initially, the task force targeted site selection and marketing policies as areas for inquiry. However, the group spent much of its effort

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trying to determine the applicability of the Gautreaux Demonstration for formulating national policy. After meeting for about a year, subcommittees of the task force issued draft recommendations dealing with the Section 8 Existing Program. They recommended removing geographic restrictions on the use of certificates within a metropolitan area, providing special outreach and counseling for minorities, and establishing goals for PHAs in providing certificates to those outside their jurisdictions. The secretary never formally acted on these recommendations, in part because it was felt that the Gautreaux Demonstration experience could not be replicated on a nationwide basis.¹⁹ In the summer of 1978, Secretary Harris established an Assisted Housing Mobility Task Force to make specific recommendations to promote mobility and deconcentration in the Section 8 Existing and other assisted housing programs.

Departmental concern was refocused in October 1978 when Henry Eschwege, director of the U.S. General Accounting Office, sent a letter to Secretary Harris summarizing the results of a GAO review of HUD's efforts to avoid undue concentrations of lower income persons in its Section 8 housing assistance program. The 1974 HCD Act mandated the goal of avoiding undue concentrations of lower income households. In essence, the GAO review (CED-78-181) criticized HUD's efforts to comply with the legislation.

In general, GAO felt that the Section 8 program had not been sufficiently coordinated with the deconcentration objective. Specifically, the GAO letter outlined three major findings: (1) that key housing personnel in Washington and the field offices were unsure of how the deconcentration objective related to the administration of Section 8, (2) that HUD had provided little guidance on how to achieve deconcentration, and (3) that HUD had not assessed the degree of success in achieving the deconcentration objective. Based on its findings, GAO made three recommendations:

1. HUD should clearly define how deconcentration relates to Section 8;
2. HUD should issue guidelines to field offices on how to achieve the deconcentration objective; and
3. HUD should develop measures to assess deconcentration efforts.

The effect of the GAO letter was to accelerate the ongoing work of the Assisted Housing Mobility Task Force. In January 1979, the task force reported its recommendations to Secretary Harris. The task force focused on the Section 8 Existing Program, the vehicle used in the Gautreaux Demonstration, and consequently did not consider site and neighborhood standards. The task force considered means of increasing mobility both within and between jurisdictions.

With regard to interjurisdictional mobility, the task force noted that current regulations contained provisions for funding preferences for those PHAs that provide families with the broadest geographic choice of housing.²⁰ The task force also made several recommendations regarding program operation. Many of these recommendations were already listed as optional in the Section 8 Existing Housing Program Handbook, but few PHAs had exercised the options. The task force recommended the development of metropolitan-wide

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resource information exchanges to assist minority households wishing to lease units in nonminority areas. Along with this recommendation, the task force proposed that a portion of the secretary's Discretionary Fund be distributed for grants to develop the metropolitan-wide information clearinghouses.²¹ A third recommendation in this area was that PHAs provide more specific briefings of participants to apprise them of mobility options and resources. Further, the task force proposed that HUD issue guidelines regarding the nature and extent of personalized counseling given to program participants by field offices.

Although the task force concentrated on the Section 8 Existing Program, it also suggested other policy initiatives (e.g., that the secretary issue a policy statement to emphasize the importance of the mobility goal). In addition, there were several proposals that did not gain consensus from representatives of the program offices.

Secretary Harris accepted all the proposals that gained a consensus and issued a policy statement to that effect on 17 January 1979. She assigned the Office of Policy Development and Research the responsibility to monitor implementation of the recommendations.

In March 1979, Secretary Harris issued her response to the GAO letter of 20 October 1978, as stipulated by law, to the House Committee on Governmental Operations and the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. She emphasized the department's and her personal commitment to the goals of deconcentration and expansion of housing choice for lower income people, particularly minorities. In essence, Secretary Harris agreed to implement the three major recommendations of the GAO report. In addition, she made several comments regarding the GAO findings. First, she expressed concern over GAO's apparent overemphasis of the deconcentration objective. Deconcentration, although rightfully a major objective of HUD, must be balanced with other, equally important legislative goals such as revitalization of neighborhoods. These goals may at times be in conflict with one another. Second, the secretary noted that the locations of Section 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation units are in part determined by a community's HAP. Third, she criticized the GAO conclusion that HUD had paid little attention to deconcentration, pointing out that the department had given substantial financial support to metropolitan-wide housing opportunities since FY 1976.

About the same time as the Supreme Court decision on *Gautreaux*, in 1976, modifications to project selection criteria were being developed within HUD. In January 1977 these proposed site and neighborhood standards were published for comment in the *Federal Register*. The preamble to the proposed regulations stated that, although site and neighborhood standards were developed in 1972, application of the standards had varied across area offices: "The lack of a simple set of uniform criteria applicable to all federally assisted housing programs, and the ambiguity of present requirements have resulted in inconsistent and uneven application of the current standards."²²

A major issue addressed by the proposed standards was clarification of the

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meaning of comparable housing opportunities inside and outside areas of minority concentration. An area of minority concentration was defined as an area with 40 percent or more minority population or an area where minority residents constitute "a significantly greater proportion of the residents than the proportion of minority residents of the locality as a whole."²³ Although this provision eliminated some of the ambiguity surrounding the definition of area of minority concentration, it by no means eliminated it totally. Moreover, this section of the proposed regulations allowed for selection of sites inside areas of minority concentration "if sites outside such areas cannot feasibly be made available for assisted housing."²⁴

The proposed regulations also defined a racially mixed area as one with less than 40 percent minority residents, and one that displayed a trend of racial transition. Further, the proposed regulations considered the issue of multiple, often conflicting, national housing goals: "The goals of rehabilitating blighted, abandoned or substandard dwellings in central city areas where low income families live must be weighed against the goal of expanding housing opportunities outside of areas of minority or assisted housing concentration."²⁵ Thus, the proposed regulations recognized goals other than increasing housing opportunities, a point recognized earlier by Congress and the courts.

The proposed regulations represented an attempt to clarify the procedures HUD field offices should follow in site selection. Although some clarification would have been accomplished, it can easily be argued that the proposed regulations would have introduced as much ambiguity as they would have eliminated. After publication in the *Federal Register*, the proposed regulations received diverse comments. The interested parties failed to reach consensus and the department never issued the proposed regulations in final form; field offices continued to use the 1972 regulations.

In the past several years, HUD site selection procedures for Section 8 New Construction projects have been called into question in a number of cases. These cases have revolved primarily around two issues. One issue has been the definition of appropriate neighborhood boundaries. This definition is crucial to the determination of whether a proposed site is located in a minority, racially mixed, or nonminority area. When the Section 8 New Construction Program was first implemented, field offices were instructed to define the neighborhood as the census tract containing the proposed site. Opponents of this procedure attacked it in suits they filed against HUD. The plaintiffs argued that census tract boundaries are inappropriate and that the use of such boundaries in lieu of the actual neighborhood boundaries is arbitrary and capricious. The courts have accepted this argument, reasoning that neighborhood boundaries must be determined by considering all relevant data. In cases where HUD demonstrated that all relevant data had been considered in the determination of the neighborhood boundaries, the courts supported HUD's site and neighborhood assessments.

Another related, sensitive issue has been the determination of whether place-

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ment of a project will lead to the tipping of a neighborhood's racial occupancy.²⁶ This is an extremely complex issue, in which neighborhood occupancy trends over several years must be assessed. Courts have not, however, given HUD a clear direction as to how to determine the question of neighborhood tipping.

In *King v. Harris*, a group comprised of neighborhood residents and community organizations brought suit to enjoin HUD from supporting the building of a Section 8 New Construction project in a racially integrated neighborhood on Staten Island.²⁷ The plaintiffs contended that development of the project would upset the neighborhood's racial balance, and that the neighborhood eventually would tip to all-black occupancy.

A key issue in this case was the determination of the relevant boundaries of the neighborhood. HUD defined the neighborhood as the census tract in which the proposed site was located. The plaintiffs contended that this definition was inappropriate because the proposed site was located at the edge of a census tract and other assisted projects across the street were in other census tracts. The neighborhood defined by the plaintiffs contained excessive concentrations of low-income minority residents and low-income assisted housing.

The court was persuaded by the plaintiffs' argument regarding the appropriate definition of the neighborhood, and rejected HUD's reliance on the boundaries of the census tract: "In general, a neighborhood represents any section of a region or city, having indefinite boundaries, and which is drawn together by the shared perceptions of its residents as to what constitutes their neighborhood, by the facilities generally available for their use, by their social and economic status, and by natural or man-made boundaries."²⁸ The court also found that the proposed project would have a "tipping" effect on the neighborhood and would cause an undue concentration of low-income persons. Consequently, the court enjoined construction of the project.

This case had implications for field office site selection procedures. The field office should not look at the census tract in isolation but should consider all relevant indicators of neighborhood boundaries.

In *Dalzell v. Harris*, departmental site selection procedures were once again called into question.²⁹ The plaintiffs sought to enjoin the construction of an assisted housing project in Abilene, Texas. They claimed that the site selection for the project was the result of an arbitrary and capricious act that would result in the tipping of an integrated neighborhood to a segregated neighborhood. The plaintiffs argued that the HUD definition of the neighborhood (the census tract that contained the proposed site) was inappropriate and that HUD had excluded from consideration all relevant data except for the 1970 census data.

The court found that the appropriate definition of the neighborhood was neither the one used by HUD nor the one asserted by the plaintiffs. The court also found that HUD had not considered all the relevant data in assessing the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood and should have taken into account more recent data that were available. Although the court found that the department

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had acted arbitrarily and capriciously in site selection, it did not grant the plaintiffs the relief they sought: "But the fact that HUD refused to consider all relevant factors is not alone sufficient to afford relief to the plaintiffs on the basis of arbitrary and capricious agency action. There must be clear and convincing evidence in the case showing that HUD made a clear error in its judgment."³⁰ Because the plaintiffs had not offered any evidence to demonstrate that HUD would have reached a different conclusion had it considered all relevant data, the court ruled in favor of HUD.

Langham v. Landrieu is another case in which the plaintiffs alleged that HUD site selection for an assisted housing project would result in the tipping of the neighborhood.³¹ The plaintiffs—biracial residents of Forsyth County, North Carolina—sought to enjoin the construction of a Section 8 New Construction project, arguing that the project would upset the racial balance in an integrated neighborhood. The plaintiffs argued that HUD's definition of the neighborhood was inappropriate. During the trial, seven different definitions of the neighborhood were offered. The court found in favor of the plaintiffs, ruling that the proposed site was located in an area of minority concentration. The court also found that HUD made a wholly inadequate evaluation of the site under its regulations. The court issued an injunction against construction of the project.

These court cases point to the need for more appropriate neighborhood definitions that account for all relevant factors when the proposed site is in a racially mixed area. Although these cases have appeared to widen the scope of judicial oversight, a recent Supreme Court decision has served to limit the extent of judicial review.

In *Karlen v. Harris*, the appellants sought to reverse a judgment of the district court that upheld the department's decision to fund an assisted housing project in New York City.³² The appellate court reversed the district court's ruling. The appellate court found that, although HUD had not acted arbitrarily and capriciously, the department failed to assign a sufficiently negative weight to the environmental effect of the proposed project on the surrounding area and thus violated the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).

In *Secretary of HUD v. Karlen*, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the appellate court.³³ The Court ruled that, although the legislation in question—the NEPA—established goals for the nation, it "imposes upon agencies duties that are 'essentially procedural.' As we stressed in that case [*Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp. v. NRDC*, 435 U.S. 519, 1978] NEPA was designed to insure a fully-informed and well-considered decision, 'but not necessarily' a decision the judges of the Court of Appeals or of this court would have reached had they been members of the decision making unit of the agency."³⁴ Thus, although the court must determine whether an agency has acted arbitrarily and capriciously, the court cannot substitute its judgment for the carefully deliberated judgment of the agency when complying with a statute that is essentially procedural.

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In *Business Association of University City v. Moon Landrieu*, the plaintiffs sought a preliminary injunction to enjoin the construction of a Section 8 New Construction project in the University City section of Philadelphia.³⁵ The plaintiffs alleged that the defendants (HUD, the City of Philadelphia, and the Redevelopment Authority) had violated Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 by attempting to place the project in an area of minority concentration without applying the appropriate criteria for site selection. The plaintiffs also alleged that placement of the project in the University City site was in contravention of HUD's duties under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 "to promote economically viable communities and a greater choice of housing opportunities for low-income persons, and to avoid undue concentrations of assisted persons in areas containing a high portion of low-income persons."³⁶ The plaintiffs also claimed that HUD had abused its discretion of requiring the city to place Section 8 New Construction housing in nonminority census tracts.

The court denied the motion for a preliminary injunction. It ruled that the plaintiffs had not demonstrated unequivocally that the proposed site was located in an area of minority concentration. The field office personnel had considered all relevant data in arriving at an assessment of the degree of minority concentration. The court noted that placement of federally assisted housing in minority areas is not prohibited per se by statute. The court also rejected the plaintiffs' claim that the defendants' actions violated the HCD Act of 1974 because of the proximity of the proposed site to existing assisted housing. This assessment could only be made, the court reasoned, by considering the status of citywide housing. Third, the court ruled that HUD's conditioning of CDBG funds on placement of federally assisted housing in nonminority areas had not been demonstrated by the plaintiffs to be an abuse of discretion.

The significance of this case is that, because HUD field office personnel had made a thorough investigation of the site in question, and because HUD had demonstrated that it had followed its own procedure in site selection, the court ruled that a challenge to the site selection process was invalid. This ruling was consistent with the Supreme Court ruling on *Karlen*.

Since the time the proposed regulations were published for comment in 1977 and in response to the increasing amount of litigation regarding application of existing site selection criteria, HUD officials have tried to clarify their regulations. In 1979 the Office of Housing issued a Notice on site and neighborhood standards. The clarification directed the Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity field office staff to assess the racial occupancy characteristics of assisted housing to determine whether sufficient opportunities for minority households exist outside minority areas. In general, the clarification granted the field offices a good deal of latitude in determining sufficiency:

"Sufficient" should not in every case be interpreted to require a one to one ratio but rather should be based upon a consideration of (i) the overall racial occupancy pattern in the locality, (ii) the previous experience

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with the locality in terms of promoting increased housing opportunities, and (iii) an assessment of what is reasonably possible in a particular community. It should be clear that the deliberate and continuous placement of housing in areas of minority concentration to avoid placement in non-minority areas is unacceptable.³⁷

The Notice also identified Section 8 Existing units occupied by minority families who moved into nonminority areas as housing opportunities. Also, Section 8 Substantial Rehabilitation units in minority areas were exempted from the "comparable and sufficient opportunities" criterion.

This clarification was primarily the result of growing dissatisfaction with existing site selection criteria. Black politicians expressed a fear that application of the criteria would lead to dilution of recently acquired black political power. Others argued that minorities should have the option to live in minority areas, if they so choose. Both within and outside HUD, concerns were expressed that application of the criteria was hindering housing production. Suburban resistance was limiting the placement of projects in nonminority areas, while the regulations themselves had the effect of depriving minority areas of federal housing assistance for the needy.

These concerns were expressed on the floor of Congress during 1980. As a consequence, the 1980 Housing and Community Development Act contained the following passage: "The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall not exclude from consideration for financial assistance under federally assisted housing programs proposals for housing projects solely because the site proposed is located within an impacted (minority) area."³⁸ In January 1981, HUD issued a clarification of site and neighborhood standards for new assisted housing projects in areas of minority concentration. This clarification superseded the previous Notice, and continued the trend of encouraging flexibility in the determination of where assisted housing should be located.

