

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN INTERGROUP HOUSING

RESULTS OF PILOT TEST

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This report describes the pilot test work done during 1965 by the National Opinion Research Center as a first step toward the development of procedures for studying the housing decisions of households in racially mixed neighborhoods. The primary focus of the pilot study is methodological, although in the course of its execution interesting information about a small sample of integrated neighborhoods was obtained which provides a basis for the formulation of hypotheses that can be tested in a larger nationwide study. The methodological problems to which this pilot project is directed fall into three general groups: (1) developing techniques for locating an initially vaguely defined and presumably rare population--that of racially integrated neighborhoods; (2) developing a feasible method for defining more precisely what constitutes a "neighborhood"; (3) perfecting methods for obtaining information about the facilities and characteristics of neighborhoods which cannot be found in any published sources such as Census statistics.

Should the pilot study be successful, and, as this report will show, we believe that it was, we would be in a position to identify the population of integrated neighborhoods in the United States, draw a sample of such neighborhoods, and then ascertain their characteristics. When these are compared with the characteristics of a sample of nonintegrated neighborhoods,

we should be able to isolate the important differences between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods. Furthermore, we should be in a position to draw a sample of individuals living in integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods in order to study their housing decisions. Because this sample can be drawn from a wide variety of neighborhood types, it should escape the limitations of many past studies of racially mixed areas which have been confined to a small number of neighborhoods, typically in a small area.

To make clear the context within which the pilot study was developed, it is necessary first to present briefly the general background of the nationwide study and the contemplated research design.

Aims of the Nationwide Study

Because housing decisions are critical for households, determining in large part the kinds of interpersonal environments and the amount and quality of community facilities available to household members, such decisions have important implications for the lives of household members, particularly for children and housewives. Whether, and under what conditions, racially mixed neighborhoods can be stabilized are questions which are important to answer for the contributions such answers may make to general knowledge concerning both the relationship of housing to human behavior and the viability of the integrated society toward which our national policy is presently committed.

The expressed attitudes of the American population toward greater equality for our Negro minority have become increasingly favorable since

World War II. Especially marked has been the trend toward increasing acceptance of Negroes by whites in a wide variety of situations since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1964; Sheatsley, 1966). In housing, increasing acceptance has also been the trend: For example, in a May, 1963, Gallup Poll 55 per cent of the population said they would not move if a Negro family moved next door; this percentage had increased to 65 per cent by May of 1965 (Gallup Poll, 1965).

Although there have always been some neighborhoods in some cities in which Negroes and whites have lived side by side for long periods of time, in roughly the same sorts of housing, only within the last few decades have an appreciable number of interracial neighborhoods appeared. Interracial public housing units were first planned and operated as such after World War II. Privately developed interracial housing also made its appearance on the housing market in the postwar period. In 1955 E. Grier and G. Grier (1960) were able to list fifty areas that were private interracial housing developments, and at the present time there must be considerably more. Although it is tempting to think that the development of interracial neighborhoods and the massive shifts in public attitudes toward equality for Negroes are intimately related, it must also be recognized that housing behavior is not entirely determined by interracial attitudes.

This study would be designed to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the factors influencing a family's decision to move into or remain in an integrated neighborhood? We shall examine such factors as housing needs, financial ability, attitudes toward Negroes (or whites), the nature of the housing available in such neighborhoods, etc.

2. What are the social, psychological, and housing consequences of living in integrated neighborhoods? How much "social" integration occurs? What kinds of housing benefits are derived from such residence? What are the satisfactions and tensions arising out of living in integrated neighborhoods?

Because the design of our study is national in scope, it will also be able to provide estimates of how many white and Negro Americans live in stable integrated neighborhoods, giving a baseline against which future changes can be assessed.

One of the most difficult tasks in designing research on integrated neighborhoods is operationally defining the concept "integrated neighborhood." Rather than by the proportion of white or Negro residents, we believe that such an area is best identified by the fact that both whites and Negroes can move and are moving into the area (this definition is also used by Rapkin and Grigsby, 1960). Thus we do not consider a neighborhood that is 10 per cent white (or even 50 per cent white) to be integrated if no new white families are moving into the area. Such an area must eventually become all Negro. On the other hand, we would not consider a predominantly white area with a few isolated Negro families to be integrated if no other Negroes are allowed in. A neighborhood with a quota system that permits whites and Negroes to move in in some definite ratio would, however, be considered integrated even though there is not complete freedom of movement into the area.

The prime emphasis, thus, in a study of integrated neighborhoods must be given to those families who move into the area, since they are the families that define the area as "integrated" rather than "changing." While the attitudes and characteristics of those families who remain, as well as

of those families who move, when an all white area becomes integrated, are also of interest in understanding the dynamics of neighborhoods in transition, the characteristics of the "recruits" determine whether the area will become an all Negro or a stable integrated one. Thus, while those who stay or leave during the transition period will serve as "control" groups, the main focus of the study will be on new "recruits" to integrated areas.

In some southern cities Negroes and whites live in close proximity, but the value of the Negro housing is far below that of the white housing. We do not consider these integrated areas. On the other hand, in some northern cities, Negroes and whites live on adjacent blocks in comparable housing, but not next door to each other. We consider these integrated if the situation is stable, even if the families have little or no social intercourse. Thus our approach is focused on the willingness and ability of both whites and Negroes to live in close proximity to one another on conditions of social equality, i.e., in equal quality housing. Whether or not "social integration" in the sense of the development of social contact, friendships, etc. occurs is a separate question to investigate once the areas have been identified.

The definition of "integrated" is fairly simple compared with the determination of what constitutes a "neighborhood." For the purposes of this study we will attempt to use definitions of neighborhood boundaries as determined by local residents, local mortgage firms, and realtors, since it is ultimately the local perception of neighborhood boundaries that determines the grouping of housing units into related wholes designated "neighborhoods."

Research Design of the Nationwide Study

The basic research design proposed here is to take a sample of all the integrated neighborhoods in the seventy-five primary sampling units (PSU's) used in NORC's national sampling frame. Once the sample of neighborhoods has been drawn and basic information about neighborhood characteristics is obtained from informants, a sample of households within these neighborhoods will be drawn and interviews conducted with residents.

The first step in the process is to have interviewers enumerate the integrated neighborhoods to be found in the PSU's. The procedure for this enumeration is similar to one NORC has employed in the past to locate relatively rare groups of respondents or relatively rare situations.

In each PSU we shall utilize our interviewing staff to locate the integrated areas. In addition we shall utilize Census and other published materials as a check on their listings. While many PSU's may turn up no integrated areas, others will reveal many.

Our second step is to draw a sample of integrated neighborhoods from among the list generated in step one. The exact sampling ratio to be employed depends on the number of such integrated neighborhoods to be found. In any event we do not intend to draw a sample of fewer than 100 or more than 250 neighborhoods.

Within each of the integrated neighborhoods selected, interviewers will conduct interviews with key informants who are knowledgeable about the area. Interviewers will cover a range of community leaders in the following areas:

Religious: priests, ministers, rabbis, or executive secretaries of religious groups

Schools: principals or PTA presidents

Real estate brokers

Local businessmen

Community organizations: presidents, officials, or executive secretaries

Community newspapers: editors or reporters

At least five interviews will be conducted with informants in each of the neighborhoods, with not more than one informant from any single area. These interviews will provide some of the basic data on the neighborhood's characteristics as well as the history of integration in the area. The exact procedures for implementing this part of the design are described in detail in Chapter II of this report.