The current Notice was the result of consultations with local officials and public interest groups at HUD-sponsored forums. The Notice took into account Section 216 of the 1980 HCD Act, which prohibited excluding a proposed site from consideration solely because of its location in an area of minority concentration. The major themes of the Notice are to reduce the ambiguity surrounding the definition of key terms in the site and neighborhood standards, while at the same time allowing for local variations in the assessment of housing choice for minorities.

Field offices must now review proposed sites on a case-by-case basis to determine whether a proposed site in an area of minority concentration is acceptable according to the site and neighborhood standards. The result of requiring a case-by-case analysis is to provide more flexibility in the location of assisted housing. The definitions of key terms in the standards vary depending on local conditions. For example, an area of minority concentration is defined as an area where the proportion of minority residents substantially exceeds, or

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as a result of placement of the project on the proposed site would substantially exceed, the proportion of minority residents in the jurisdiction as a whole. This may be contrasted with the previous definition, which used 40 percent minority as the threshold level.

The Notice further defines "sufficient and comparable" housing opportunities outside areas of minority concentration: "application of this standard should produce a reasonable distribution of units each fiscal year which *over a period of several years* [italics mine] will approach an appropriate balance of housing opportunities within and outside areas of minority concentration."³⁹ The Notice also clarified the definition of an overriding need to allow placement of the project in an area of minority concentration in the absence of sufficient and comparable housing opportunities outside the area of minority concentration. An overriding need was defined as a situation where the proposed housing is an integral part of the municipality's preservation and restoration program or is located in a revitalizing neighborhood that is experiencing significant private investment. Also, a project site may be approved if the area manager determines that no available sites exist outside of areas of minority concentration, with the caveat that circumventing department policy on providing expanded housing choices is unacceptable.

The clarification entailed in the Notice reflects the debate over site and neighborhood standards that has continued both within and outside HUD. The Notice reflects a consensus view that HUD must achieve a balance between its duty to create expanded housing opportunities for minorities and direct a fair share of housing resources to minority areas to serve families who voluntarily choose or need to live there. The determination of whether minority families really have "expanded opportunities" presents greater uncertainty in already muddied waters.

Samuel Pierce became secretary of HUD in early 1981. One of his major actions in the area of fair housing was to prepare the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1983, which was submitted to Congress in July 1983. These amendments, if enacted, would strengthen fair housing enforcement practices nationwide. Additionally, Mr. Pierce has supported funding of approximately \$4 million a year for state and local fair housing enforcement agencies and nearly \$2 million a year for local voluntary compliance programs. In 1984, HUD began an initiative aimed more directly at housing desegregation. Secretary Pierce, in February, began actions in the state of Texas to "disestablish" racially dual public housing systems. These actions were taken immediately after a Texas federal court ordered black and white public housing tenants to make cross-racial moves or face eviction.⁴⁰ HUD's efforts to desegregate public housing agencies violating fair housing laws were expanded to another eight deep South states in April 1984.⁴¹ At present, the department is revising and approving plans submitted by dozens of PHAs to desegregate their projects.

HUD's attempts to amend the federal fair housing law and to desegregate public housing have not been without their critics. The American Civil Liber-

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ties Union, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the (old) U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights have issued strong criticism of current federal fair housing policy specifically, and the civil rights performance of the Reagan administration in general.⁴² One assessment concluded that the current administration "is systematically assaulting the very structure of the federal civil rights machinery."⁴³ Part of the alleged assault focuses on the reconstitution of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to include members more sympathetic to the Reagan administration.⁴⁴ Whatever the future of the Civil Rights Commission, it seems clear that there will be strong differences of opinion *within* the current administration, as well as without, about the appropriate means to enforce fair housing guarantees. HUD's efforts to strengthen fair housing and attack public housing segregation may find little support by other parts of the Executive Branch and may continue to experience significant judicial challenges.

Summary and Conclusions

The development of HUD policy to promote fair housing through the location of assisted housing has been complex, with interaction among all three branches of the federal government in shaping policy. Seventeen years after the passage of Title VIII there is still uncertainty as to the precise meaning of HUD's fair housing mandate. Many equally viable interpretations abound. Is it HUD's duty to ensure that integration takes place through the administration of its programs or is HUD merely required to expand housing opportunities, even if virtually no minority families avail themselves of the opportunities? The ambiguities inherent in Title VIII have influenced the entire policy development process.

Significant interaction has occurred between HUD and the courts. Two early cases are particularly prominent. The *Gautreaux* litigation resulted in the *Gautreaux* Housing Demonstration, HUD's first large-scale effort to redress earlier discriminatory practices on a metropolitan-wide basis. The *Shannon* case resulted in the development of site selection criteria. The wording of the existing regulations, first developed in 1972, is still fraught with definitional ambiguity. Nevertheless, the site selection criteria represent the first attempt on the part of HUD to assess the impact of its housing programs on the racial and ethnic makeup of the population surrounding a proposed project site.

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 helped renew the spirit of Title VIII and gave HUD new, although ambiguous goals regarding the "fair housing" mandate. Among other things, the act reaffirmed HUD's duty to avoid the undue concentration of lower income persons through its placement of assisted housing. What constitutes an undue concentration of

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low-income persons is subject to conjecture, but it is a determination that the act requires HUD to make.

Since passage of the 1974 HCD Act, HUD has attempted to reduce the ambiguity in the wording of its site selection criteria while changing other housing program regulations to promote fair housing. The attempts to clarify site selection criteria reflect the changing social milieu in which policy has been evolving. Beginning in the late 1970s, numerous groups expressed concerns regarding the efficacy and appropriateness of HUD's application of site selection criteria. Combined with the litigation over HUD's use of site selection criteria and congressional concern expressed in the 1980 HCD Act, changing societal attitudes manifested themselves in HUD's current posture: a balance between its duty to create expanded housing opportunities for minorities and to direct a fair share of housing resources to minority areas to serve the families who voluntarily choose to live there.

Today the ambiguities remain and the picture is still clouded. The goals mandated by Congress are subject to various interpretations. In some ways fair housing policy has come full circle. The 1972 site selection criteria were designed initially to prevent placement of assisted housing projects where the effect would be to limit the housing choice of minority assisted housing recipients. Discussions both inside and outside the government raised concerns about the efficacy and appropriateness of the site selection criteria. In response, the interpretation of the regulations was modified to allow placement of assisted housing projects in minority areas, as well as discretionary allocation of units to nonminority areas.

The site selection issue will likely be less critical in the future because HUD is allocating fewer resources to new housing construction. The Section 8 Existing and Rehabilitation programs will continue, in conjunction with a Housing Voucher Demonstration, to suggest new issues and problems in achieving desegregation with only demand-side programs. The monitoring of civil rights enforcement of such programs is considerably more difficult, with few tools currently in place.

Regardless of any shift in the assisted housing delivery system, basic questions remain. Does the fair housing mandate include an explicit provision aimed at promoting housing integration? Can HUD maintain an adequate supply of housing for households in need while also promoting housing desegregation? These tensions, inherent in the drafting of HUD's civil rights responsibilities, will continue to confound fair housing policymakers.

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18. The 1974 HCD Act provides housing assistance that is tied to the construction and rehabilitation of dwelling units as well as subsidizes the rent for recipients in existing units. The Section 8 New Construction and Rehabilitation programs provide subsidies to developers so that rents to eligible families can be maintained at 30 percent of income. The Section 8 Existing Program is a housing voucher-like program. Income-eligible families seek housing in the existing market that meets minimum housing quality standards and rents for a moderate price. HUD provides a subsidy to the landlord for the difference between 30 percent of the recipients' income and the fair market rent.

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Chapter Ten
**Location and Racial/Ethnic Occupancy
Patterns for HUD-Subsidized
Family Housing in Ten Metropolitan Areas**

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This chapter describes location patterns and racial/ethnic occupancy patterns for HUD-subsidized rental housing for families in ten standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs). The study was designed to answer three main questions:

1. Has HUD-subsidized rental housing for families been located in geographic areas occupied largely by minority households?
2. To what extent have families aided under HUD housing subsidy programs been members of minority groups?
3. Has the provision of assistance to families under the Section 8 program substantially affected overall location and occupancy patterns for HUD-subsidized housing?

The study addresses both the pattern and the extent of concentration of HUD-assisted housing.¹ The pattern of concentration is indicated by the percentage of HUD-subsidized housing units located in the central cities versus surrounding suburban areas, whereas the extent is indicated by the percentage of units located in minority-concentrated census tracts within each central city and suburban area. For the ten metropolitan areas under study, changes in the extent of concentration have in part been the result of a significant shift in the pattern of concentration between central cities and suburbs, a shift that began under early HUD programs and continued under Section 8.

The principal value of the study is that it provides, for a particular point in time, a comprehensive picture of location and occupancy patterns under all

*The data presented in this chapter were gathered by the Office of Policy Development and Research (PD&R) and the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (FHEO), U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The collection of location and occupancy data for the Section 8 Existing Housing Program and for housing built under prior programs was supervised by Mary Pinkard, former Director of the Office of Program Standards and Evaluation, FHEO; Eleanor Clagett and Beverly Butler assisted in the data analysis. The collection of location data for the Section 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation Program was supervised by Feather O'Connor, former Director of the Policy Development Division, PD&R; Jane Karadbil also had responsibility for analyzing these data. The authors wish to thank George Galster, James Zais, and John M. Goering for their comments on this work. The authors claim full responsibility for any errors, omissions, or misrepresentations. The opinions expressed do not represent the views of HUD or the U.S. government.

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of the major HUD rental subsidy programs available for families in the ten metropolitan areas.

Data, Methodology, and Definitions

Information in this study resulted from two separate data collection efforts. From September 1977 to May 1978, HUD's Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity collected location and occupancy data for HUD housing program activity in ten metropolitan areas. Subsequently, HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research collected location data for recently approved Section 8 multifamily housing projects for these same metropolitan areas.³ The ten areas were originally selected for study because they provided a range of coverage regarding population size (of both SMSAs and central cities), minority percentage of the population, and geographic region. However, HUD program experience in the ten metropolitan areas is not necessarily representative of all metropolitan program activity.

Consistent with HUD's approach to site and neighborhood standards regarding concentrations of minority persons and of federally assisted persons, the data presented in this study exclude housing designed for or exclusively occupied by the elderly.³ Thus, the data reflect location and occupancy patterns within family housing projects available for occupancy under selected HUD programs as of January 1978; families assisted under the Section 8 Existing Housing Program as of that date; and, for the Section 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation (New/Rehab) Program, approvals of projects for family occupancy, made by HUD under the Section 8 New/Rehab Program during FY 1977 to FY 1979 and used as a proxy to analyze locational patterns under the Section 8 New/Rehab Program.⁴

Terminology and Tract Classification

Three sets of terms, largely defined during the original FHEO data collection effort, are included in this study:

- *Projects* are identified as being either "minority," "racially mixed," or "non-minority," based on the racial/ethnic characteristics of the families receiving rental assistance. Projects in which 85 percent or more of the tenants were black or Hispanic have been described as "minority" projects. Projects with less than 15 percent blacks and Hispanics in residence are classified as "non-minority" projects. All others are considered to be "racially mixed" or "mixed" projects.
- *Minority persons* receiving HUD rental assistance are defined as blacks and Hispanics as reported on standard HUD forms.
- *Census tracts* are identified as either "minority" tracts, "racially mixed" tracts, or "nonminority" tracts, based on the percentage of households with a

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black or Hispanic head of household residing in the tract in 1970.⁵ Tracts with 40 percent or more minority households are identified as "minority" tracts; those with 20 to 40 percent minority occupancy are "mixed" tracts; and those with less than 20 percent minority households are "nonminority" tracts.⁶ The threshold of 40 percent used throughout the study to classify census tracts as "minority" tracts has been used extensively in determining site acceptability for HUD rental assistance programs.

Readers should be aware that the tract classifications reflect racial and ethnic occupancy patterns that existed in the ten SMSAs in 1970. The methodology may tend to overstate the true extent of location outside of minority census tracts, particularly for the Section 8 New/Rehab Program.⁷

The Location of HUD-Subsidized Units

Percentage Share in Central Cities

Before evaluating the extent of concentration of HUD-assisted housing in the ten metropolitan areas, it is useful to examine the central cities' share of HUD-subsidized housing (the pattern of concentration) in the respective SMSAs as it relates to the three indicators of need provided in the far-right columns of Table 1. The indicators are (1) the central city's share of income-eligible families, based on the number of families with incomes below 125 percent of the poverty level as of the 1970 census;⁸ (2) the percentage of housing built before 1940; and (3) the percentage of estimated need for rental assistance, as indicated by the "Fair Share" formula, which was used in HUD rental subsidy programs to assure an equitable geographic distribution for new allocations of HUD rental subsidies.⁹

Compared with these three indicators, for most of the areas under study, the proportion of HUD-subsidized rental housing for families located in central cities exceeded the central cities' relative proportions of households in need. For the Public Housing Program, the percentage of units located in the central city was higher than each of the indicators of relative need provided in Table 1. These differences were substantial in many instances. For example, the central city's share of Public Housing units exceeded the central city's share of income-eligibles by 20 or more percentage points in seven of the ten SMSAs.

The locations of Section 236 units were much less concentrated in central cities than were those for Public Housing. The central city percentage of Section 236 units exceeded the percentage of income-eligibles in only three of the SMSAs (Newark, Denver, and Phoenix).

In comparing Section 8 activity to the three indicators of relative need, the central city share of Section 8 Existing Housing and of New/Rehab housing also exceeded the relative need percentages in many instances. For example, Hartford is shown in Table 1 as having 39 percent of current rental assistance need in the SMSA, but received 67 percent of Existing Housing units and 48

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Table 1. Central City Share of Assisted Family Housing in Ten SMSAs, versus Selected Indicators of Need

SMSAs	Central City Share (%) of Units Under Programs Prior to Sec. 8				Central City Share (%) of Units Under Sec. 8			Central City Share (%) of Selected Needs Indicators:		
	Total	Public Housing	Sec. 236	"Other" (FHA)	Total	Sec. 8 Existing	Section 8 New/Rehab	Income-Eligibles	Pre-1940 Housing	"Current Need"
Hartford	71	99	52	50	56	67	48	54	46	39
Newark	78	78	96	67	61	55	63	50	28	33
Richmond	87	100	62	100	43	100	34	67	78	48
Atlanta	78	84	53	100	63	66	57	58	64	44
Dayton	59	87	21	23	71	75	58	46	48	35
San Antonio	97	97	95	100	77	76	82	83	84	81
Omaha	91	100	69	100	76	100	61	67	73	67
Denver	78	95	46	97	33	35	33	58	74	51
Phoenix	60	71	56	12	60	51	67	59	72	57
Portland	49	60	24	65	52	63	29	44	66	48

Notes:

- 1) Data describing the central city share of income-eligibles and of pre-1940 housing are from the 1970 census; data describing "current need" are derived from each SMSA's statistical "Fair Share" factors, adjusted to conform to 1970 SMSA boundaries.

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Table 2. Percentage of HUD-Subsidized Housing Units Located in Minority Census Tracts, by Program

SMSAs	% Minority Tracts	Programs Prior to Section 8				Section 8			
		Total	Public Housing	Sec. 236	"Other" (FHA)	Existing Housing	New Construction/Rehabilitation		
							Total	New	Rehab
Hartford	8	63	90	48	37	27	16	-	26
Newark	22	89	88	100	91	48	62	67	57
Richmond	24	66	88	21	100	68	5	-	28
Atlanta	24	62	68	35	88	25	51	-	81
Dayton	12	36	55	9	23	33	-	-	-
San Antonio	43	77	97	22	51	49	38	38	N/A
Omaha	10	36	57	-	-	42	47	5	100
Denver	7	49	64	20	71	14	18	6	37
Phoenix	11	32	53	7	-	24	26	26	N/A
Portland	3	8	10	1	16	12	9	10	-

Notes:

- 1) N/A indicates absence of program activity.
- 2) Asterisk(*) indicates less than 0.5 percent.

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Table 3. Percentage of HUD-Subsidized Housing Units Located in Minority Census Tracts, by Program (Central Cities versus Suburbs)

SMSAs	Central Cities						Suburbs					
	% Minority Tracts	% of Units in Minority Tracts					% Minority Tracts	% of Units in Minority Tracts				
		Prior Programs	Public Hsg.	Sec. 236	Sec. 8 Existing	Sec. 8 New/Rehab		Prior Programs	Public Hsg.	Sec. 236	Sec. 8 Existing	Sec. 8 New/Rehab
Hartford	27	89	90	92	41	33	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newark	61	91	89	100	66	91	10	82	84	100	25	13
Richmond	46	76	88	33	68	15	3	-	N/A	-	N/A	-
Atlanta	46	78	79	66	34	76	3	6	11	-	7	19
Dayton	33	53	57	16	43	-	2	11	38	7	6	-
San Antonio	59	79	100	23	57	36	15	-	-	-	24	48
Omaha	12	40	57	-	42	52	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	39
Denver	17	63	67	44	41	65	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phoenix	13	44	62	12	14	28	9	13	33	-	35	23
Portland	5	16	16	6	19	31	-	-	-	-	-	-

Notes:

- 1) N/A indicates absence of program activity.
- 2) Asterisk (*) indicates less than 0.5 percent

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percent of New/Rehab units. In general, however, the central city share of Section 8 activity was much closer to both the Fair Share percentage and to the other need indicators than the central city share under prior programs (see the columns in Table 1 headed "Total"). The overall trend in these ten SMSAs has clearly been toward a more even distribution of Section 8 assistance between the central cities and suburbs—compared with the central city share of units provided under all programs instituted before Section 8. This is particularly true compared with the central city share of Public Housing units.

Location in Minority-Concentrated Areas

Considering the disproportionate share of program activity that has occurred in central cities, and utilizing the racial/ethnic categories of census tracts described previously, we now turn to the locations of HUD-subsidized housing for families in the ten SMSAs. Tables 2 and 3 indicate the percentage of units located in minority tracts (the extent of concentration) by program and central city/suburban location, versus the percentage of all tracts in each area that are minority tracts. The following discussion examines these relationships on an individual program basis, first for programs established prior to Section 8 and then for the New/Rehab and Existing Housing subprograms of Section 8.

Programs Instituted prior to Section 8. In nine of the ten SMSAs, Public Housing units represented at least half of all subsidized housing available for families under programs instituted before Section 8. This stock of Public Housing was heavily concentrated in minority census tracts. The percentage of Public Housing units located in minority census tracts exceeded the percentage of census tracts that were minority tracts in all ten of the central cities (Table 3). In five central cities, more than three-fourths of the Public Housing was located in minority tracts. In four of the suburban areas, none of the Public Housing was located in minority tracts; in three of the other four suburban areas that contained Public Housing, the majority of units were located outside of minority tracts.

There was a relatively high average project size among Public Housing projects located in the central cities, and this tended to limit the potential choices of locations for families still further. Except for scattered-sited housing, the average Public Housing project size exceeded 350 units in Hartford, Newark, and Atlanta and exceeded 200 units in four other central cities. Suburban average project sizes, as well as project sizes under programs other than Public Housing, tended to be much smaller.

For projects originally financed under FHA programs other than Section 236 (see the column headed "Other, FHA" in Table 4), the percentage of units located in minority tracts was relatively high. In the Newark, Richmond, Atlanta, Denver, and Portland SMSAs, the percentage of such units located in minority tracts actually exceeded the percentage located in minority tracts under the Public Housing Program. In most instances these represented a few very large

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Table 4. Number and Percentage of Prior-Program Housing Units Located in the Most Active^a Census Tracts in Each SMSA, by Program and Racial/Ethnic Category of Census Tract

SMSAs	HUD-Subsidized Units Located in the Most-Active Census Tracts			Number of Tracts by Racial/Ethnic Category			Number of Units by Category of Tract			% Minority Persons by Category of Tract ^b		
	Number of Tracts	Subsidized Units in Tracts	% of Such Units in the SMSA	Minority	Mixed	Non-Minority	Minority	Mixed	Non-Minority	Minority	Mixed	Non-Minority
Hartford	9	4,378	73	5	-	4	3,051	-	1,327	82	N/A	4
Newark	20	14,028	85	15	3	2	11,957	1,294	777	83	32	6
Richmond	7	4,454	69	5	-	2	3,309	-	1,145	92	N/A	6
Atlanta	12	11,243	50	11	-	1	10,009	-	1,234	88	N/A	3
Dayton	10	3,284	56	4	-	6	1,362	-	1,922	92	N/A	*
San Antonio	9	4,763	57	9	-	-	4,763	-	-	91	N/A	N/A
Omaha	7	2,614	76	2	1	4	1,222	480	912	83	30	1
Denver	16	5,458	68	7	2	7	3,308	483	1,667	62	27	11
Phoenix	12	3,547	63	5	3	4	1,502	989	1,056	59	28	9
Portland	13	1,934	57	1	-	12	119	-	1,815	57	N/A	2

Note: Asterisk (*) indicates less than 0.5 percent; N/A indicates absence of program activity in that category of tract.

^a/ After listing all tracts in rank-order on the basis of the number of prior-program units located in each tract, the top five percent of tracts were identified as the "most active" tracts.

^b/ These columns indicate the average minority percentage for persons residing in the most active census tracts. The percentages are based on 1970 Census data, weighted according to the number of prior-program units located in each tract.

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Whites' Reactions to Market-Generated Racial Integration

Whites' reactions to the racial integration of their neighborhoods have been studied extensively. This section reviews what is known about racial integration generated by market forces; the next section expands this analysis to racial integration through subsidized housing. By way of preview, the outlook for widespread, stable racial integration through market forces is not encouraging at the present time. In most cases, the entry of a significant number of blacks into an all-white neighborhood discourages white movement into the area and eventually leads to complete racial turnover. However, integration through subsidized housing is different from market-generated integration in several important respects. An analysis of these differences indicates that, within certain limits, a carefully designed subsidized housing program probably could increase racial integration substantially.

In deciding where to live, households consider the price of housing, accessibility to jobs, housing characteristics, and neighborhood characteristics. From the standpoint of prejudiced white residents, the entry of blacks into a white neighborhood represents a decline in the desirability of that neighborhood. As soon as blacks move in, therefore, the most prejudiced whites move away to neighborhoods that remain all white. Other whites leave as the number of blacks grows. Thus, unless this decline in desirability due to black entry is offset by an increase in desirability from some other factor, such as improved local public services, all prejudiced whites are likely to move out of integrating neighborhoods.

Schelling's (1972) well-known analysis allows us to be more precise about the predominance of complete racial turnover in the private housing market. This analysis shows that racial integration cannot be stable unless the distributions of white and black preferences meet certain strong conditions. To be specific, the presence of many whites who do not mind a few black neighbors is not sufficient to sustain stable integration. Consider a previously all-white neighborhood into which some blacks move. This neighborhood cannot remain stable at, say, 10 percent black unless at least 90 percent of the original whites are willing to stay in a neighborhood that is 10 percent black. Otherwise, the neighborhood will not retain enough whites to stop racial transition at 10 percent black. Similarly, stable integration is not possible at a given racial composition, say 10 percent black, unless the number of blacks willing to move into a largely white neighborhood is at least 10 percent of the original white population. This analysis is summarized by the notion of a tipping point, which Schelling defines as the percentage black above which stable integration cannot be maintained.

The survey by Farley, Bianchi, and Colasanto (1979) asked white households if they would move out of neighborhoods with various proportions of black residents, assuming that the blacks and whites had equal incomes and

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Nevertheless, project design can influence social relations in three important ways. First, no one wants to live in a hostile environment, so a project better serves its tenants if it avoids stirring up the hostility of white residents. The link between project design and white reactions is explored in the next section.

Second, people who live in large, conspicuous housing projects are likely to be labeled as project residents and to carry this social stigma into many of their social interactions. Suttles (1968) describes the negative impact of this labeling on blacks, especially teenagers, in one community. The project label is an obstacle for anyone, but its impact is particularly powerful for minority teenagers who already face more than their share of obstacles. In my view, therefore, projects should be kept small to minimize this severe social stigma.

Finally, projects must recognize participants' preferences concerning their neighbors. Because low-income households are not likely to interact with high-income households and because black households may not interact with white households, projects may require some critical mass to provide enough social interaction to make them attractive to participants.

The need for a neighborhood-based social network should not be exaggerated, however. Recent research shows that most people develop their important social interactions through their work, not through their residence.³ Every project need not provide a complete social network. In my view, the best strategy is to acknowledge the range of participants' preferences by providing a variety of project sizes—from one unit up to a few small apartment buildings—and, to the extent possible, by letting each participant household choose the type of project it prefers. The mix of project sizes could be adjusted as one learns about the mix of participants' preferences.

Blacks' attitudes about integration in their neighborhoods are also relevant for deciding on project size. Many black households do not want to be the only blacks in a neighborhood, so they would not want to live in a one-unit project in a white suburb. The existing survey evidence suggests, however, that most blacks are quite open to living in integrated environments and that many blacks are willing to be pioneers in previously all-white neighborhoods. The survey by Farley, Bianchi, and Colasanto (1979), for example, found that 38 percent of the blacks interviewed would be willing to move into an all-white neighborhood and that 95 percent would be willing to move into a neighborhood that was 14 percent black. These types of neighborhoods are not the first choice of many blacks, but they are acceptable.

Suppose blacks are fairly evenly represented in all subsidized housing projects in all-white suburbs. Then the size of a project determines the racial composition of the neighborhood in which that project is located. The appropriate way to account for participant preferences is to provide projects of various sizes—and hence with a variety of implications for neighborhood racial composition—and, again to the extent possible, to let each black household choose the project it prefers.

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other words, zoning limits housing market adjustments to new circumstances. Racial discrimination constitutes an additional constraint on black households. Many blacks are prevented from moving to their desired locations because of racial discrimination against them.⁵

The household-sorting process is a reflection of household demand for the characteristics of various residential locations. People tend to live near their places of employment, for example, because they bid more for housing in locations where they can save on commuting costs. And high-income households live in the most desirable neighborhoods because the demand for such neighborhoods, like the demand for any "good," increases with income.

One important goal of a subsidized housing program is to provide low-income households with access to the high-quality public services in suburbs that they cannot now obtain because of restrictive zoning, racial discrimination, and their own low income. This goal can be achieved by locating subsidized housing in suburbs with good services. It may be difficult, however, for policymakers to decide where to place housing projects within a suburb. Program participants might prefer to live in the most desirable neighborhoods, but their presence would stir up the hostility of residents and of other suburbanites who are too poor to live in those neighborhoods but too rich to receive subsidized housing. In my view, policymakers should maximize the probability that the housing program will succeed by minimizing the potential conflict between residents and participants.

Conflict between participants and residents will be minimized when subsidized housing is located in neighborhoods where the residents' income and preferences are as similar as possible to the participants' income and preferences. The way to implement this conflict-minimizing rule is to simulate a market process without zoning or discrimination. In other words, the best site selection policy is one that places participants in those locations where they would live if they had somewhat more income and did not face restrictive zoning or racial discrimination.

Participants in a subsidized housing program also care about their social links with the neighborhood in which they live. It would be a mistake, however, to expect a subsidized housing program to generate significant social interaction along class and racial lines. Existing evidence implies that low-income households, especially low-income minority households, will not be assimilated into middle-class suburban communities. Even in an integrated community without much variation in income, blacks and whites may not interact to a significant degree.⁶

Furthermore, integration through subsidized housing is not likely to reduce the racial prejudice of white suburbanites. The many studies of the "contact hypothesis" conclude that equal socioeconomic status is a necessary condition for prejudice reduction through social contact. This condition is not met, virtually by definition, for subsidized housing in the suburbs.⁷

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dized housing program are presented in the fourth section, and related programs that could increase the chances of successfully achieving racial integration through subsidized housing are explored in the fifth section.

Policymakers have been concerned with the integration of housing projects and with the integration of the neighborhoods into which housing projects are placed. To keep manageable the scope of my inquiry, I have assumed that subsidized housing projects themselves are integrated. Furthermore, I have assumed that a subsidized housing program is politically feasible. These are both strong assumptions. Individual projects have their own racial dynamic and strenuous efforts may be required to keep them integrated.² In addition, opposition to subsidized housing programs, particularly when they involve integration, is strong. Recent court decisions require existing programs to strive for integration, but they cannot force the federal government to appropriate money for such programs.³ In effect, this study investigates whether stable racial integration of neighborhoods would be possible if these two obstacles were overcome. Finally, although the discussion focuses on the integration of blacks into white neighborhoods, it also applies to the integration of Hispanics and of several other minority groups.

To avoid confusion, several terms should be defined at the outset. Households' residential location decisions are guided by their *preferences*, that is, by their attitudes about the desirability of various locations. *Racial prejudice* is one type of preference; white prejudice, for example, is a strong aversion to living near blacks (or other racial minorities). *Racial discrimination* in housing is a type of behavior; in particular, it consists of actions by the sellers of housing that constrain the housing choices of blacks. *Racial segregation* and *racial integration* are descriptive terms. *Segregation* refers to a situation in which blacks and whites live in separate locations; *integration* refers to a situation in which blacks and whites live together. *Stable* integration, which is the focus of this chapter, exists when blacks and whites both live in the same location over an extended period of time. For some purposes, it is useful to measure the *degree* of integration (or of segregation), which is the extent to which blacks and whites live together (or apart).

The Preferences of Program Participants

Without zoning constraints or racial discrimination, the operation of the housing market would lead to the sorting of households by income and preference. High-income households would outbid low-income households for housing in desirable locations, and, in general, each class of household would cluster around its places of employment.⁴ Zoning complicates this process by preserving old patterns of location. For example, it sometimes prevents low-income households from moving into a high-income jurisdiction despite the fact that jobs for low-income households have moved into or near that jurisdiction. In

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Chapter Thirteen
**On the Possibility of Achieving
Racial Integration through Subsidized Housing**

JOHN YINGER*

Achieving stable racial integration in residential areas is a pressing goal of many policymakers. Although not universally accepted, this goal has gained importance from several recent court decisions that require housing authorities in large cities, which depend heavily on federal housing programs, to provide housing in integrated environments.¹ Unfortunately, however, the operation of the private housing market and continuing high levels of racial prejudice among whites place severe constraints on the ability of government housing programs to promote racial integration. This chapter examines the social scientific evidence on these constraints. Policymakers must determine the importance of the goal of racial integration. This study is designed to assist policymakers by explaining the possibilities and the limitations of housing policy for achieving racial integration and by determining the provisions that would make a subsidized housing program, such as the Section 8 program, as effective as possible in fostering racial integration.

Stable racial integration can exist only if blacks and whites choose to live in the same neighborhoods. Any subsidized housing program that attempts to foster racial integration must therefore account for the way that black and white households choose their residential locations. Specifically, such a program must reflect the preferences of the low-income households it is intended to serve. For example, subsidized housing should not be located far from low-skill jobs. Second, a program must recognize that most whites are prejudiced against blacks and are likely to react to the placement of an integrated project in their neighborhood. Any program that ignores this prejudice will probably generate racial hostility and white flight and will fail to achieve stable racial integration.

Thus, in order to foster racial integration, a subsidized housing program must carefully balance the preferences of participants against the reactions of white suburbanites. This chapter begins with an examination of these two factors. The first section explains how an analysis of residential location decisions can be used as a guide to participants' preferences; the second section reviews the literature on racial transition; and the third section shows how our knowledge about racial transition can be used to predict white reactions to integrated housing projects. The implications of this analysis for the design of a subsi-

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The smell there was so frightful that the healthiest man would have felt sick in a very short space of time. This disgusting hole was inhabited by a family of seven. . . . She (a tenant) was of the opinion that the place was not fit for pigs to live in but on account of the low rent—one and sixpence a week—she had taken it, because her husband had been out of work a lot recently owing to sickness. The impression made upon the observer by this court and the inhabitants huddled in it, as though in a premature grave, was one of utter helplessness.