Within each integrated neighborhood selected, we will also draw samples of households as follows:

- A. Two thousand families who have moved into integrated areas after they became integrated:
 1. 1,500 white families
 2. 500 Negro families
- B. Five hundred white families who remained in these areas when they changed from all white to integrated.

To provide control groups with which the respondents from integrated areas can be contrasted, we will do the following:

- A. Employing procedures similar to those used to locate integrated areas, locate a sample of segregated neighborhoods;
- B. Conduct interviews with informants similar to those interviewed in the integrated areas adapting the questionnaire where necessary;

- C. Within comparable all white and all Negro neighborhoods, interview 1,000 families with the same characteristics as those in Sample A described above for integrated areas:
 - 1. 500 white families
 - 2. 500 Negro families

- D. Finally, for control purposes we would like to interview 500 white families who moved from the integrated areas in our sample when they changed from all white to integrated. This will be the most difficult group to locate, but past NORC experience indicates that it can be done, at least in areas where the integration has occurred relatively recently so we can locate the previous occupant of the dwelling unit.

Two aspects of this design deserve fuller explanation--the large samples proposed and the probability design. Both stem from a basic characteristic of the phenomenon being studied--the wide diversity in the types of integrated neighborhoods. Since many other characteristics of a neighborhood besides its integrated status, such as age, type, condition, and price of housing, affect a family's decision to move to a particular area, it is important to obtain a large sample of areas in order that the effects of variables other than racial integration can be controlled and the effects of integration, either alone or in interaction with the other variables, investigated. The otherwise excellent work of Rapkin and Grigsby (1960), for example, is limited by the fact that only four neighborhoods in Philadelphia were studied, so that some of the conclusions cannot be generalized to other situations.

This study will provide some baseline data on the extent and character of racially integrated living in the United States today. Such baseline data are essential before meaningful studies of change over time can be done. Trend data on attitudes about significant areas of race relations are now available on a comparable basis for at least the past

twenty years and have been invaluable in gauging the extent and character of attitudinal change. Similar data for actual behavior, however, are still in the infancy stage, which constitutes a major block to the study of the dynamics of change. Recently NORC has provided baseline data on racial integration in high schools,¹ but we are still far from knowing the degree of contact between Negroes and whites in many significant areas of life. This study would go a long way toward filling in some of these significant gaps.

Summary of Pilot Test Results

The pilot test results have been most encouraging. Several key results make the full study appear feasible, while again emphasizing the need for a large national study. We plan to undertake the larger study as soon as adequate financing is obtained. The conclusions of the pilot study are summarized here and discussed fully in the text of this report.

1. NORC interviewers are able to locate with high reliability areas which meet the definition of integrated as defined in this study.
2. The number of such areas is far larger than anyone had expected to find. Our interviewers identified eighty-two such neighborhoods in only five PSU's, indicating that we would be able to identify one thousand or more such areas on the full study. Thus we shall be sampling from the neighborhoods in our PSU's rather than studying all of them as we had expected earlier. Although our pilot test does not permit us to make any

¹D. Gottlieb, Desegregation in Public High Schools (Michigan State University), analysis in progress.

national estimates, it would not be surprising if the full study estimated that there are several thousand integrated neighborhoods.

3. There was reasonable consensus both about neighborhood boundaries and names. While complete agreement was found only rarely (when the entire area had been developed by a single builder), in most neighborhoods the differences were about small areas on the border of the neighborhood and could frequently be explained by the special role of the informant. Thus the school principal sometimes answered in terms of school boundaries which were slightly different than the parish boundaries mentioned by the minister or priest.

4. The questionnaire used for obtaining neighborhood characteristics from local informants was highly successful over a wide variety of informants and neighborhoods, both integrated and not integrated. There was, in general, good agreement on the major characteristics of the area, although, of course, respondents tended to stress those aspects of the neighborhood which they knew most about.

Because the number of neighborhoods studied here was small, substantive data on neighborhood characteristics should be treated very tentatively. The following characteristics were noted and will be treated as hypotheses for the nationwide study:

5. Among community facilities which attract and keep residents, schools are considered the most important, then churches, then recreational facilities, and then community organizations.

6. While differences are slight, nonintegrated neighborhoods generally have better community resources than integrated neighborhoods.

7. Most integrated neighborhoods were developed by many builders and not a single builder. The majority were developed prior to World War II.

8. Eighty per cent of the residents in integrated neighborhoods live in single-family housing.

9. Confirming previous studies, there are no differences in the value or quality of housing between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods.

10. Mortgage money is readily available currently for purchase of houses in integrated neighborhoods, and Negroes are able to get financing.

11. A major factor differentiating residents of integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods is that residents of integrated neighborhoods look upon diversity of neighbors in terms of religion, occupation, and income as a positive attraction of the neighborhood. Residents of nonintegrated neighborhoods prefer homogeneity.

12. There are no differences in average educational level or median income between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods.

13. The factors which are most important in determining whether an integrated neighborhood can remain stable are: the current proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood, the pressure for Negro expansion in the city, real estate practices, and the neighborhood's initial reaction when the first Negro family moved in.

14. Integration occurs first with children and teen-agers in public facilities such as schools and parks. Among private groups of adults, community organizations are more likely to be integrated than churches and private recreational facilities.

15. There is not much tension in integrated neighborhoods, but neither is there much intergroup socializing. Still, there may be more socializing between Negroes and whites in integrated neighborhoods than between different white ethnic groups in nonintegrated neighborhoods.

Plan of the Report

Chapter II of this report describes in detail the methodological procedures and the problems that arose in working them out. The issue of neighborhood boundaries is considered, and an operational method for resolving ambiguities is suggested. Chapter III discusses estimation procedures that will be used in the national study and gives the estimates for the number of integrated neighborhoods and the proportion of the population, both Negro and white, living in these neighborhoods for the five PSU's in the pilot study. The final chapter deals with the major characteristics of the neighborhoods in the pilot study, as derived from the informant questionnaires, and indicates how these data would be used in the national study. Appendix A includes copies of the questionnaire, interviewer forms, and specifications which the interviewers followed in carrying out the pilot study. Appendix B is a selected bibliography of previous studies pertaining to integrated neighborhoods.

CHAPTER II

PILOT TEST METHODOLOGY

Selection of Primary Sampling Units

The first critical problem to be studied was whether NORC interviewers would be able to locate racially integrated neighborhoods. Five of the PSU's in the regular NORC national sample were selected for the pilot test. The following PSU's were chosen to represent all sizes of communities and all sections of the country:

Washington, D. C.: SMSA Southern region, one of ten largest metropolitan areas

Atlanta, Georgia: SMSA Southern region, metropolitan area

San Jose, California: SMSA Western region, metropolitan area

Eau Claire County, Wisconsin: Central region, nonmetropolitan county with city over 10,000

Carbon County, Pennsylvania: Eastern region, nonmetropolitan county with no city over 10,000

The last three PSU's were selected at random, but Washington and Atlanta were chosen to represent the South because of the availability of good interviewers and supervisors in these two areas. It was recognized that these two areas might have more integrated neighborhoods than would be found in the average southern city. Because the pilot test was designed to test techniques rather than to make national projections,

this was considered an advantage. In studying the results to be presented later, the likelihood of greater integration in these two cities should be kept in mind.

In addition to the availability of interviewers, Washington was chosen because it is a border city with both northern and southern characteristics, while Atlanta is a more completely southern city. Both have areas where Negroes and whites live near each other, but which are not considered integrated, either because the housing is not of comparable value or because neighborhood boundaries are so defined as to keep the Negro and white areas separate. Since areas of this type are potentially the most difficult to handle, they needed to be studied carefully on the pilot test.

In the two nonmetropolitan counties selected, the number of Negroes is so small that no integrated neighborhoods were found. Therefore, Eau Claire and Carbon counties are not discussed further in this report. Since almost all Negro migration has been to metropolitan areas, it is not surprising that there should be few integrated neighborhoods in nonmetropolitan areas outside of the South. Of course, on the full-scale study we would still have the interviewers check each PSU carefully.

Preliminary Location of Integrated Neighborhoods

Those readers who are familiar with national probability samples which ultimately require field counting and listing at the final stage will find a strong resemblance between such techniques and the method used for locating integrated areas. In the field counting phase, we asked our interviewers to identify integrated Census Tracts in a relatively crude way,

similar to the field counter driving through an area to estimate the number of households in it. In the final or listing phase, we made a detailed study of the neighborhood by use of the neighborhood informant questionnaire to determine conclusively if the neighborhood met our definition of integration and to ascertain its boundaries.

The preliminary location of integrated Census Tracts depended primarily on the interviewers' ingenuity. As a start, they were provided with maps which showed the proportion of whites and nonwhites in 1960 by Census Tract. This information was, of course, based on the 1960 Census and was five years old. While this information could not be used to determine if both white and Negro families were currently moving into the area, or what neighborhoods were in the tract, it did provide a start, since tracts with both Negro and white households in them were potentially integrated by our definition.

Next, interviewers were told to contact possible knowledgeable informants, such as officials of local human relations organizations, realtors, bankers, civic, political, religious, housing, and school groups, as well as local newspapers. Since the kinds of informants who would have the necessary information varies widely from city to city, a most important asset was the interviewer's knowledge of her area. NORC is extremely fortunate to have interviewers who, in addition to their interviewing skills, are also enterprising and knowledgeable about their own cities.

Once a few sources were located, they gave leads to others yielding a snowball sample of informants. Interviewers kept records of all contacts and recorded their information for each Census Tract on an individual work

sheet. Finally, when all the work sheets were completed, the data were transferred to the Control Sheets which summarized the information for the PSU. The forms used are included in Appendix A. This work was completed during the summer of 1965.

The information collected in this way had a high degree of accuracy, but was not expected to be (nor did it turn out to be) perfect. Some informants gave information which was out-of-date, some were confused, and some were just not informed. Most errors were caught by cross-checking, or by an interviewer visit to the neighborhood, but some slipped through and were discovered in the next phase when the detailed study of the neighborhood was made.

The process worked so well that no major changes will be made on the full-scale study. Readers should keep in mind that location errors made in this first phase do not bias the final results, since they are corrected in later phases.

Selection of Census Tracts for Detailed Neighborhood Study

At the end of the first phase it was clear that we had more integrated tracts than we could afford to study in detail. With budget limitations in mind, we decided to study about twenty-five census tracts, five each in Atlanta and San Jose and fifteen in Washington, D. C. The twenty-five tracts were selected at random within the PSU's with the following exception: we combined adjacent tracts into one sample segment if the information already obtained from the informant suggested that these tracts were part of the same neighborhood.

When our interviewers talked with neighborhood informants they found that the sample tract(s) sometimes contained several neighborhoods. If only one of these neighborhoods met our definition of integration, the interviews were conducted with informants for that neighborhood. If several neighborhoods were integrated, separate sets of interviews were conducted for each integrated area if time and budget allowed. A total of twenty-seven neighborhoods were studied, the expected five in Atlanta, five in San Jose, and seventeen in Washington.

While we had not originally intended to study nonintegrated neighborhoods in this phase of the pilot study, five of the neighborhoods which we thought were integrated were either not integrated or not neighborhoods.

Selection of Neighborhood Informants

The NORC interviewers were told what types of neighborhood informants to interview, but were free to find the specific individuals. In each neighborhood five interviews were required, and additional interviews were allowed if one of the respondents was not knowledgeable or if there was considerable disagreement between respondents. Interviewers were told to cover the following range of community leaders:

Religious: priests, ministers, rabbis, or executive secretaries of religious groups

Schools: principals or PTA presidents

Real estate brokers

Financial institutions: bankers or officials of mortgage houses or savings and loan associations

Community organizations: presidents, officials, or executive secretaries

Community newspapers: editors or reporters

The typical procedure, and the one which worked very well, was to contact either the principal of the local school or a minister of a local church. Either interviews were obtained or other knowledgeable respondents were suggested. In many areas, names were available from the first phase of this study, although, in general, the same respondents were not used, since the intent of the second phase was to interview people who knew a great deal about a small area, rather than people who knew a little bit about many areas.

Again, the snowball technique for obtaining new respondents' names from previous respondents was highly successful, and in every case it was possible to locate five respondents. Of course, not all were equally knowledgeable. Least knowledgeable as a group were the bankers. They had been included originally because we thought that the availability of mortgage money might be a critical issue. We can see no evidence of this in the pilot test results, and for the full-scale study we plan to change the requirement of a financial informant to that of a neighborhood businessman.

The Questionnaire

The reader who studies the Neighborhood Informant Questionnaire in Appendix A will see that it follows closely the outline of information required in the original proposal. It first asks the respondent to list and evaluate the community facilities, churches, schools, and community organizations. Although this section requires detailed knowledge and takes up a major portion of the total interviewing time, most respondents found this part of the interview most rewarding. Although the questionnaire

is highly structured, there is sufficient flexibility in it so that the respondent who is most knowledgeable in one area (schools, community affairs, churches) can stress that area while at the same time giving the information he does have about the other community resources.

Even more useful is the fact that those community resources which are most important to a given community are discussed most fully by all informants. Thus, where a neighborhood swimming facility is highly important, it receives very full discussion; in other areas there may be little or no mention of recreation facilities but a very detailed discussion of overcrowded schools. The questionnaire is open enough to tap the major assets and concerns of the community. Our major mistake on this questionnaire, which we will rectify on the full study, was the omission of sufficient blank space to record all the comments made by respondents. We plan to add four blank pages to the extra community resource listing sheets, which were heavily used in the pilot test.

The next section of the questionnaire asks about transportation, physical appearance of the area, shopping facilities, and crime. These questions caused no problems and produced useful answers. They will be retained for the full study. The next group of questions asked about types of housing available and financing. These questions were answered by everyone, but it is clear that only the real estate informants' answers are very reliable. Actually this information and the information on socio-economic level of the area (obtained by asking questions on education and occupation) can best be gathered from Census sources, if the neighborhood

has not changed too much since 1960. For the full study we intend to ask these questions of neighborhood informants, but to check their responses with Census data and information from our sample of households.

Up to this point in the questionnaire there are no questions on integration, although many respondents have spontaneously mentioned it earlier. The key question is then asked: "We have been told that both Negroes and whites can and some are currently buying or renting in this neighborhood. As far as you know, is this correct?" For those respondents who answer "no," the interview is about over except for some questions concerning bordering areas and the housing market in the entire area. For respondents who answer that the neighborhood is integrated according to our definition, we ask for a history of the integration process.