We find the similarity of the description of a Manchester "tenement" and observations of contemporary public housing projects striking. The disparity of time periods, cultures, political structures, and economic relations might suggest that there may be very different antecedents of poverty, and thus our analysis has specific limits in its generalizability. We disagree with this conclusion.

10. As a result of recent structural changes in the economy of Philadelphia (the decline of manufacturing and the growth of the centrally located professional-service economy), we are beginning to see neighborhoods that were previously abandoned, and thus selected for public housing, now being redeveloped. As a consequence, several housing projects are located in new, developing communities. Townhouses, complete with skylight, sundeck, and nineteenth-century facade, are renovated across the street from high-rise towers for the poor. Public housing appears to retard such development only to the degree that it removes real estate from the private market. Recent proposals to replace the nonelderly tenants with the elderly or to sell such projects to private developers—to turn them into condominiums or tear them down—are not surprising. We see no reason why the historical pattern of continued isolation of the poor from areas of value and growth will be broken now, and thus we object to such proposals. Indeed, these few communities represent the possibility of a change in the relationship between the poor and the city's dominant institutions. They provide a natural experiment, in which we may examine the impact of at least the physical integration of the poor with the not-so-poor and their institutions. We suspect that the outcome of these experiments will depend more on the social and economic integration, and less on the level geographic isolation, of the poor with the rest of us.

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decision relates to where the project might be located; and the second, to its relative size. By creating "dummy variables," we are restricting our analysis to the outcome of the site selection process and ignoring the question of the number of publicly owned units constructed on each site.

5. Hershberg et al. (1979) have found that this trend goes back to 1850, when the black population in the city was, by today's standards, residentially integrated.

6. A special technique was used for the prediction equations of post-1950 public housing projects. Because only 22 census tracts contained projects (8.9 percent of all census tracts), something had to be done to make the dependent variable more nearly conform to the assumption in regression that the dependent variable, as well as the other variables, would be normally distributed. In each equation, all of the census tracts with public housing, and a random sample of census tracts without public housing, were used in an effort to produce a binomial distribution (i.e., tracts with public housing versus tracts without public housing) with the largest possible variance (i.e., .50). The same equation was derived 20 times, each time using a different random sample of tracts without public housing. The final results presented are the results of the 20 trials. A rough approximation of the "significance" of the coefficients can be made by building confidence intervals about the estimated means with the standard deviations provided below.

	Mean	Std. Dev.
R Squared	.195	.084
Housing Value, 1934	-.259	.091
Streetcar Suburb	.114	.123
<hr/>		
R Squared	.318	.072
% Black, 1950	.414	.091
Housing Value, 1934	-.222	.094

For the analysis of public housing locations, we have run equations that include only the historical-ecological factors. The same equations were also solved including the racial composition variable.

7. Although not shown in Table 5, we have run this equation with scattered-site housing eliminated (even though it is found to be significant). With scattered-site locations included, the explained variance is .878; without it, the explained variance is .875.

8. Minimally, it is necessary to obtain information regarding the site selection process, including the specification of the neighborhoods that were originally proposed but did not receive public housing. Meyerson and Banfield suggest that there were significant differences in political organization and efficacy between neighborhoods that received public housing and those that did not.

9. The major weakness of the present analysis lies in the fact that it is limited to one city; thus, it is difficult to make clear generalizations from these results to other urban places. Although ours is a case study of a single city, Philadelphia shares basic characteristics with other northeastern cities currently undergoing the transformation from industrial to postindustrial metropolises. We have already noted the parallels between public housing in Philadelphia and in other cities. It is also similar to the conditions of the poor in Manchester in the nineteenth century. Engels (1935:77) quotes from the *Manchester Weekly Times* of 20 July 1872:

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borhoods, the racial spillover effect would be minimized. We doubt this argument. Except for the residents of senior citizen projects, almost all new tenants of public housing since 1950 have been black. That the location of projects in neighborhoods did not have an effect on the neighborhoods' rate of racial transition, even though a black population was being added to a racially mixed population, adds even stronger support to our conclusion that public housing had no effect on the surrounding neighborhood. These somewhat anomalous results suggest that the contribution of public housing to racial segregation may have taken place at smaller geographic levels than census tracts, that is, through the creation of black enclaves within racially mixed neighborhoods.⁹

Albert Hunter (1979:269) has noted that "to try to understand the neighborhood solely by focusing on the internal structure and dynamics is to end up with carefully documented description, but a persistent failure to understand the causal explanations of the processes that create the variety of neighborhood forms and constrain the conduct of neighborhood life." The "failure of public housing" may be best understood, not in terms of the characteristics of the residents (Rainwater 1970), architecture (Yancey 1971; Newman 1973), or surrounding community, but rather in terms of the relationship of the community to the city's dominant institutions. This set of relationships and the resulting constraints on the poor are central to the emergence and maintenance of these communities in New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and elsewhere.¹⁰

NOTES

1. In an unsigned comment (*University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 1974) it was pointed out that courts, once involved in this sort of legal action, have three potential injunctive actions: (1) the negative injunctive—stop the construction, (2) the affirmative injunctive—begin building, and (3) the injunction that directs agencies to "carry out their ministerial duties." The weapon of courts to assure compliance with their rulings is the contempt citation. In very few cases has a court resorted to such action, and where it has it has still not seen great compliance. Thus, "courts appear to be ill-equipped to cope effectively with legal challenges to LHA site selection policies by ghetto residents. The intersection of complex housing statutes and political constraints with judicially ordered injunctive relief will very likely not lead to housing construction" (*University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 1974:1346).

2. Laska et al. (1982:198) have observed that in New Orleans old residential neighborhoods "were being abandoned by the wealthy and filtered to the lower classes. As a result of the disinvestment several public housing complexes were constructed during the 1950s in these same neighborhoods."

3. Temporary defense housing constructed in the 1940s and "senior citizen" projects have been excluded from this analysis.

4. Although this procedure leads us to ignore considerable variation in the data, there are good, substantive reasons for doing so—even if the data were not so highly skewed. It is reasonable to argue that there are in fact two decisions involved. The first

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urban structure. They have been important determinants of the location of the black ghetto and, through it, the location of public housing.

At the most general level, it appears to us that the perspective suggested by historical ecology provides the most parsimonious explanation for public housing's role in the development of the racial ghetto. This understanding of the black community suggests that, rather than being a residual of past cultures or missed opportunities, it is indeed a product of modern times coupled with the investments and disinvestments of the past. It has emerged within the constraints imposed by the changing ecological relationships between the black ghetto and the economic activities that dominate the local political economy.

Limitations and Implications

There are several relatively obvious limitations to the present analysis. First, we have failed to directly test the hypotheses suggested by Meyerson and Banfield (1955) regarding the intervention of local political organization on the site selection process. By relying on the location and impact of public housing that was actually constructed, we have ignored the decisions leading to the selection and ultimate construction of housing in these particular neighborhoods.⁹

We have used relatively gross measures of "neighborhood" and of public housing. Census tracts are arbitrarily drawn boundaries that may, but often do not, approximate the social organization of a given community. Our measures of racial segregation and concentration are based on census tracts. Although this is appropriate for tests of the impact of public housing on the surrounding neighborhood, it assumes the even distribution of racial groups across the tracts and thus ignores the differential concentration of blacks and whites on different blocks within given tracts. It is reasonable to expect that public housing located on the edge of census tracts may have a significant impact on adjacent tracts, as well as on tracts in which it is located. Similarly, the impact of public housing may depend on the size and even architecture of the projects. More refined measures of public housing—including its size, architecture, and proximity—and of racial segregation may produce results different from those suggested by the present analysis.

One of the criticisms of our analysis is that we did not use information on the social characteristics of the project tenants to separate them from families living in the surrounding neighborhoods. The census reports summary data on the population of each tract without identifying families living in public housing. It has been suggested that the results of our analysis, showing no spillover effect, stem from the fact that the Philadelphia Housing Authority has successfully matched the racial characteristics of project tenants with the racial composition of the surrounding neighborhoods. If white tenants were placed in white neighborhoods, and conversely black tenants in black neigh-

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historical housing values and employment base), we find that the relationship between projects and subsequent black concentrations is spurious. Blacks have moved into, and projects have been put into, the areas of the city no longer eagerly sought after by the higher income populations or by industry.

Looking finally at the equation predicting the location of blacks in 1980, we find that three factors appear to be important. Clearly the primary factor is black location in 1970. Beyond this, access to industrial employment, as measured by the location of jobs in 1972, continues to be a barrier to black movement. Scattered-site housing also has a significant, although small, effect on black movement.⁷ Its effect, although significant, is infinitesimal, adding little to our understanding of black movement in the last decade. Previous real estate values and streetcar suburbs are no longer significantly related to black residential change. We suspect that such areas were largely "filled in" by 1970. In the last decade, we witnessed the first significant movement of blacks into areas that were previously of greater value and into the "first ring" of the automobile suburbs.

Summary and Conclusion

The results of this analysis lead us to a relatively straightforward general conclusion. The position of a neighborhood in the historical ecology of a city is the primary determinant of its internal, racial character. Except for the very small effect of scattered-site location on the concentrations of blacks in 1980, we find virtually no evidence—over the last fifty years of Philadelphia's history of black migration and movement—that the location of public housing in a neighborhood stigmatized the neighborhood so as to produce white flight or black invasion-succession. In short, the evidence presented adds little weight to the spillover hypothesis.

A very different conclusion must be drawn concerning the impact of race on the location of public housing. There is no relationship between the concentrations of blacks in 1930 and the locations of the housing projects constructed before 1950. After 1950, housing projects were most likely to be built in areas with lower real estate values, near the center of the city, and in the old streetcar suburbs. Yet, when tests control for these factors, it can be shown that public housing has been constructed since 1950 in neighborhoods with a disproportionate number of blacks.

Black concentrations, though not affected by the location of public housing, do appear to be generated in neighborhoods that are being systematically abandoned (i.e., areas with lower real estate values and areas being vacated by the suburbanizing middle class). Although there has been a significant decline in the level of industrial manufacturing in the city, blacks have not entered neighborhoods that are relatively close to industrial concentrations. These historical-ecological characteristics reflect a neighborhood's position in the emerging

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fewer scattered-site units in areas with pre-1950 projects, and more scattered-site units in neighborhoods containing the more recent developments).

The parallel nature of the results predicting both large public housing projects and scattered-site housing suggests that, although these are not the same neighborhoods, they are similar in historical-ecological terms. Both large projects and scattered-site housing are located in neighborhoods that are relatively close to the center of the city, in neighborhoods that have lower real estate values, and in old streetcar suburbs. These areas, because they were abandoned by whites moving to new suburban locations after World War II, provided greater opportunity for the development of public housing without the potential resistance of stable and politically connected communities. These historical-ecological characteristics are also associated with increasing black concentrations. Thus, it is expected that the inclusion of race in the prediction equation reduces their relative importance.

We now turn to the equations examining the impact of public housing on black concentrations. The first equation examines the location of blacks in 1950 and their relation to (1) the location of blacks in 1930, (2) the distance from the center of the city, (3) the value of real estate, and (4) streetcar suburbs. Of these, the most important factor determining the location of blacks in 1950 was their location in 1930. This is exactly what should be expected, given the little change in the spatial distribution of blacks over this twenty-year period. The change that did occur was largely one of increasing the percentage black in previously black areas. Areas that had lower housing values in 1934, were the old streetcar suburbs, or were close to the center of the city were also likely to experience growth in their black populations. We find no effect of the pre-1950 projects on the growth of black concentrations during this period.

The second equation predicting black location in 1970 tests the impact of the old (pre-1950) and more recent (post-1950) projects on surrounding neighborhoods. Between 1950 and 1970 numerous neighborhoods underwent racial transition. This was also the time when much of the city's public housing was constructed. Thus, this time period provides a good test of the "spillover hypothesis."

The results obtained indicate that, at least in terms of racial transition, public housing was not important. Rather, the 1970 location of blacks is best explained by economic and social forces reflecting the changing historical ecology of the city. Controlling for their previous locations, we find that in 1970 blacks were more likely to be concentrated in areas that historically had lower real estate values, in the old streetcar suburbs, and in neighborhoods nearer the center of the city. We also find a strong negative effect of industrial job access on black movement. Industrial neighborhoods, even though of generally lower housing value ($r = -.297$) and closer to the center of the city ($r = .733$), proved to be barriers to black movement. Unable to break these barriers, blacks became concentrated in neighborhoods without access to industrial employment.

When we control for structural characteristics of neighborhoods (such as

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Table 4. Factors Affecting the Location of Public Housing and Racial Concentrations (Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables										R ²
	Distance to City Center ¹	Industrial Job Access ²	Street Car Suburb ³	Housing Value 1934	PERCENT BLACK			PUBLIC HOUSING LOCATION ³			
					1950	1950	1970	Pre-1950	1950-1970	Scattered Site	
Post-1954 Housing Project	-.157 n.s.	n.s. n.s.	.114 n.s.	- .259 - .222	.414			n.s.			.117 .232
Scattered Site Housing	- .339 - .260	n.s. n.s.	.135 .101	- .171 - .160	.191			- .124 -.118	.135 .090		.225 .248
Percent Black 1950	-.076	n.s.	.066	-.069	.878			n.s.			.851
Percent Black 1970	-.276	-.189	.162	n.s.	.572			n.s. ¹	n.s.		.503
Percent Black 1980	n.s.	-.091	n.s.	n.s.	.966			n.s.	n.s.	.074	.878

¹Miles to the center of the city, i.e., City Hall.

²The number of industrial jobs in 1927 (1972) within one mile of the census tract. Recoded to value of 1 if fewer than 1,000 jobs, 2 if 1,000 to 4,999 jobs, 3 if 5,000 to 9,999 jobs, and 4 if 10,000 or more jobs. 1972 data used in equation percent Black in 1980.

³Percent of workers using rail transport to commute to work weighted by the average length of time for commuting, 1934.

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their historical and ecological character. Similarly, we may examine the impact of public housing on the subsequent movement of blacks, controlling for the neighborhood's ecological history.

The independent variables used to predict both housing project locations and black concentrations are (1) distance from the center of the city, (2) access to manufacturing employment in 1928 and 1972, (3) whether or not the neighborhood was a streetcar suburb in 1934, (4) the percentage black in 1930, and (5) the mean property value of a census tract in 1934.

These data permit tests of the impact of race on project location for projects constructed during the 1950s and 1960s, and on the development of scattered-site housing in the late 1960s and early 1970s. We have provided three tests of the impact of public housing on the movement of blacks in subsequent census years: (1) the impact of the old project locations on the concentrations of blacks in 1950, (2) the impact of both old and new projects on black location in 1970, and (3) the impact of scattered-site housing, constructed primarily in the late 1960s and early 1970s, on black location in 1980.

The results of these various analyses are summarized in Table 4. The regression coefficients for those variables found to be significantly related to the location of public housing, or to black concentrations, are also reported.⁶

Looking first at the results predicting the location of large projects, which ignore the location of blacks, we find that projects were likely to be located near the center of the city in neighborhoods with relatively low housing values and in neighborhoods that were previously streetcar suburbs. Industrial job access is not related to project location. When we include the percentage of the tract's population that was black in 1950, we find that the effects of distance to the center of the city and streetcar suburbs (both of which predict black location) are statistically insignificant. Previous housing values remain strong and significant. Race is the most important factor, indicating that projects built after 1950 were located in areas that were black in 1950. Finally, we find a small, negative, statistically insignificant effect of the older project locations on black concentrations. This means that there was not an overwhelming propensity to locate newer projects in tracts already containing public housing. In essence, then, our results indicate that projects were located in areas that were black or vulnerable to becoming black, but were not necessarily those with existing stocks of public housing.