Most interviews flowed smoothly, regardless of whether the respondent thought that the neighborhood was or was not integrated, and regardless of his own attitudes toward integrated housing. The deliberate effort to get a full picture of the community convinced most anti-integration respondents that this was a scientific study and not a plot by fair housing groups to infiltrate their areas. There were no refusals or break-offs on the pilot test, although the integration question did jar several respondents. At the other end of the scale, a few respondents were disappointed that this survey would lead to no immediate action program. In general, the interviews went very smoothly. Except for very minor wording changes and additional space for comments, we plan to use the same form on the full-scale study.

Neighborhood Boundaries and Names

One of the most encouraging findings of the pilot test was that there is reasonable agreement by neighborhood informants on the boundaries of a neighborhood and its name. It should be pointed out that only in a few cases was there exact agreement; these were the neighborhoods which were built and named by a single developer. In the more typical case neighborhood informants agreed on the neighborhood's name, but differed slightly on boundaries. Frequently these differences could be attributed to the specific role of the informant. Thus the school principal or PTA president was likely to consider school boundaries as determining neighborhood boundaries, while the president of a local civic association used the boundaries of his group, and the pastor used the boundaries of his parish.

The questions on the boundaries of the neighborhood and its name were asked at the very beginning of the questionnaire. These questions were not wholly unstructured: the informant was given the boundaries of the Census Tract, or a key intersection, and a name for the area, if the interviewer knew one. This information helped to orient the respondent, but did not force him to accept the boundaries or name we had selected. In only four of the twenty-seven neighborhoods studied were the boundaries given by the informants the same as those given by us on the questionnaire; generally, the informants talked about an area within the larger area given on the questionnaire.

In our analysis of informant consensus on neighborhood boundaries and names given in Table II.1 we observed three major types.

1. Good agreement on boundaries and names.--Somewhat arbitrarily, we define "good agreement" as meeting the following three conditions:

- a. Eighty per cent or more of the population in the neighborhood lives within the boundaries jointly agreed upon by informants.
- b. The same name or two names for the neighborhood are used by informants, except in towns of less than 10,000 population, where the town name is sufficient.
- c. Four of the five respondents meet the conditions of (a) and (b).

As can be seen in Table II.1, twenty-one of twenty-seven neighborhoods in our pilot test, or better than three-fourths, met these criteria.

2. Disagreement whether area consists of one or several neighborhoods.--In five of the twenty-seven areas there was substantial disagreement among the informants whether the area under consideration consisted of only one or two or more neighborhoods. There appeared to be confusion between the concept of community (which we define as a group of similar contiguous neighborhoods) and neighborhood. For the full-scale study we will take the following steps to resolve this ambiguity:

Step 1. Conduct additional interviews with neighborhood informants to see if there is a consensus.

Step 2. If there is no consensus, and if the areas differ in the price of housing, we shall consider them as separate neighborhoods if the variance in housing costs between areas is significantly greater than the variance within areas.

Step 3. If some of the areas are integrated, while others are not, we shall consider these as separate neighborhoods.

This does not bias our estimate of the number of integrated neighborhoods, but may lead to some underestimation of the proportion of the population living in integrated areas. In case of doubt, we prefer to make our estimate conservative.

Step 4. If the areas are similar in the price of housing and are all integrated we shall consider this a single neighborhood. This does not bias our estimate of the proportion of the population living in integrated areas, but may lead to an underestimation of the number of integrated neighborhoods. Naturally, for the full report we shall describe our estimation methods in detail.

3. No agreement on boundaries or names.--In one neighborhood on the pilot study we could get no agreement on either boundaries or names. For the full study we shall do additional interviews with informants to see if there is a consensus. If there is none, we shall exclude these areas from our study rather than arbitrarily set boundaries, since they cannot really be considered neighborhoods.

While not every housing area need be part of some neighborhood, we were gratified that only one area did not meet our definition of "neighborhood." While our definition is arbitrary, we believe it is reasonable and can be defended. We were impressed by the perfect correlation between agreement on names and boundaries in the pilot test, which thus provides a double check on the existence of the neighborhood concept in the minds of our informants. From the results of this pilot test we are willing to argue that the concept of "neighborhood" is

meaningful to people in an area, and can be made operational in our full-scale study.

TABLE II.1

INFORMANT CONSENSUS ON NEIGHBORHOOD NAMES AND BOUNDARIES
AND AGREEMENT WITH INITIAL NORC BOUNDARIES

Informant Consensus	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Good agreement on boundaries and names ^a	21	12	3	3	3
Disagreement whether area is one or several neighbor- hoods	5	1	1	2	1
No agreement on boundaries or names	1	0	0	0	1
Total areas	27	13	4	5	5

^a Agreement
with original bounda-
ries shown on NORC
map.

4	4	0	0	0
---	---	---	---	---

Our pilot test results, which we expect to be confirmed on the full study, show that neighborhoods vary enormously in area and population. The smallest neighborhoods are generally suburban areas which have been developed by a single builder. These may have only a few hundred families and cover only a few blocks. On the other hand, the largest neighborhoods may cover several square miles and contain upwards of 50,000 people.

Regardless of their size, these neighborhoods have a common sense of identity. Such identity may be because the area was built up at the same time, even if by many builders. In some cases (but not in all), major roads, streets, rivers, and railroad tracks form the boundaries. In other neighborhoods the location of community facilities and the area covered by community organizations define the boundaries.

Although there is great variability in size between neighborhoods, it is possible to consider the average neighborhood. In each of the three metropolitan areas, the average neighborhood consisted of about 2.5 Census Tracts. While tracts also vary in size, the average Census Tract contains about forty blocks and a population of about 5,500 individuals. Thus the average neighborhood contains about 100 blocks and a population of about 14,000 individuals or about 4,000 households.

CHAPTER III

ESTIMATES OF THE EXTENT OF INTEGRATION IN WASHINGTON, ATLANTA, AND SAN JOSE

In this chapter we shall describe the methods we intend to use to estimate the proportion of the population living in integrated neighborhoods and the number of neighborhoods. To illustrate the methods, we give in Tables III.1 and III.2 our estimates of the extent of integration in Washington, Atlanta, and San Jose. While these estimates are of interest in themselves, they should be considered only preliminary, since we did not have the resources to carry out all the steps of the estimation procedure described below. Nevertheless, we would not expect that the more detailed procedures would significantly change the results.

Our two basic formulas used in this pilot test are straightforward:

- A. Proportion of population in metropolitan area living in integrated neighborhoods =

$$\frac{\text{1960 population living in integrated tracts}}{\text{total 1960 population in SMSA}} \times \frac{\text{1960 population in sample integrated neighborhoods}}{\text{total 1960 population in sample tracts}}$$

- B. Number of integrated neighborhoods =

number of integrated tracts x average number of integrated neighborhoods per sample tract.

To put this into words, to estimate the proportion of the population living in integrated neighborhoods, we estimate the population living

in integrated neighborhoods in the sample integrated tracts, using the neighborhood informant questionnaires. We do this by using 1960 Census Block Statistics where they are available. Where Block Statistics are not available we count the number of integrated blocks and assume that blocks are equal sizes.

The 1960 Census Tract reports give the population of all sample tracts, as well as all tracts in the SMSA. Thus, we have two ratios: the proportion of the population living in integrated neighborhoods within the sample integrated Census Tracts which were selected, and the proportion of the total population of the SMSA living in all integrated tracts. This latter figure was obtained in the first phase, the preliminary location of integrated Census Tracts. The actual ratios are given in Table III.1.

The results of Table III.1 are encouraging from a sampling viewpoint. First, note that the average number of integrated neighborhoods per sample tract (line 10) is remarkably constant (0.4) in each of the three metropolitan areas. This low variability suggests that our full sample with several hundred neighborhoods will have a small sampling variability, and that we shall be able to make accurate estimates of the number of integrated neighborhoods. Similarly, the high percentage of population in integrated neighborhoods within sample tracts (line 6) indicates that the relative sampling error of this estimate will also be small.

Substantively the results of Table III.1 show that the Washington and San Jose metropolitan areas are about equally integrated, although Washington has more integrated neighborhoods because it is about three

times larger in population. With about one-fourth of its population Negro the Washington metropolitan area is considerably different from San Jose, in which less than 2 per cent of its population is Negro. This difference can be seen in Table III.2, which gives the proportions of whites and Negroes living in integrated neighborhoods.

TABLE III.1

ESTIMATES OF PROPORTION OF POPULATION LIVING IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS AND NUMBER OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS (Washington, Atlanta, and San Jose)

Variables	Washington	Atlanta	San Jose
1. 1960 population of SMSA . .	2,001,897	1,017,188	642,315
2. 1960 population in integrated tracts	752,179	91,294	339,495
3. Per cent of population in integrated tracts	37.6%	9.0%	52.9%
4. Total 1960 population in sample integrated tracts.	192,498	80,172	69,465
5. 1960 population in integrated neighborhoods within sample integrated tracts	159,455	62,615	45,085
6. Per cent of population in integrated neighborhoods within sample tracts . .	82.8%	78.1%	64.9%
7. Per cent of population living in integrated neighborhoods	31.1%	7.0%	34.3%
8. Number of integrated tracts in SMSA	127	17	61
9. Number of integrated tracts in sample	37	14	10
10. Average number of integrated neighborhoods per sample tract	0.4	0.4	0.4
11. Number of integrated neighborhoods in SMSA . .	51	7	24

TABLE III.2

ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF WHITES AND NEGROES LIVING
IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS
(Washington, Atlanta, and San Jose)

Variables	Washington	Atlanta	San Jose
<u>White population:</u>			
1. 1960 white population of SMSA ^a	1,514,714	785,019	638,128
2. 1960 white population of integrated tracts	664,893	69,412	335,802
3. Per cent white population in integrated tracts	43.9%	8.8%	52.6%
4. Total 1960 white population in sample tracts	166,139	63,483	68,826
5. Total current white population in integrated neighborhoods within sample tracts ^b	111,955	27,168	44,805
6. Ratio of current white population in integrated neighborhoods to 1960 white population in sample integrated tracts . . . . .	.674	.428	.651
7. Per cent of white population living in integrated neighborhoods	29.6%	3.8%	34.2%
<u>Negro population:</u>			
1. 1960 Negro population of SMSA.	487,183	231,474	4,187
2. 1960 Negro population of integrated tracts	87,286	21,882	3,693
3. Per cent Negro population in integrated tracts	17.9%	9.5%	88.2%
4. Total 1960 Negro population in sample tracts	26,359	16,689	639
5. Total current Negro population in integrated neighborhoods within sample tracts ^b	47,500	35,447	280
6. Ratio of current Negro population in integrated neighborhoods to 1960 Negro population in sample integrated tracts	1.802	2.124	.438
7. Per cent of Negro population living in integrated neighborhoods	32.3%	20.2%	38.6%

^aIncludes Oriental and other races.

^bEstimated from Neighborhood Informant Questionnaires. See discussion in text.

In Washington the percentage of all whites who live in integrated areas is slightly higher than the percentage of all Negroes who live in integrated areas, while in San Jose the reverse is true. In Atlanta only 4 per cent of all whites live in integrated areas, while 20 per cent of Negroes do. It must be recognized that in this pilot test the number of neighborhoods in each metropolitan area is small, and the estimates for individual cities are subject to large sampling variability, particularly Atlanta and San Jose. Even in the full-scale study, we will not be able to show estimates for any except the very largest cities, but we shall be able to give combined estimates for groups of similar metropolitan areas.

The reader may wonder why the percentage of Negroes living in integrated neighborhoods is so low in San Jose, while the proportion living in integrated tracts is 88 per cent. This estimate is particularly subject to sampling variability in San Jose because the total Negro population is so small. As an example of what is meant by sampling variability, the low estimate of Negroes living in integrated neighborhoods results from the exclusion of one large area which was not classified as a neighborhood. As we noted earlier, this was the only area in the pilot test that was not considered a neighborhood. Because there are so few such areas, we expect them to have little effect on the overall estimates of the population living in integrated neighborhoods, even though they might cause some incorrect estimates for particular cities in which a small number of sample neighborhoods was drawn.

Potential Sources of Error in Estimates

A possibly important source of error in these estimates is the change in population distribution which has occurred since the 1960 Census. Since we will need to field count and list the integrated neighborhoods so that the household sample may be selected, we shall also field count the remainder of the sample tracts. This procedure will give us a current estimate of the population in the sample tracts who live in integrated areas. Since we shall also be field counting and listing in nonintegrated areas for our control sample, we will also be able to determine whether the population living in integrated tracts is growing at a faster or slower rate than the total population of the metropolitan area. This updating of the ratios was not attempted on the pilot study because of a lack of funds.

Disagreements by informants on neighborhood boundaries are a second source of error in the estimates. To illustrate the use of the rules we established in the previous section, here are some examples:

Atlanta: neighborhood 3.--Three respondents considered the area outlined originally on the NORC map as constituting the neighborhood. Two others divided the area into two equal parts, using a major street as a boundary. However, both sections were considered integrated and contained housing of equal value; thus we considered the two parts of a single neighborhood.

A sixth informant talked about an area which was mostly outside the boundaries originally drawn. This respondent was connected with a church which, although on the borders of the neighborhood, drew its membership almost entirely from the adjoining community, so the response is

understandable. Since the answers did not apply to the sample neighborhood, the questionnaire could not be used. We also discarded two questionnaires from other neighborhoods for the same reason and intend to do the same thing on the full study when it is clear that the respondent is not talking about the sample neighborhood, but about an adjoining area.

San Jose: neighborhood 1.--No two respondents agreed on the boundaries of the neighborhoods within the outlined area, or on the names. Although all informants agreed that the area was integrated, and that the housing was all of comparable value, it was not considered a neighborhood.

A third type of error in our estimates would be caused if our interviewers missed any integrated Census Tracts in the first phase of the pilot study. Such omissions would lead to an underestimation of the proportion of the population in integrated neighborhoods and the number of such neighborhoods. For the full study such omissions can be corrected when we study several hundred nonintegrated control neighborhoods. If any of these are discovered to be integrated, we will have a measure of interviewer error on the first phase of the study, and we can increase our estimates proportionately. In this pilot test we studied no control neighborhoods and thus could not measure this type of error. To summarize, the possible errors of estimation of this pilot study lead to underestimates of the degree of integration in our three areas.