The equations predicting the location of scattered-site housing are similar to those predicting the location of projects—in neighborhoods that are close to the center of the city, in the old streetcar suburbs, and in areas with relatively inexpensive housing. Including the percentage black in 1960 in the equation reduces the impact of each of these variables, although they remain statistically significant. The effects of project location on subsequent scattered-site locations are contradictory. We find that the effect of an older, pre-1950 project is negative, and that the impact of newer projects is positive (i.e., in general, there are

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Table 3. Percentage Black of Census Tracts Containing Public Housing

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
No Public Housing	4.6	4.7	5.3	7.1	11.4	15.8
Pre-1950 Projects	12.5	16.4	22.4	29.6	40.4	48.0
1950-1970 Projects	23.4	28.4	39.6	53.1	64.3	69.3
Scattered Site Housing	14.8	18.2	25.5	46.5	59.8	66.1

These data suggest three preliminary conclusions: (1) that some census tracts were more likely to experience racial transition—from black to white—before public housing was introduced, (2) that public housing was located in areas that were becoming increasingly black, and (3) that the introduction of public housing had little or no effect on the “trajectory” of racial transition.

Alternatively, we suggest that the character of neighborhoods—including their economic profiles, residential histories, distances from the central business district, and real estate values—is an important determinant of whether or not they experience racial transition and become the sites of public housing.

In order to more fully examine these hypotheses, we have relied on multiple regression analysis. This enables us to examine the impact of the racial character of neighborhoods on the location of public housing, while controlling for

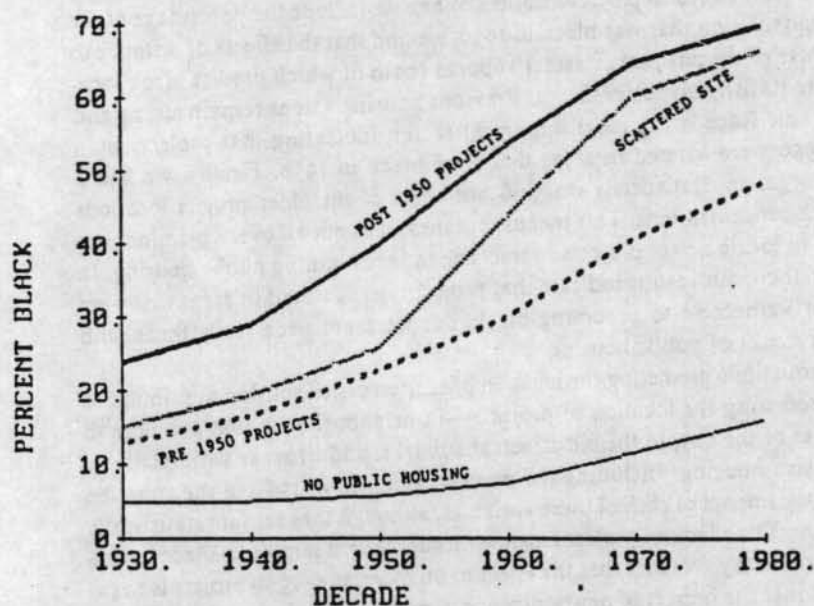
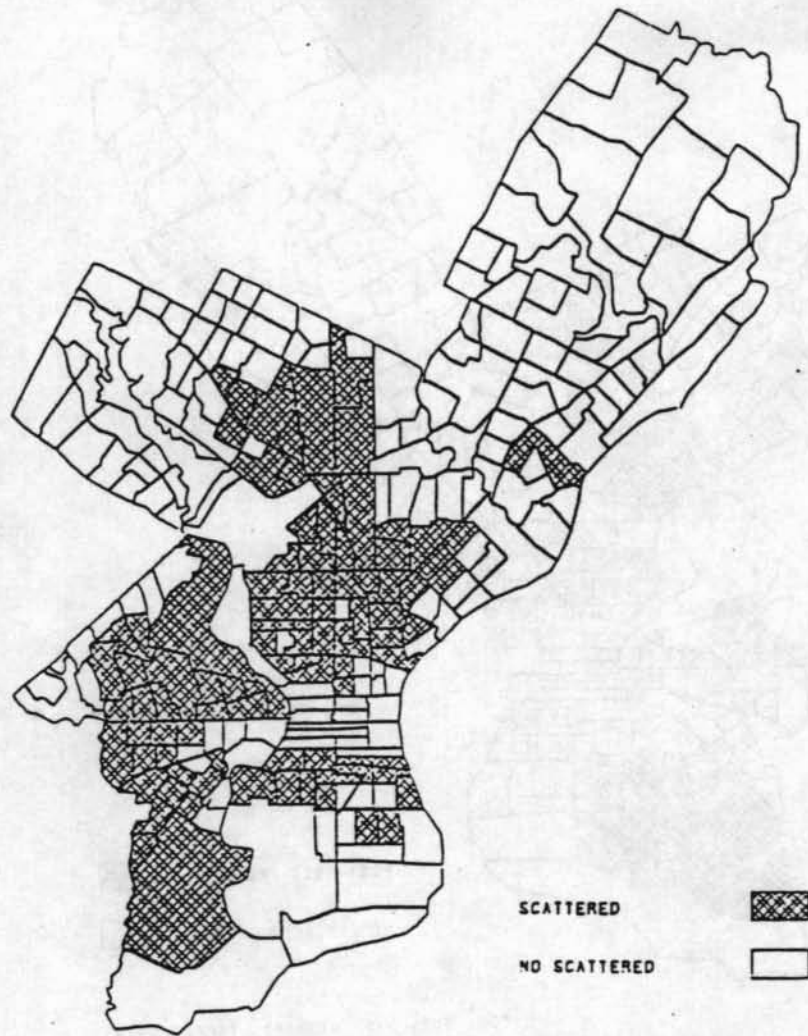


Figure 10. Average Percentage Black of Census Tracts Containing Public Housing

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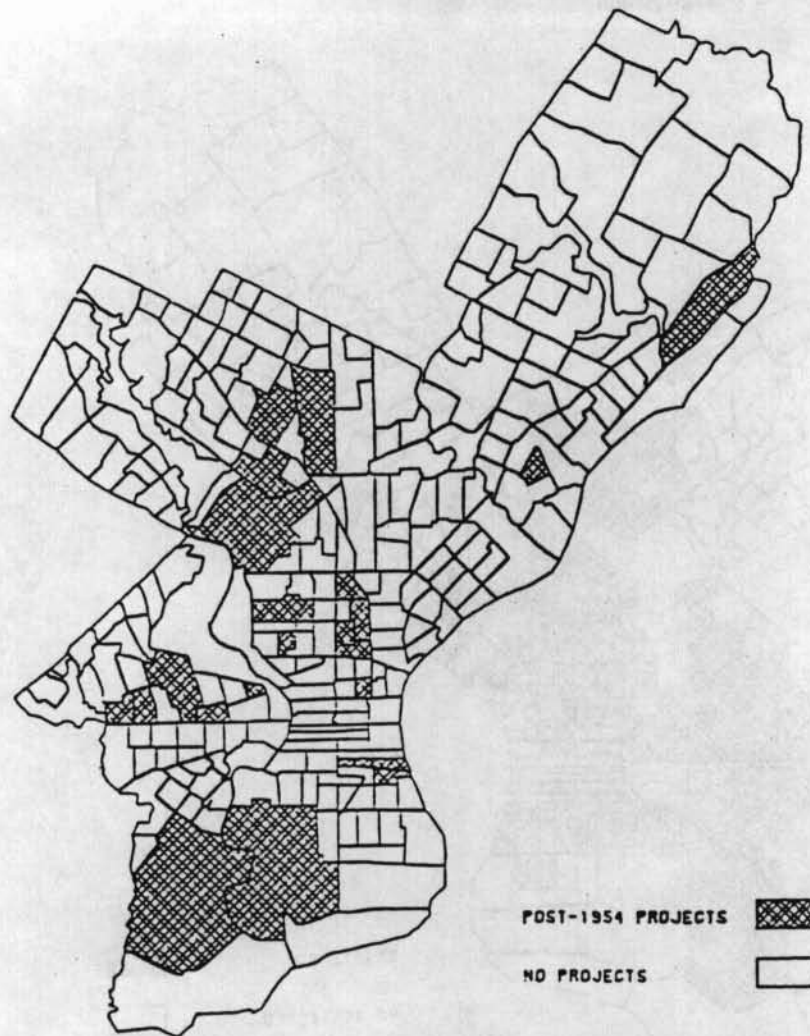
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Figure 9. Scattered Site Housing in Philadelphia, 1976

city's growing black population. Although the black proportion of the population increased from 11 percent in 1930 to 39 percent in 1980, for those tracts that contained no public housing the proportion of black residents increased from 5 to 16 percent. The tracts that were selected to become the site of public housing after 1950 contained larger and growing proportions of blacks in the years before such siting decisions were made. As shown in Figure 1, the rate of increase in the black proportion of residents in public housing tracts either did not change or in fact began to level off after the introduction of public housing.

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Figure 8. Post-1954 Public Housing Projects

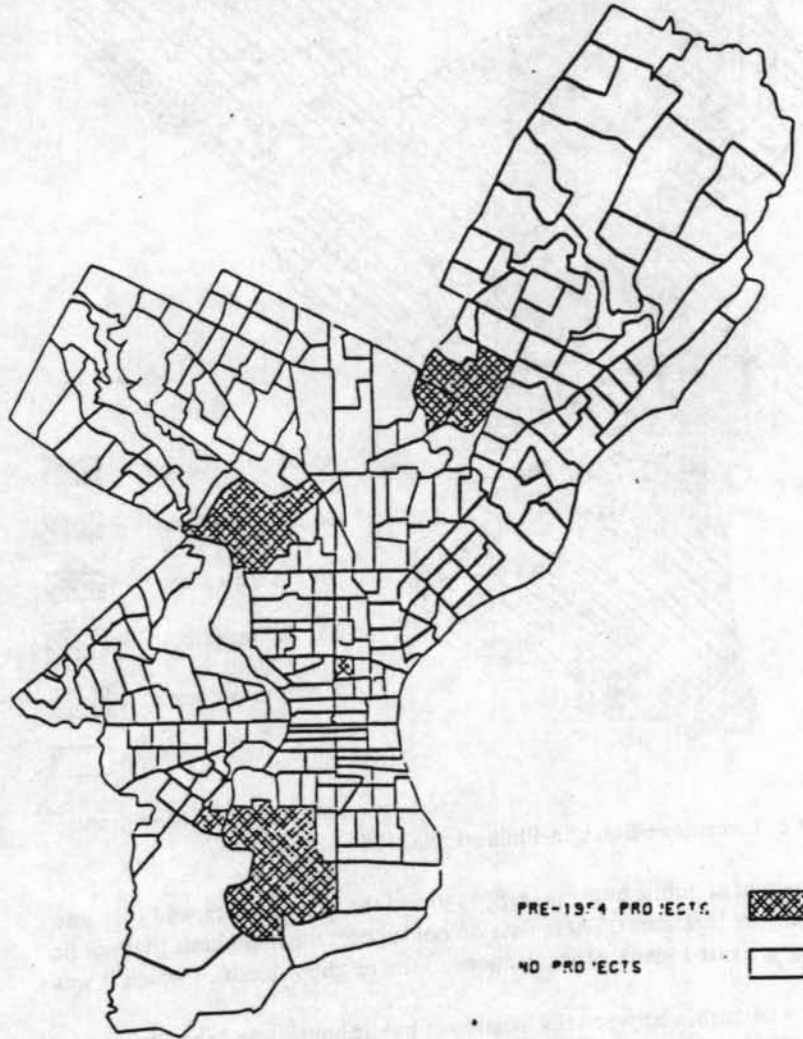
no public housing, pre-1950 projects, post-1950 projects, and scattered-site housing). Three census tracts contain old and new projects. Seventeen of the 92 tracts containing scattered-site housing also have large projects. For each of these four categories, we have calculated the average percentage of the tracts' population that was black for each of the census years between 1930 and 1980. These data are presented graphically in Figure 10.

Areas containing public housing received disproportionate numbers of the

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Table 2. Correlations between Percentage Black in Tracts and Presence of Public Housing

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Pre-1950 Projects	.025	.008	.031	-.004	.002	.004
1950-1970 Projects	.325	.324	.352	.314	.302	.264
Scattered Site Housing	.355	.370	.433	.583	.672	.633

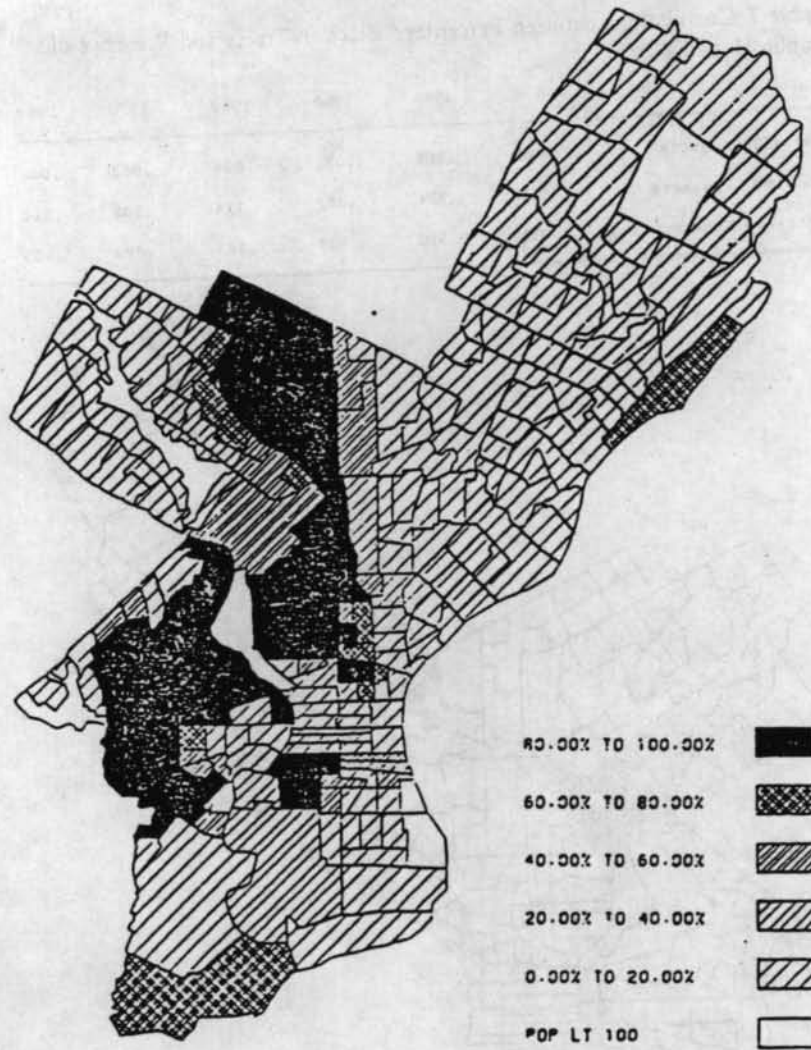


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Figure 7. Pre-1954 Public Housing Projects