One aspect of Table III.2 may be troublesome to the reader. We use 1960 estimates of population everywhere, with one exception. Within the integrated sample neighborhoods, we obtained from our informants their estimates of the current percentages of Negroes and whites in the neighborhood. These percentages, which in some cases differ substantially

from the 1960 figures, were averaged and applied to the estimate of the total population of the neighborhood, which is a 1960 estimate. This is the best estimate we can make with the information available. In the full study the detailed listings we shall make of each area will make our estimates more exact. In Washington and Atlanta, where there have been increases in the number of Negroes in integrated neighborhoods since 1960, the current estimate of the number of Negroes in the sample integrated neighborhoods is greater than the 1960 estimate of the number of Negroes in the sample tracts. Because of these increases, the ratio shown on line 6 of Table III.2 is greater than 1.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Introduction

We present in this chapter a series of tables which summarize the characteristics of the twenty-three integrated neighborhoods of the pilot test. Since our sample size is so small these results can at best be considered suggestive of hypotheses to consider on the full study. Certainly no cross-classifications are possible, although the interrelationship of variables will be most important for the full study. Perhaps the major reason for presenting these tables is to suggest how the free responses on the informant questionnaires may be converted into analytic variables.

For some characteristics we also compare the integrated neighborhoods to four neighborhoods in Washington characterized as integrated in the preliminary phase of this pilot test, but finally classified as not integrated on the basis of the neighborhood informant questionnaire. These comparisons are frequently very suggestive and will be explored fully in the main study. It should be remembered, however, that these four neighborhoods are probably not typical of all nonintegrated neighborhoods, but are probably more like the integrated neighborhoods.

Even more important to remember is that although this information appears to be strictly factual, it is based on responses from neighborhood

informants and is colored by the respondents' attitudes toward the neighborhood. This can easily be seen in a question asking for predictions about the neighborhood's stability in the next five years. It may be less evident, however, that asking the informant the proportion of college graduates in the neighborhood is also to some extent a subjective question, since he would not usually know the exact Census results. The interviewer's attitudes toward the neighborhood and the study may also influence responses.

The possibility of such biasing confronts us whenever we attempt to compare the three metropolitan areas. In many tables the Washington neighborhoods are rated higher than those in Atlanta and San Jose. Since we have no segregated neighborhoods for control in Atlanta and San Jose, we cannot determine which of the following conclusions is the correct one:

A. Taken literally, the results suggest that the neighborhoods studied in the Washington area are above average as compared to all neighborhoods in that area, while those in Atlanta and San Jose are either average or below average.

B. Alternatively, respondents and interviewers may be using different standards in the three areas. It may turn out on the full study that the nonintegrated neighborhoods of Atlanta and San Jose are also rated below the nonintegrated Washington neighborhoods. This would not mean that Washington is superior to Atlanta and San Jose, but merely that the interviewers and respondents in Washington rate everything higher than those in Atlanta and San Jose. As we all know from our school days, there are "easy graders" and "tough graders."

We have avoided making comparisons between the three areas in this pilot study. In a few cases where the differences are particularly large they have been noted, but always with the reservation that they may not be real. For the full study, comparisons between groups of cities will be possible since both integrated and control neighborhoods will be studied.

Occasionally we shall quote our respondents directly while (of course) omitting any references which would identify the particular neighborhood. These quotations have been chosen to make certain points and should not necessarily be considered as typical responses. The typical opinions of the neighborhoods can best be determined from the tables, although the quotations probably make better reading.

The tables are grouped into five parts following the general flow of the questionnaire: the first discusses the community's resources: its schools, churches, recreational facilities, physical appearance, location, and shopping; the second deals with the characteristics of housing in the neighborhood; the third with the demographic characteristics of the residents; the fourth concerns the characteristics and attitudes which may determine the future stability of the area; the final part deals with social integration within the community.

Community Resources

Schools

Tables IV.1-IV.4 deal with respondent evaluations of community schools. Since this is the first set of tables to be discussed, we shall

explain in detail how they were derived. The same methods were used for later tables, but we shall not discuss them in as great detail. Table IV.1 shows the number of neighborhood schools. This figure is the mean of the number of schools, both public and private, mentioned by all the respondents for the neighborhood. While this figure is highly correlated with some objective reality, it also depends on the ability of the particular interviewer and the knowledge of respondents. As might have been expected, respondents connected with education were more knowledgeable than other respondents in this area, but they were not given greater weight in the averaging merely because of their role. However, since the characteristics of the neighborhood's schools are averaged from responses about specific schools and not from some global evaluation of all schools, those respondents who mentioned many schools have a greater influence on the averages than do those respondents who mentioned few schools. Ordinarily, the most knowledgeable respondents know the names of the most schools, so this procedure is reasonable, although to some extent it weights for responsiveness as well as knowledge. While nearly all respondents listed the large community public schools, private and parochial schools were more likely to be mentioned by respondents who were affected by these schools. Thus Catholics were more likely to mention Catholic parochial schools, and parents with children in private schools were more likely to mention these schools. School mentions can be seen to depend on the importance of the school to different elements of the community.

It is possible to think of other measures of the number of schools than the one we selected. One might use the total number of different schools named by all community informants, or the number named by the most knowledgeable informant. This total would include private and specialized schools known only to a few people in the neighborhood. The mean better represents the general knowledge about schools in the neighborhood and the saliency of schools to the residents. In relating the effect of schools (and other community resources) on the community, it is perception and not reality which is important. This illustrates the point made at the beginning of this chapter. We are not getting census-type information, but what informants think is most salient.

School importance is measured even more directly in the balance of Table IV.1, which shows the mean number of schools mentioned as being a positive attraction or having a negative effect in bringing people into the neighborhood and keeping them from moving. Only one neighborhood of the twenty-seven has no school, which has an important effect on attracting residents. When compared with other community resources it is apparent that schools are considered most important; nine neighborhoods have no churches which attract residents, eleven have no community facilities, and fifteen have no community organizations which are important. As one informant from an integrated neighborhood put it:

The kind of people we want here will be attracted by schools only. As long as our schools are overcrowded we can't attract or keep them.

It is important to note the two step method for preparing this table, since the same method is used on subsequent tables and will be used

in the full study. Each neighborhood is studied separately and is then characterized by the consensus of informants for that neighborhood. The tables then summarize these characteristics of neighborhoods. Thus in each table the sample size is never the number of respondents, but rather the number of neighborhoods characterized.

TABLE IV.1
NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS AND NUMBER HAVING
POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE EFFECT

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Total schools/neighborhood</u>					
3 or less	1	0	0	1	0
4	9	4	0	3	2
5-6	10	6	2	1	1
7 or more	7	4	2	0	1
Median.	6	6	6	4	5
<u>Total having positive effect/neighborhood</u>					
0-1	5	3	0	1	1
2	12	4	4	3	1
3	4	3	0	1	0
4 or more	6	4	0	0	2
Median.	2	2.5	2	2	3
<u>Total having negative effect/neighborhood</u>					
0	22	9	4	5	4
1	4	4	0	0	0
2	1	1	0	0	0

There is a very slight indication in Tables IV.1 and IV.2 that schools are considered more important in integrated neighborhoods. The mean number of schools having a positive effect in the integrated neighborhoods of Washington is three as compared to two in the nonintegrated neighborhoods, and Table IV.2 shows that among schools having some positive effect a higher percentage were considered most important in the integrated than in the nonintegrated neighborhoods. Conversely, only in the Washington integrated neighborhoods are there mentions of schools having negative effects.