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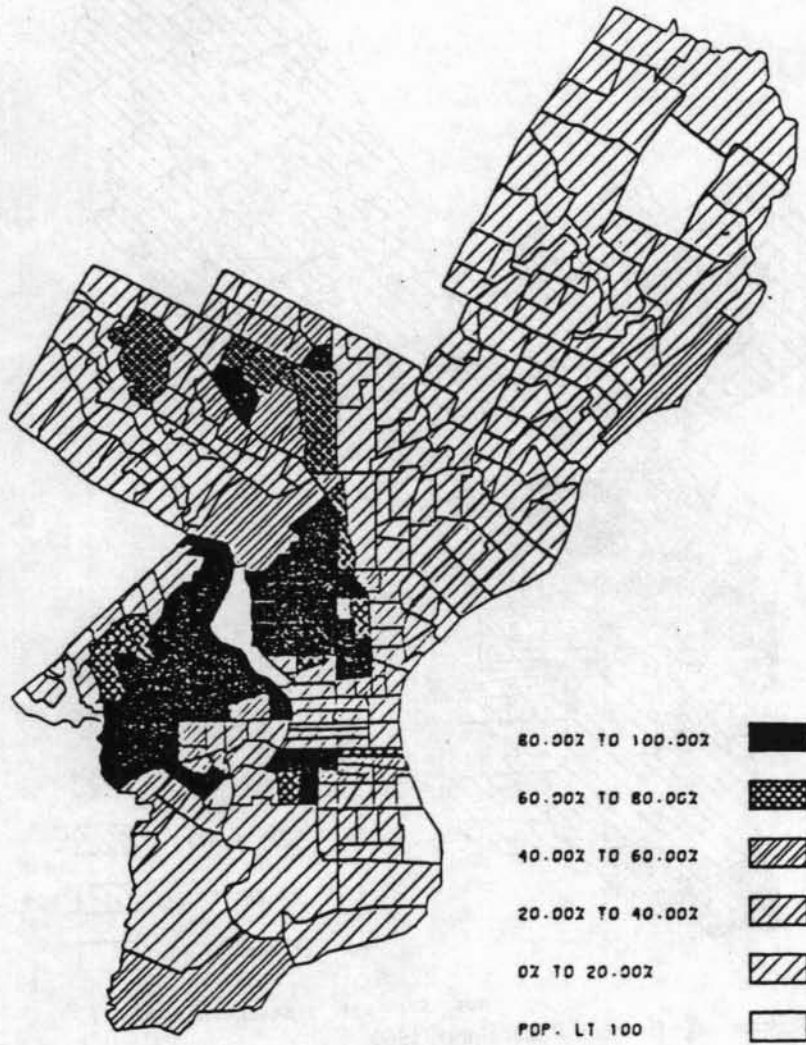
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Figure 6. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1980

development of public housing (e.g., 1950 and the large projects, and 1960 and scattered-site locations). These data do not support the hypothesis that public housing increased black concentrations in the neighborhoods in which it was placed.

The relationship between the location of public housing and the city's growing black population is also shown in Table 3, where we have grouped census tracts by the presence and nature of the public housing located within (i.e.,

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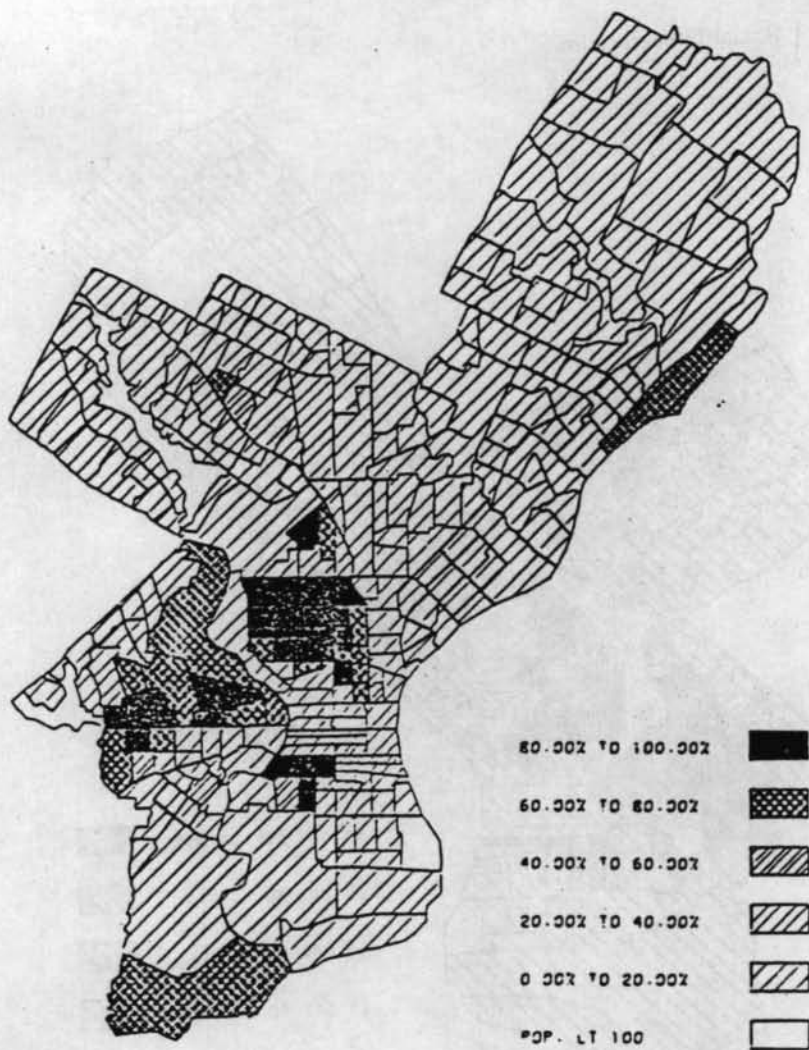
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Figure 5. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1970

population that was black for each census year between 1930 and 1980 and the presence of pre-1950 public housing, projects constructed between 1950 and 1970, and scattered-site housing. (See Figures 7-9.)

We find there is no association between the pre-1950 projects and black concentrations. There are positive relationships between (1) the locations of post-1950 projects, (2) scattered-site developments, and (3) the percentage black. Yet these relationships are strongest for the census years preceding the

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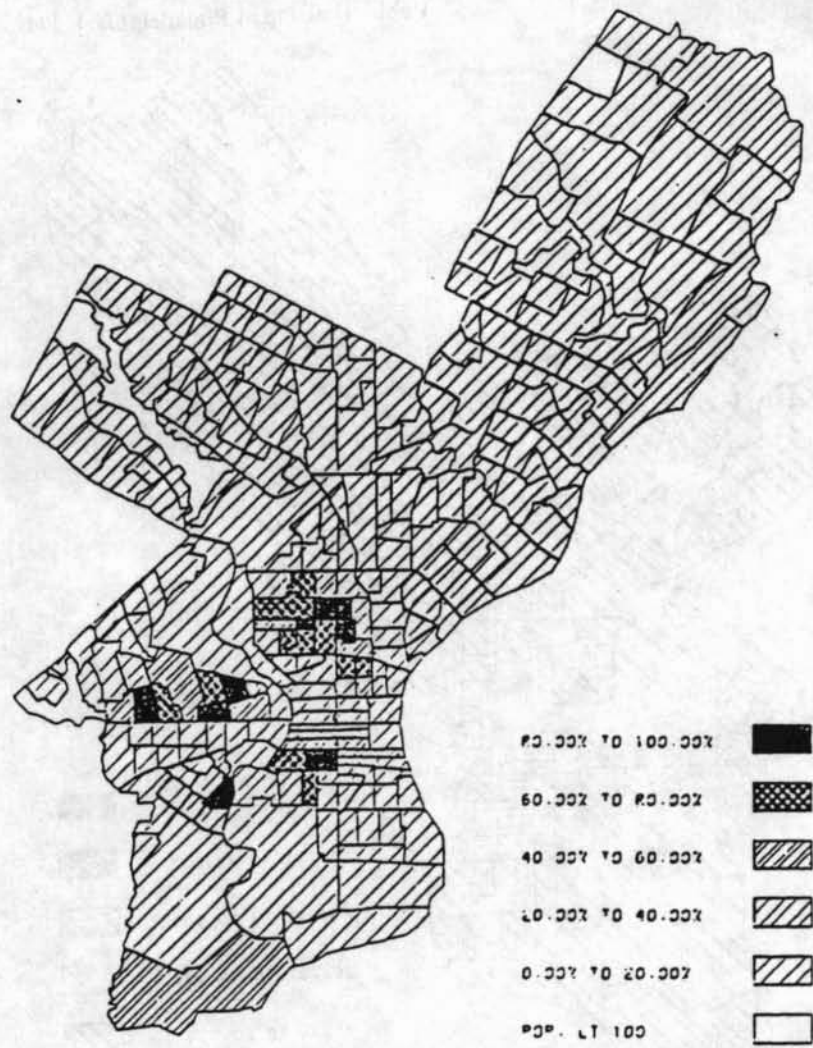
Figure 4. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1960

to the historical trend occurred in 1970, when there was a slight decline in the index of dissimilarity from the previous peak in 1960; by 1980 the pattern returned to its original form of increasing segregation. Apparently the 1970 census "caught" a relatively large number of neighborhoods undergoing racial transition. This "integration" was temporary.

The association between public housing and blacks is shown in Table 2, which presents the zero order correlations between the percentage of the tract's

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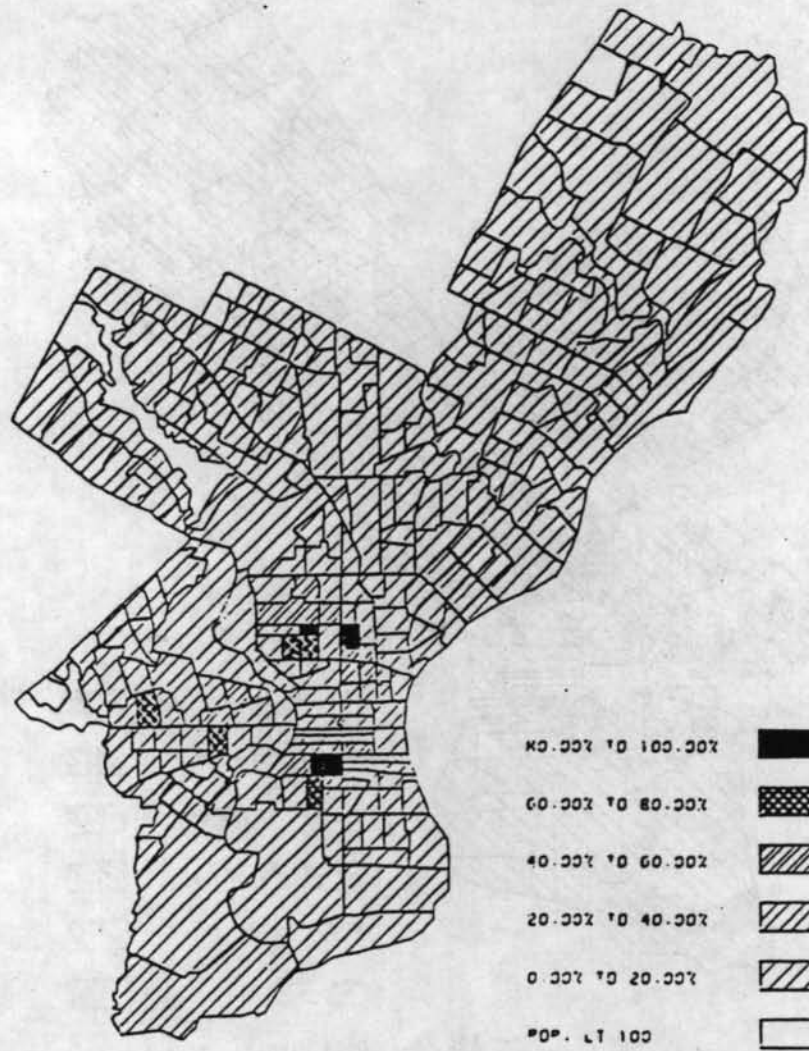
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Figure 3. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1950

“black dominance” is the average percentage of the tracts’ population that is black, weighted by the number of blacks in each tract. The third measure is the more straightforward percentage of the black population that lives in census tracts that are over 80 percent black. (See Figures 1–6.)

As can readily be seen, the level of racial segregation (measured by dissimilarity, dominance, and percentage of blacks in 80 percent black tracts) has increased steadily over the half-century covered by these data.³ The exception

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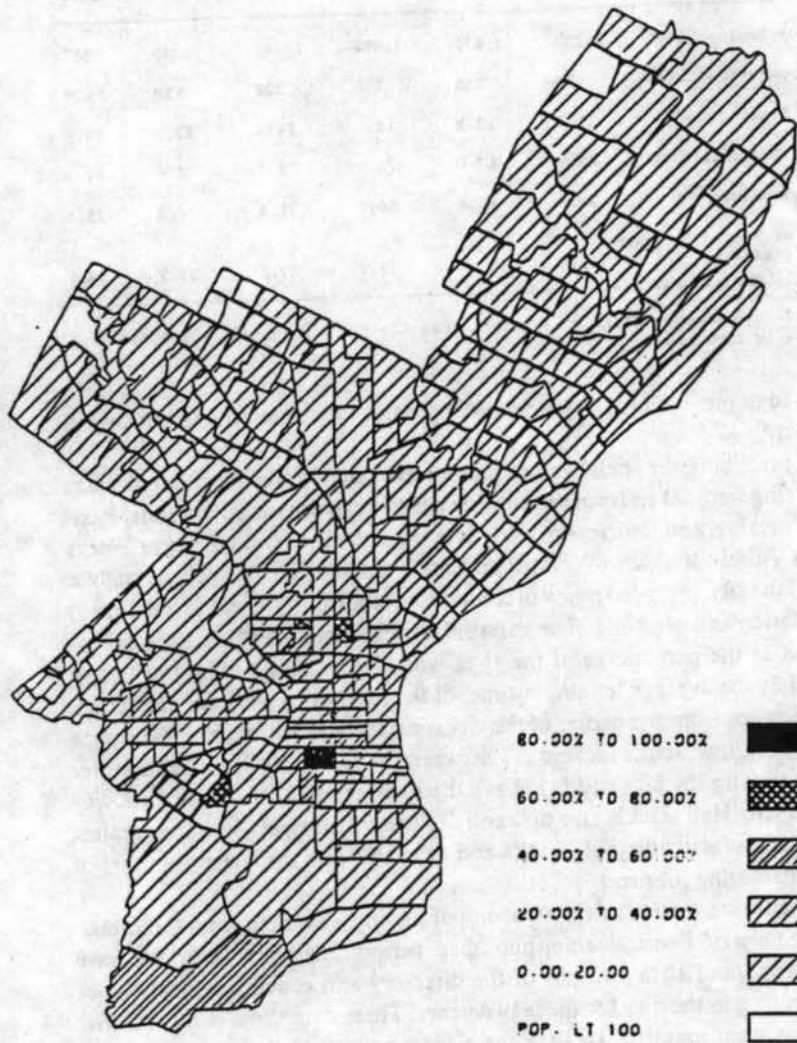
Figure 2. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1940

1970 the number of blacks also has declined, although to a lesser extent than whites. As a consequence of these demographic patterns, the percentage of the population that was black increased from 11 in 1930 to 39 in 1980.

Also shown in Table 1 are three measures of racial segregation. First, the index of dissimilarity reflects the percentage of either the black or white population that would be required to move to a tract dominated by the other race in order to achieve racial balance. Second, the less frequently used measure of

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Figure 1. Percentage Black in Philadelphia, 1930

Results: Racial Change, Public Housing, and Black Concentrations, 1930-1980

The relative size of the black and white populations for each of the census years between 1930 and 1980 for the city of Philadelphia is presented in Table 1. The city's population grew until 1950, when, partially as a result of white suburbanization, there was a substantial decline in the number of whites. Since

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Table 1. Racial Composition and Segregation in Philadelphia, 1930-1980

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
White Population Size ¹	1,732	1,671	1,696	1,461	1,285	982
Black Population Size ¹	220	255	376	528	659	639
Percent Black	11.2	13.2	18.1	26.3	32.9	39.4
Index of Dissimilarity	59.9	67.0	70.7	78.7	76.6	84.0
Black Dominance ²	34.3	45.8	56.9	71.6	74.3	79.8
Percent of Blacks in Tracts which are 80+ Black	0.0	12.5	22.7	52.3	59.2	74.6

1. In thousands

2. The average percent Black of tracts across the city, weighted by the number of blacks in each tract.

(1) pre-1950 projects, (2) 1950-70 projects, and (3) scattered-site housing in each tract.⁴

Data describing the social and economic characteristics of local populations and housing were taken from the published decennial census tabulations. Residential, housing, and journey-to-work data were obtained from the 1934 Works Progress Administration (WPA) Real Estate Survey. The survey, actually a census of the city, included many of the indicators currently found in the Census of Population and Housing. The variable "streetcar suburbs" has been operationalized as the percentage of the 1934 work force using public rail transit weighted by the average length, in time, of the journey to work for each tract.

The distance from the center of the city is measured in terms of the distance from City Hall, which is located (1) between the terminals of two commuter railroads serving the city and (2) above the intersection of two major subway lines. The City Hall tract is also the center of the census tracts with the greatest access to manufacturing jobs in 1928 and 1972 and with the largest number of nonmanufacturing jobs in 1970.

Information on the industrial structure of the city was taken from the *Industrial Directory of Pennsylvania*, published periodically since 1914. We have used the 1928 and 1972 editions of the directory and coded the locations of manufacturing in the city for those two years. These data show that industrial decline has been massive. In 1928 there were about 308,000 manufacturing jobs in the city. War industries provided a temporary renewal of manufacturing activity, but by 1972 the city lost 125,000 of the 328,000 manufacturing jobs present in 1947. Although the greatest loss of manufacturing employment has been in the areas of the city that contained the largest number of jobs in 1928, there remains a strong correlation (.70) between the number of industrial jobs in 1928 and in 1972. Between 1972 and 1978, manufacturing employment declined by an additional 25 percent.

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have suggested that identifiable historical characteristics of neighborhoods (e.g., their proximity to the central business district, the level of manufacturing employment, their previous use as streetcar suburbs, and real estate values) have determined whether or not they have been abandoned by dominant institutions and middle-class populations, and thus become accessible to the growing black, poor population and public housing. Clearly, it is necessary to control for such factors before examining the direct relationship between race and public housing.

Data Sources

We have used census tracts for the city of Philadelphia between 1930 and 1980 as the units of analysis for this research. Because tract boundaries have changed several times over this period, we have grouped tracts to create a set of 248 areas whose boundaries were identical for the fifty-year period.

Information on the location of public housing developments in the city was taken from the public housing authority's annual reports, which provide the address, size, building types, and dates of construction of all housing developments owned and managed by the Philadelphia Housing Authority. In the analysis that follows, we have grouped the project developments into two categories to reflect the historical periods of their construction in the city. The first category includes the eight projects that were constructed before 1950—all of them low-rise buildings located in seven different census tracts. The second category includes the twenty-four housing projects constructed between 1950 and 1969; fourteen of these were dominated by high-rise buildings.

Data on the location of scattered-site housing was obtained through the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, which reported the number of public housing units in each census tract in 1976.³ Scattered-site housing units are units owned and managed by the Philadelphia Housing Authority that are not part of large developments. Although the development of scattered-site housing was approved by the Philadelphia City Council in 1958, most of it was constructed between 1967 and 1971. About 92 different tracts contain at least one scattered-site unit, yet 8 tracts contain more than 300 "scattered" units. Over 50 percent of the scattered-site public housing in the city is contained in these 8 tracts. The highly skewed distribution of scattered-site housing is mirrored in the distribution of all public housing in Philadelphia. Although 104 census tracts contain some public housing, five neighborhoods contain over 1,000 public housing units. Together, these five neighborhoods contain over 40 percent of the city's total public housing stock.

Given the highly skewed nature of the distribution of public housing in the city, we have created "dummy" variables to indicate the presence or absence of

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contained a higher proportion of white-collar and professional workers, who with greater resources and earning power were more mobile. With the development of the more distant automobile suburbs in the 1950s, these areas were abandoned by families seeking greener spaces. Thus, these communities were more vulnerable to racial transition aided by the burgeoning intra-urban transportation systems. The ecological outcome of these historical processes has conformed with Schnore's (1964:333) observation that "the 'marginal work force' may be physically marginal to a given industrial community."

The characteristics of neighborhoods associated with increasing racial concentration are also associated with the location of public housing. Meyerson and Banfield's (1955) research on Chicago has been used to argue that it was the political efficacy of some local areas that determined the location of public housing. Logan and Schneider (1982) have suggested that the residential stability of local communities and their ethnic homogeneity are directly related to their political efficacy and, thus, to their ability to resist the invasion of blacks. Yancey and Ericksen (1979) have shown that the stability of white neighborhoods is the result of local manufacturing employment. Therefore, the presence of manufacturing jobs may be the antecedent condition to stability, community solidarity, and the ultimate successful resistance to public housing.

Public housing is likely to be located in areas that are being abandoned as a result of changes in major economic activities. The Chicago urban sociologists identified the "zone of transition" as those areas of the city being left fallow in anticipation of the continued growth of the central business district. We now realize that the zone of transition was being abandoned because of the decline of manufacturing and the decentralization of retail activity—not because the centrally located business district was expanding. Subsequent changes in the *relative* productive utility of neighborhoods leads to the creation of other zones of transition. For example, older industrial neighborhoods lose their stability with the loss of industrial employment.² Such areas are likely to have relatively unstable populations and thus are not likely to have the organization or connections necessary to use the political structure as a means of preventing public housing from locating there—given the will to do so. It is also reasonable to expect that the cost of land acquisition for public housing in these areas will be less—whether measured in political or economic terms.

In summary, we have found three rather different explanations for the relationship between the location of public housing and concentrations of blacks in urban neighborhoods. The "spillover hypothesis" suggests that the construction of public housing in a neighborhood will produce "white flight," the result being an increasing concentration of the black population. The racially motivated site selection argument suggests that the chief causes of the association between public housing and blacks are (1) the policy of racial segregation within public housing, (2) the growing proportion of public housing families that are black, and (3) the policy of locating public housing in predominantly black neighborhoods. In contrast to both of these explanations, historical ecologists

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between the percentage of a local population that is black and the subsequent location of a project, the weakness of the relationship suggests that other factors, besides political entities basing site selection on race, have determined the location of public housing in Philadelphia.

The Historical Ecology of the Ghetto

At the most general level, the perspective that we have labeled "historical ecology" is summarized by Taeuber and Taeuber (1965:125), who concluded their investigation of residential succession by writing that "the fortunes of residential neighborhoods in a city are to a large extent tied to broader changes occurring in the metropolitan areas and the economy as a whole." The involvement of the larger urban structure in the settlement pattern of race and ethnic groups has been documented by a series of social historians and sociologists (see Warner and Burke 1969; Ward 1971; Kusmer 1976; Lieberman 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). If we are to understand the formation of racial and ethnic communities and the locations of such institutions as public housing, it is necessary to specify how particular neighborhoods have been linked to the changing social and economic organization of the city as a whole, rather than merely examine their internal characteristics. The literature suggests that the economic character of neighborhoods, particularly the presence and stability of manufacturing employment, is central to understanding a neighborhood's ethnic and racial history. For example, European immigrants concentrated near centers of manufacturing employment (Pratt 1917; Greenberg 1981). Blacks, although initially concentrated in center city areas, and thus near centers of employment, were largely excluded from manufacturing jobs (Lieberman 1980).

Ericksen and Yancey (1979) have shown for Philadelphia that the pattern of racial transition is directly related to the ecological and economic position of the city's respective neighborhoods. In addition to the relative distance to large numbers of blacks in 1930, lower housing values and smaller concentrations of manufacturing jobs were present in those areas experiencing increases in the number of blacks. The manufacturing areas were residentially stable and thus did not provide easily accessible housing for the city's growing black population. The strong tie between work and residence for blue-collar workers and the lower proportions of homeowners who hold mortgages on their homes (Katona, Liniger, and Mueller 1965:39) enhance the residential stability of these communities.

In sharp contrast to the stable industrial blue-collar neighborhoods are the old streetcar suburbs. These communities were established around the turn of the century following the development of the electric streetcar, which made it possible for large numbers of urban workers to live farther away from their place of employment (Warner 1962; Ward 1971). The streetcar suburbs were inherently less stable in that they had no close ties to the workplace. They also

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Murphy" deal, an informal arrangement whereby projects would not be proposed to the City Council until a particular alderman, Alderman Murphy, cleared the proposal with the potentially affected alderman. During the *Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority* case, the CHA admitted that projects slated for white areas never reached the City Council for purely racial grounds. Another racially based strategy mentioned by Peel, Pickett, and Buehl was termed the "twice-as-many-as-needed" policy. This meant that many more sites than necessary were submitted to Chicago's City Council. In this way, the CHA could fill its HUD allotment and still veto sites on the basis of public pressure. Such an action was acceptable, given HUD's "prima facie" rule, because the CHA could show HUD that these were the only acceptable sites of all submitted. "The CHA site-selection procedures are a good example of what extreme local political authority over site approval can do and how the LHA (local housing authority) can acquiesce to and participate in discriminatory practices in site selection" (Peel, Pickett, and Buehl 1970:85).

Thus, neighborhoods with political organization, or strong aldermen, prevented public housing from being located within their areas. Welfeld (1976:125) reports that in Chicago "99.5 percent of the proposed units in White areas were rejected. Practically all projects were built in Black neighborhoods." In the mid-seventies the Supreme Court ordered the Chicago Housing Authority to construct new projects in predominantly white suburban residential areas. The primary impact of this decision was the sharp curtailment of new public housing (Heumann 1979:237; Welfeld 1976:118).¹

There is a recognized need for public housing, yet the residents of black neighborhoods reject it on the grounds that it will perpetuate the ghetto, and the residents of white neighborhoods reject it on the grounds that it will create a ghetto. In essence, public housing has become the proverbial political football. Unfortunately, the fulfillment of a population's basic needs, through public housing, is often subjugated to the *desires* of neighborhood residents. It was refreshing to see that, in *Croskey Street Concerned Citizens v. Romney* (Croskey Street was the locus of a North Philadelphia citizens group), Judge Aldisert asserted: "Depriving the elderly of this facility, or even delaying access thereto, is to me important, if not the most important consideration of these entire proceedings" (*University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 1974:1355). In this case, the court allowed the construction of the project for the elderly.

On the whole, it appears that the resistance to public housing by Philadelphia's white communities was on a somewhat smaller scale than was the case in Chicago. In Philadelphia, before 1954 projects reserved for white tenants were in neighborhoods that were 99 percent white. Those reserved for blacks were constructed in neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of blacks (42 percent). Since 1954, projects have been constructed in 22 different neighborhoods or census tracts. While the black percentage of these tract populations was greater than the average for the city, projects were constructed in predominantly white neighborhoods. Thus, although there is a positive relationship

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gests that projects are "avoided as locations of dire poverty and the expected accompanying social problems." Yet, they add, "the strength of the statistics for other socio-economic measures does not suggest a complete avoidance of the poor."

Other investigators have reached different conclusions. Public housing is one of the least important predictors of violent crime in a community when social, economic, and housing characteristics of the neighborhood are taken into account (Roncek, Bell, and Francik 1981). Similarly, studies of real estate values indicate the insignificant effect of project proximity (Saunders and Woodford 1979; Schmidt 1980). Varady (1982:432) has observed: "This article's review of the social science literature provides little support for the widely accepted belief that government subsidized housing programs have neighborhood spillover effects." He concludes: "In particular, the evidence on the relationship between housing programs and property values is contradictory and confusing."

Racism and Urban Political Structures

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (*Report* 1968:2) concluded its investigation of the conditions leading to the riots of the sixties with the following statement: "White society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, White institutions maintain it and White society condones it." To the degree that public housing is implicated in the ghetto, it provides a means of examining some of the mechanisms by which a federally sponsored and controlled, or at least monitored, institution is involved in the formation and crystallization of the racial ghetto.

There are two explanations as to how public housing has been implicated in creating and maintaining racial segregation. First, blacks and whites have been (and continue to be) segregated within public housing projects. Second, public housing has become a black institution and white communities have successfully fought against it. Before the Supreme Court's rejection of "separate but equal," public housing projects were explicitly designated for blacks or whites. Since the 1960s, though no longer officially restricted to blacks or whites, projects have remained racially segregated. Rabin (n.d.) reports that, in 1970, 91 percent of blacks living in Philadelphia's public housing lived in projects that were over 75 percent black. Twenty years earlier, 87 percent lived in such predominantly black developments.

In general, the explanation of the association between public housing and black concentrations in surrounding neighborhoods refers explicitly to the policies of urban political machines and public housing authorities that base site selection on racial characteristics of the neighborhood. Meyerson and Banfield's (1955) investigation of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) during the early 1950s documents the impact of the political machines on the location of public housing in the city. Peel, Pickett, and Buehl (1970) mention Chicago's "Kean-

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neighborhoods. The second perspective posits causality in the opposite direction—it is the racial, and concomitant social and political, character of neighborhoods, coupled with the racially based decisions of those in power, that determines whether an area will become the site of a public housing project. The third perspective says that the correlations observed between public housing and neighborhood characteristics, while strong, are spurious. These correlations can be understood in terms of the position of the neighborhood in the changing political, ecological, social, and economic structure of the city. As might be expected, there are arguments and evidence supporting each of these perspectives.

The Spillover of Poverty and Race

The primary explanation for the relationship between public housing, poverty, and black concentrations focuses on the impact of the project tenants on the surrounding neighborhood. Thus, according to a Chicago urban villager, project residents "have no sense of responsibility, they don't take care of their home or their children, and they have no initiative" (Meyerson and Banfield 1955:110). The presence of such people in neighborhoods apparently threatens important values and/or interests, such as safety, economic investment, and racial stability of the surrounding neighborhoods.

In Philadelphia, similar objections were raised against the siting of public housing in the 1930s (Bauman 1974). Recently, they have also been made by blue-collar residents of such Philadelphia communities as Whitman Park and by the wealthy newcomers to Society Hill. This sentiment was clearly expressed by the federal district court, which asserted that federally subsidized rental housing in a neighborhood "would seem to have the same potential for perpetuating racial segregation as low-rent public housing has" (*Shannon v. HUD* 1970:820). Concentrations of low-rent housing were believed, by the court, to contribute to urban blight. In this case, the court required the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to set up an institutionalized method to consider "whether the need for physical rehabilitation or additional minority housing at the site in question outweighed the disadvantage of increasing or perpetuating racial concentration" (p. 822).

Although a central component of the district court's decision, no evidence was cited supporting the hypothesis that public housing increases either urban blight or black concentrations. The research literature is somewhat contradictory on this point. Gold (1980:277) concludes her investigation of racial discrimination in New York housing with the suggestion that "many projects have been so distinctive in appearance that they have stigmatized the neighborhoods in which they are located and the tenants themselves." Laska et al. (1982:159-60) found that proximity to public housing was negatively related to levels of renovation activity. According to them, the strong negative correlation sug-

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Chapter Twelve
**Public Housing Projects, Blacks,
and Public Policy**
The Historical Ecology of Public Housing
in Philadelphia

IRA GOLDSTEIN*

WILLIAM L. YANCEY

This chapter reports the results of research on the location and consequences of public housing in urban neighborhoods. Public housing and the neighborhoods in which it is located are paradigmatic of contemporary urban ghettos (see Salisbury 1954; Moore 1969; Rainwater 1970; Lewis 1966; Friedman 1966; Heumann 1979). Our interest focuses on the association between the location of public housing and black concentrations. The first counts of the 1980 census of Philadelphia effectively validated the continued rise in racial segregation forecast by the 1969 National Commission on Civil Disorders "toward two societies, one White, one Black, separate and unequal." Unlike the pattern experienced by other ethnic groups entering American cities, blacks have become increasingly more segregated, rather than less (Liebersohn 1963; Hershberg et al. 1979). We seek to understand how, during decades marked by liberal domestic policies, a locally administered federal program such as Public Housing became increasingly associated with the conditions it was designed to eliminate—that is, the concentration of blacks in urban poverty.