TABLE IV.2
IMPORTANCE OF POSITIVE EFFECT OF SCHOOLS IN NEIGHBORHOOD
(BASED ONLY ON SCHOOLS HAVING POSITIVE EFFECT)

Categories	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	26	14	4	4	4
<hr/>					
<u>Per cent "Most important" among schools having positive effect in neighborhood</u>					
0	9	2	3	2	2
1-20	10	6	1	2	1
21-40	4	3	0	0	1
41-60	1	1	0	0	0
Over 60	2	2	0	0	0
Median .	15%	19%	0%	0%	10%
<u>Per cent "Just one of many reasons"</u>					
0	4	3	0	1	0
1-20	3	2	0	0	1
21-40	5	3	1	0	1
41-60	9	4	2	2	1
Over 60	6	2	1	2	1
Median .	43%	38%	45%	50%	35%

Many respondents mention the role of the parents in improving the school:

The PTA buys books and makes the school come up to the high standards of the community. There is absolutely fantastic talent, fathers and mothers enrich it.

Schools are above average because of the quality of the kids in school. There is great parent support and interest.

Finally, here is an example of how one integrated community reacted to an unsympathetic principal:

Mr. --- is brand new, and yet I know his name. The other principal, the lady who left, was there for years, and I can't remember her name, and my own kids go to that school. She was not involved with the community. He is, already. To understand the nature of this community, you must know that these people fought and fought that lady principal (who was a horror) until they got rid of her.

Mr. --- was prepared by the opening of school to present an educational program geared to the IQ's and aptitude scores of the kids in the school. There are several layers of enrichment added to the program. The attitude of "if it's good enough for the rest of the county, it's good enough for you," has gone. A few teachers are gone. A Negro teacher has been hired. Now above average, the school will become superior as he has time to add new ideas. All because of the people in the PTA--and it proves that the squeaking wheel gets the oil. These people don't squeak, they scream.

Tables IV.3 and IV.4 show the informants' ratings of the schools' plants, programs, extracurricular activities and overcrowding. There are no differences evident between the integrated and nonintegrated neighborhood ratings. Again, it should be remembered that these are subjective judgments, since no one has established objective criteria for rating of schools or determining how overcrowded they are. The mean ratings are derived by assuming an equal difference scale. That is, all ratings of

"superior" are weighted one, "above average" are weighted two, "average" are weighted three, "below average" are weighted four, and the "don't knows" are omitted. The rating is then the average of these weights. Since each rating of a school is counted once in these averages, those respondents who mentioned more schools have a greater influence on the averages, as do the schools which are mentioned more often.

TABLE IV.3
RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL PLANTS, PROGRAMS,
AND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Rating	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Rating of plant</u>					
Superior	2	2	0	0	0
Above average . .	12	6	2	1	3
Average	13	6	2	4	1
Mean rating	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8	2.2
<u>Rating of program</u>					
Superior	2	2	0	0	0
Above average . .	16	7	4	3	2
Average	8	5	0	1	2
Below average . .	1	0	0	1	0
Mean rating	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.6	2.5
<u>Rating of extracurricular activities</u>					
Above average . .	11	7	2	1	1
Average	15	7	2	3	3
Below average . .	1	0	0	1	0
Mean rating	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.0	2.8

The same procedure is used for rating of all neighborhood characteristics since the possible ratings are always superior, above average, average, and below average. However, we omit showing a rating category in the tables if no neighborhoods are in that category. Thus, in Table IV.3, we omit the line for "below average" in "Rating of plant," and the "superior" category in "Rating of extracurricular activities."

TABLE IV.4
OVERCROWDING OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Per cent of neighborhood schools not overcrowded</u>					
21-40	4	3	0	1	0
41-60	8	4	1	3	0
61-80	8	6	1	0	1
81-90	7	1	2	1	3
Median	63%	60%	75%	47%	83%
<u>Per cent of neighborhood schools very overcrowded</u>					
0	6	3	0	2	1
1-10	11	5	2	1	3
11-20	3	1	2	0	0
21-40	7	5	0	2	0
Median	7%	9%	10%	5%	3%

Churches

While churches are not as important as schools, they are the most important of the voluntary organizations in the community, particularly if measured by the financial support they get:

When a community supports as many churches as this one does and they are all expensive new buildings, then you know that churches are very important to the life of the community.

Tables IV.5 and IV.6 give the informants' ratings of the neighborhood churches. The nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington have more churches listed than the integrated neighborhoods. Despite this and the fact that the physical plant, the services, and the participation of members are rated slightly higher in the nonintegrated neighborhoods, there seem to be fewer churches which have an important effect on bringing people into the area and keeping them there. It is tempting to try to relate these fragmentary results to other studies of churches in changing neighborhoods.

One of the most valuable of these studies is Wilson and Davis (1966), which describes the results of a national study of Methodist churches. Our results are very similar to those they report, although we deal with all denominations and in only three areas. Their study shows that the typical response of many churches when Negroes first move into an area is to intensify the church program for the existing membership (many of whom move from the area) while ignoring the community changes and the newcomers. As one of our respondents in an integrated neighborhood put it:

The ministers are paid by people who live outside the area, and the congregation does not look kindly at their involving themselves in the community. The churches have all the money in the community but they have no involvement.

TABLE IV.5

NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCHES AND NUMBER HAVING IMPORTANT EFFECT

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Total churches/neighborhood</u>					
1-2	1	0	0	1	0
3-4	8	2	1	2	3
5-6	10	7	0	2	1
7-8	5	4	1	0	0
9-10	3	1	2	0	0
Median .	5	6	8.5	3	4
<u>Total having important effect/neighborhood</u>					
0	9	4	2	1	2
1	12	6	2	3	1
2 or more . .	6	4	0	1	1
Median .	1	1	0.5	1	1

TABLE IV.6

RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCHES

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Rating of plant</u>					
Above average . .	14	8	4	1	1
Average	13	6	0	4	3
Mean rating.	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.8	2.8
<u>Rating of program</u>					
Above average . .	19	10	4	2	3
Average	8	4	0	3	1
Mean rating.	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.6	2.2

This is not always the case, however. A substantial number of churches in integrated neighborhoods have gone into the community and become part of it:

It does much work for the community and city. Takes a leadership position on civil rights. More than an asset to the neighborhood, it's a large part of the heart of the neighborhood.

Unlike the schools, the churches, as voluntary organizations, can decide whether or not to integrate their memberships, and this decision may be the most critical decision they make. We defer until the final section our discussion of integration within the churches.

Community facilities

Tables IV.7 and IV.8 give the ratings of the community facilities: parks, playgrounds, fieldhouses, YMCA's, YWCA's, and other public and private recreational facilities. Some of the facilities mentioned are not within the geographic boundaries of the neighborhood, but are included if the neighborhood informants view these facilities in adjoining areas as part of the area's assets. When comparing the integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods in Washington, there is a difference which will need to be studied carefully in the main study. Informants rate community facilities in nonintegrated neighborhoods above average, while those in integrated neighborhoods are only average.

While less important than schools and churches, recreational facilities may be a major source of either community satisfaction or unhappiness. It is important to differentiate between public and private recreational facilities. Generally, the presence of public facilities solidifies a neighborhood while the absence of recreational facilities weakens it:

TABLE IV.7

NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND
NUMBER HAVING IMPORTANT EFFECT

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Total number of community facilities/neighborhood</u>					
1-2	6	1	0	3	2
3-4	10	4	2	2	2
5-6	9	7	2	0	0
7-8	2	2	0	0	0
Median.	4	5	4.5	2	2.5
<u>Total having important effect/neighborhood</u>					
0	11	5	0	4	2
1	9	3	3	1	2
2-3	7	6	1	0	0
Median.	1	1	1	0	0.5

TABLE IV.8

RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Rating</u>					
Above average .	8	3	3	1	1
Average	17	11	1	3	2
Below average .	2	0	0	1	1
Mean score	2.8	2.8	2.2	3.0	3.0

The playground, it's nothing much, and yet is so central and convenient and pleasant. Everybody loves it and tells newcomers how nice it is.