Projects, Poverty, and Blacks: Alternative Hypotheses

There are three explanatory paradigms in the social science, legal, and planning literature for the association between public housing and concentrations of blacks. The first points to the "spillover" of race, poverty, and the culture of poverty of public housing into the surrounding residential areas. The second focuses on the site selection policies of housing authorities and urban political machines that tend to act largely as a function of the social characteristics of areas. The third posits that the position of neighborhoods in the historical ecology of the city is the determinant of both its housing and racial characteristics.

The first perspective argues that the causality flows from public housing to

*The authors would like to acknowledge the contributions and critiques of the members of the Urban Housing Seminar, Temple University: David Bartelt, David Elesh, George Leon, Jannet Shannon, and Ronald Turner. Our formulations have been aided by insightful critiques by Carolyn Adams, John M. Goering, Mark Haller, and Shirley Laska.

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14. Michael J. Vernarelli, "Mobility Behavior in a Housing Voucher Program" (Department of Economics, Rochester Institute of Technology, March 1982).
15. Wallace et al., *Participation and Benefits*, pp. 247, 253.
16. Dissatisfaction with present housing unit or neighborhood was one of the independent variables tested in the Demand Experiment logit analysis cited earlier. As we would expect, such dissatisfaction increases the likelihood that a household will search for a different unit. See MacMillan, *Mobility in the Housing Allowance Demand Experiment*, chap. 5.

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hoods. But it does not necessarily indicate the program's final impact on housing desegregation. For example, if a minority household moves to a predominantly nonminority area, integration is enhanced. If, however, one or more nonminority households move away to another predominantly nonminority area as a result, the initial integrating effect may be canceled out. This leads us to the issue of racial "tipping," which is covered in depth in the racial integration literature and will not be analyzed here.

2. For a complete, concise description of the program and its principal findings, see *Experimental Housing Allowance Program: Conclusions. The 1980 Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, February 1980).

3. The Demand Experiment tested a number of different subsidy designs. For comparability, only households that received the subsidy that was similar to that used for the AAE and Section 8 programs are included in this analysis.

4. Reilly Atkinson, William Hamilton, and Dowell Myers, *Economic and Racial/Ethnic Concentration in the Housing Allowance Demand Experiment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, June 1980), p. 47.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Jean MacMillan, *Mobility in the Housing Allowance Demand Experiment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., June 1980), pp. 3, 100.

7. Atkinson, Hamilton, and Myers, *Economic and Racial/Ethnic Concentration*, pp. 45-67. These findings are generally consistent with changes in patterns of racial segregation in standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs) over time. See Ann B. Schnare, *Housing in Black and White: Patterns of Segregation in American Housing Markets* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, December 1977); Annemette Sorensen, Karl Taeuber, and Leslie Hollingsworth, *Indexes of Racial Residential Segregation for 109 Cities in the United States, 1940-1970* (Madison: Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, 1974); Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

8. Atkinson, Hamilton, and Meyers, *Economic and Racial/Ethnic Concentration*, p. 47.

9. Frederick T. Temple, William L. Holshouser, Jr., M. G. Trend, David Budding, and Mireille L. Ernst, *Third Annual Report of the Administrative Agency Experiment Evaluation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., August 1976), pp. 10, 48.

10. Although this was the case when the evaluations were conducted, the percentage has increased to 30 percent since that time.

11. See Margaret Drury, Olsen Lee, Michael Springer, and Lorene Yap, *Lower Income Housing Assistance Program (Section 8): Nationwide Evaluation of the Existing Housing Program* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, November 1978); James E. Wallace et al., *Participation and Benefits in the Urban Section 8 Program: New Construction and Existing Housing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, 1981). One caveat should be made when comparing the findings of the two evaluations, that is, the populations they represent, although similar, are not identical. The sample chosen for the national study represents a nationwide cross section of Section 8 participants (urban as well as rural) early in the program. The urban study reflects the behavior of a sample of households that became Section 8 recipients in late 1979, in fifteen SMSAs that represent a broad range of Section 8 program activity.

12. Household Survey from the Section 8 national study.

13. Wallace et al., *Participation and Benefits*, pp. 237-38.

dies do not inhibit desegregation, as is often the case with project-based assisted housing programs such as Public Housing. Households assisted under tenant-based subsidy programs generally follow existing patterns of integration set by unassisted households, implying that the program itself creates no additional constraints. As a result, the overall pattern of integration is not substantially altered by these programs—in either a positive or negative direction. However, by causing some program participants to move somewhat sooner than they would have otherwise, these tenant-based subsidies accelerate the current process, thereby increasing the overall extent of integration. Thus, the larger the number of families assisted, the faster the integration process takes place. Unfortunately, two important factors counteract this process, thereby limiting the program's actual impact on the overall extent of racial integration.

The first is program size. Unlike welfare programs such as AFDC and Food Stamps, for which all who are eligible for benefits are entitled to receive them, HUD's assisted housing programs are limited in scale by the program budget established each year by Congress. There are approximately 9.7 million households eligible for the Section 8 Existing Housing Program. However, because of budgetary limitations, it currently assists about 800,000 households. Thus, even if all 800,000 families moved to desegregated neighborhoods upon receiving Section 8 assistance, the overall impact on racial integration for the nation as a whole would be relatively small. This brings us to the second limiting factor. That is, only about half of the families that receive Section 8 assistance move from their preprogram units. This is due primarily to the fact that a large portion of the program's participants are elderly households, which for a variety of reasons choose not to move. Because we have little reason to expect the proportion of elderly participants to change substantially, the number of Section 8 households that move is equally likely to remain low.

Finally, the reader should bear in mind that the findings reported here are based on a static look at locational change and therefore are only partly accurate. The full impact of programs such as the Section 8 Existing Program can be assessed only if the racial composition of program participants' origin and destination neighborhoods are analyzed over time to see what integrative or segregative patterns follow. For the purpose of assessing the impact of a specific type of rental subsidy program on integration, we have limited our attention to moves made by the program participants. If assisted housing programs enable them to move to integrated neighborhoods, we conclude that the goal of increasing freedom of housing choice has been achieved.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The reader should keep in mind, however, that analyzing the behavior of assisted households tells only part of the story. It tells us whether they are taking advantage of their increased freedom of housing choice and moving to less segregated neighbor-

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different from zero, it nevertheless is not very large. For those who moved, however, the mean change in minority concentration was a decrease of 7 percentage points, and for black households that moved (26 percent of all recipients), the average was a decrease of 13 percentage points (see Table 1). This represents a 25 percent reduction from their average initial level of minority concentration. Thus, the mean change varies considerably, depending on which group of recipients is examined. Like many of their EHAP counterparts, Section 8 minority households that moved appear to be experiencing a sizable amount of neighborhood racial deconcentration. Yet their destination neighborhoods were still relatively segregated: the average level of minority concentration in destination tracts for black households that moved was 40 percent, whereas for white movers the average level was 9 percent.¹⁵

When comparing the results of the three programs, we see that mobility rates as well as the frequency of moves to less segregated neighborhoods seem to be higher in the AAE and Section 8 programs than in the Demand Experiment. This can be explained, at least in part, by the difference in the source of program applicants for the different programs. That is, in the Demand Experiment, a sample of the eligible population was invited to participate and those who accepted the offer applied for the program. The experiment's control group was also taken from this sample. In Section 8 and the AAE, families that needed assistance with their rent had to seek out the agency administering the program and apply for assistance. Because of this self-selection process, it seems reasonable to assume that Section 8 and AAE households as a group were more dissatisfied with their housing conditions (their unit, landlord, neighborhood, rent burden, etc.) than Demand Experiment households. Consequently, we would expect more of them to be "on the verge" of moving, which would explain their higher mobility rate and higher rate of moves to different types of neighborhoods (see Table 1).¹⁶

We know from comparing experimental households to controls in the Demand Experiment that the assistance payment per se does not induce many additional moves or moves to less concentrated neighborhoods than would have occurred in the absence of the program. Without a control group for AAE or Section 8 households, we cannot be sure whether the observed differences are attributable to the prevailing patterns of locational change among the population that participated in the different programs, the result of other program-specific differences, or some combination of both. Nevertheless, the reduction in minority concentration for some program participants appears to be significantly greater than that experienced by most of the low-income population. And even though households continue to live in relatively concentrated neighborhoods, the results of these evaluations suggest that the overall pattern of household moves seems to be in the direction of integration rather than segregation.

In view of these findings, what impact can we expect from these programs on the overall extent of racial integration? At a minimum, tenant-based subsi-

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implemented. The second study (referred to as the "urban" study) took a further look at the program's effects in fifteen SMSAs where it had been operating for several years.¹¹

According to the national study, almost half of the Section 8 subsidy recipients moved to obtain program benefits (44 percent of the nonminority households and 48 percent of the minority households). Approximately 70 percent of those households (or one-third of the Section 8 recipients) moved to new neighborhoods (again, the proportion of whites and blacks was about the same). Of those who moved to new neighborhoods, approximately 67 percent thought they had moved to a "better" neighborhood, 22 percent thought they had moved to a "similar" neighborhood, and about 16 percent thought they had moved to a "worse" neighborhood. With respect to racial mix, moves to neighborhoods that households thought were more racially mixed were offset by moves to neighborhoods that were perceived as less mixed. That is, approximately 32 percent of the households that moved said their new neighborhood was more racially mixed than their preprogram neighborhood, whereas about 28 percent said their new neighborhood was less mixed. The remaining 40 percent said the two neighborhoods were about the same. Offsetting moves occurred among black as well as white households. Among whites, however, moves to less racially mixed neighborhoods equaled moves to more racially mixed neighborhoods (30 percent for each), whereas among black households moves to more mixed neighborhoods exceeded moves to less mixed neighborhoods by 15 percentage points (39 percent vs. 24 percent).¹²

Although these findings imply that Section 8 households are reducing their neighborhood level of racial concentration to some degree, we cannot specify to what extent in the absence of specific preprogram and program neighborhood characteristics. In the Section 8 urban study, however, census tract codes were recorded for neighborhoods lived in by each household both before (origin) and during the time they participated in the program (destination), thus providing census tract characteristics to analyze racial patterns of locational change.

The overall proportion of Section 8 recipients that moved to obtain program benefits was still about 50 percent when the urban study was conducted in 1979 (see Table 1). Disaggregating this proportion by race, 61 percent of the minority households and 39 percent of the nonminority households moved.¹³ However, when other demographic factors such as age are controlled for, this difference is not statistically significant.¹⁴

Of the minority households that moved, 52 percent moved to neighborhoods with minority concentrations similar to their origin neighborhoods, 35 percent moved to neighborhoods with smaller proportions of minority households, and 15 percent moved to neighborhoods with a higher level of minority concentration (see Table 1). When averaged across all Section 8 recipients, the mean change in minority concentration from origin to destination tracts was a decrease of 4 percentage points. Although statistically this change is significantly

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level of minority concentration, and 12 percent moved to more concentrated areas. Moves made by black control households were not significantly different (see Table 1). More specifically, black recipient households that moved in Pittsburgh reduced their level of minority concentration by an average of 4 percentage points. Black control households that moved increased their minority concentration by an average of 8 percentage points. However, these differences between experimental households and controls were not statistically significant. From Table 1, it appears that the patterns of locational choice of black movers in Phoenix are much different. But there were very few black experimental households in Phoenix and even fewer black movers. Hence the sample is too small to determine significance and may not even be representative.⁷

The important factor to keep in mind when analyzing locational choices made by minority households is that black households in both Pittsburgh and Phoenix tended to live in racially concentrated neighborhoods (i.e., neighborhoods with a substantial proportion of minority households). For example, in Pittsburgh the average minority concentration across all black recipients' origin neighborhoods was 54 percent. In Phoenix, it was 42 percent. Black control households, as well as black households that moved, lived in similar types of neighborhoods (see Table 1). Thus, even the households that moved to less concentrated areas, on average, were still living in relatively segregated neighborhoods.⁸

EHAP's Administrative Agency Experiment was conducted in eight sites. Overall, 45 percent of the recipient households moved to obtain program benefits. According to AAE analysts, movers tended to follow already established patterns of locational change, that is, white households tended to move to more segregated white neighborhoods, whereas black households tended to move to slightly less concentrated or transitional neighborhoods. Although they originated in neighborhoods similar to their Demand Experiment counterparts, minority movers in the AAE decreased their minority concentration on average by 14 percentage points. (See Table 1.) However, as was the case in the Demand Experiment, both black and white movers in the AAE remained in relatively segregated neighborhoods. That is, the average minority concentration in black recipient movers' neighborhoods was 40 percent, whereas the corresponding concentration for white movers was 4 percent.⁹

In the Section 8 Existing Housing Program, participants generally receive a subsidy equal to the difference between their rent and 25 percent of their income.¹⁰ As in EHAP, Section 8 subsidies are tied to the tenant rather than to the specific unit, thereby leaving the selection of the unit to the tenant provided that it passes minimum housing standards. Two separate evaluations of the Section 8 Existing Program, the first conducted in 1976 and the second in 1979, provide information on the degree of change in neighborhood economic and racial concentration experienced by Section 8 program participants. The first study (herein referred to as the "national" study) was designed to provide a national overview of the Section 8 program's impact shortly after it was

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Table 1. Summary of Mobility Effects in EHAP and Section 8

	EHAP				AAE	Section 8 Urban Study
	Demand Experiment		Phoenix			
	Pittsburgh Exp.	Control	Exp.	Control		
Proportion of Households that Moved:						
Total	38	35	59	54	45	49
Minority	40	33	73	74	60	61
Non-Minority	37	35	58	51	41	39
Proportion of Black Movers that Moved to Neighborhoods with Minority Concentrations that were:						
Higher	12	24	32*	26*	27	15
Same	71	67	11	47	20	52
Lower	16	10	58	26	53	35
Mean Proportion Minority in Origin Neighborhood						
Minority Movers	52	42	40*	30	56	52
Non-Minority Movers	7	6	3	5	6	10
Mean Change in Proportion Minority from Origin to Destination Neighborhood						
Minority Movers	-4	+8	-4*	+4	-14	-13
Non-Minority Movers	-2	-1	-1	-3	-2	0

* Based on fewer than 20 observations

moving of about 7 percentage points above what it would have been if the household had not received the allowance. This effect is primarily concentrated among the households whose units did not meet the housing standards at enrollment (i.e., to receive the allowance, they would have had to move to a unit that met the standards or upgrade their current unit to meet the standards). For these households, the increased probability of moving was 10 percentage points above what it would have been without the allowance.⁶ The implication of this finding is that the allowance caused households to move somewhat sooner than they would have otherwise.

Using census tract data, an analysis was conducted of changes in the characteristics from households' origin neighborhoods (i.e., the tract in which a household lived before becoming a recipient) to their destination neighborhoods (i.e., the tract in which a household lived after becoming a recipient). In general, the households that chose to move relocated to neighborhoods with slightly lower proportions of minority households than the neighborhoods from which they had moved. Control households that moved followed similar patterns, however, indicating that the allowance did not in itself induce a substantial change in household behavior. For example, 71 percent of the black movers in Pittsburgh moved to neighborhoods with minority concentrations similar to their origin neighborhoods, 16 percent moved to neighborhoods with a lower

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