Seventy or eighty families with children can go to it [the park] without crossing major streets. It is secluded and you could never tell it's there from the road.

They are moving away because there are no recreational facilities for the children. There is nothing in our town for them to do. We are a poor town and just can't provide things.

Notice that one respondent used the word "secluded" as a positive statement about his neighborhood's park. Particularly in Washington, there is a negative attitude toward facilities used by people from outside the area:

The park is so close, but it's not good. The pool is overcrowded. There is long waiting at the golf course. Tourists jam it six months a year. Really a tourist facility. No good as a neighborhood park, no good at all.

What dissatisfactions there are about the public recreational facilities tend to be concentrated on the lack of adequate supervision and teen-age behavior:

Some kids were shooting craps. There's no supervision.

Teen-agers congregate there, cause trouble, break up the equipment, tear roofing off the pavilion, make insulting remarks to women. There is no supervision, of course.

Private recreational facilities have a mixed effect on a neighborhood's attractiveness, depending on how exclusive they are. They can play an important positive role if everyone in the neighborhood belongs.

The pool was deeply important in early years. Each home owner automatically became a member--no in-group, out-group--all members.

The pool would count more than the river because the river is public and gets crowded in the tourist season.

The pool is a meeting place. It gives kids a sense of belonging to the community. It's really charming.

The private pools [are most important]. People come at 5:30-7:00, throngs of happy people. All get home from work, and have a swim before dinner. Also an 8:30-9:30 swim after dinner. A very lovely way of life.

Of course, the major problem with private facilities is that often only a part of the community may belong, and the out-group then finds this a major source of dissatisfaction. Sometimes exclusion may be based on religious or ethnic considerations:

It's socially important to be a member if you live here--a source of sorrow if you can't get in. My family could never get in because we're Jewish.

In other communities new families, regardless of background, may be excluded because the facility is already used to capacity. This may lead to friction between the new and old families in an area, particularly if substantial building is still going on. As one influential newcomer reports:

There is still much bitterness about the pools. When new families such as ours moved in here we asked to join their [the old families' established] pool. They said, "Sorry too crowded," and voted us out. We've never got over it. Big liberals, but very selfish. They wouldn't share. Many people became very hostile about that; it will be a long time before that rift is healed, if ever it is healed.

Community organizations

Tables IV.9 and IV.10 give the number of community organizations, both action and social, the number having an important effect in attracting

and keeping residents, and the number publishing a newsletter. This last item is intended as a crude measure of the activity of the organization. An organization which publishes a periodic newsletter is assumed to be reasonably active. One of our initial hypotheses was that integrated neighborhoods would have more active community organizations, but we see no evidence of this in the pilot test results. There are no differences between the integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington, and, as has been mentioned earlier, community organizations are not as important, in the eyes of our informants, as are schools and churches.

We did not ask about youth groups such as the Scouts, Campfire Girls, etc., but they are mentioned frequently by our neighborhood informants in the section on community organizations. In many neighborhoods these children's groups are of equal or greater importance than the adult groups. For the full-scale study, we intend to have a special section dealing with organized activity for children.

Shopping

Table IV.11 presents the informants' quality ratings of shopping centers and grocery shopping. No differences are observed between the quality of shopping centers in integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods, but the integrated areas seem to have somewhat better grocery shopping. It is not clear why this should be, although it is probably related to the location of the particular neighborhoods studied. This may be due to sampling variability, but, as with our other neighborhood variables, we shall look at this in greater detail in our national sample.

TABLE IV.9

TOTAL NUMBER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND NUMBER OF ACTION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Total organizations/neighborhood</u>					
0-1	6	1	1	2	2
2	9	5	1	3	0
3-4	9	5	2	0	2
5-6	3	3	0	0	0
Median.	2	3	2.5	2	2
<u>Total action organizations/neighborhood</u>					
0	4	1	1	1	1
1-2	19	10	2	4	3
3-4	4	3	1	0	0
Median.	1	1	1	1	1
<u>Total social organizations/neighborhood</u>					
0	10	4	2	3	1
1-2	14	7	2	2	3
3-4	3	3	0	0	0
Median.	1	1	0.5	0	1.5

TABLE IV.10

NUMBER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS PUBLISHING NEWSLETTERS
AND HAVING IMPORTANT EFFECTS IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Number of community organizations publishing newsletters</u>					
0	6	1	0	3	2
1	13	9	3	1	0
2-3	8	4	1	1	2
Median.	1	1	1	0	1
<u>Number of community organizations having important effect</u>					
0	15	7	3	2	3
1	11	6	1	3	1
2	1	1	0	0	0
Median.	0	0.5	0	1	0

TABLE IV.11
 NUMBER AND QUALITY OF SHOPPING CENTERS AND
 GROCERY SHOPPING IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Number of shopping centers</u>					
0-1	4	2	0	2	0
2	17	8	2	3	4
3	6	4	2	0	0
Median	2	2	2.5	2	2
<u>Quality of shopping centers</u>					
Above average .	4	4	0	0	0
Average	19	8	4	4	3
Below average .	3	2	0	0	1
Not rated	1	0	0	1	0
Mean rating	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.2
<u>Quality of grocery shopping</u>					
Superior	2	2	0	0	0
Above average .	11	7	1	2	1
Average	12	5	3	1	3
Below average .	2	0	0	2	0
Mean rating	2.5	2.2	2.8	3.0	2.8

Physical Appearance and Public Maintenance

In Table IV.12, which presents the respondent ratings of the physical appearance and public maintenance of neighborhoods, no differences are seen between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods in Washington. However, there is a large difference between the Washington neighborhoods and those in San Jose in ratings of physical appearance. As pointed out earlier, this may be a real difference, or may merely reflect differences in the way the San Jose and Washington respondents rate neighborhoods.

TABLE IV.12

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND PUBLIC MAINTENANCE OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Physical appearance</u>					
Superior	2	2	0	0	0
Above average . . .	11	6	3	2	0
Average	9	5	1	1	2
Below average . . .	5	1	0	2	2
Mean rating.	2.6	2.4	2.2	3.0	3.5
<u>Public maintenance</u>					
Above average . . .	10	7	1	2	0
Average	16	7	3	3	3
Below average . . .	1	0	0	0	1
Mean rating.	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.6	3.2

Obviously the appearance and physical characteristics of a neighborhood do play an important role in its attractiveness to some of the residents; but not everyone wants the same thing.

Each house is adjacent to some woods. Each picture window looks at something pretty. Each home has privacy. Unless you're rich you can't get that anywhere but here.

The people who move here are drawn by the woodsy-ness. They put value on scenery, openness of land, the view of the river, the atmosphere.

People want country atmosphere--large lot, not attached houses, privacy. They want to breathe.

No place else in the city is there such a neighborhood--with grounds, fountains, and a mix of high rise and low. It's the result of good planning. People respond to it.

Location and Transportation

Integrated neighborhoods are more likely to be in suburbs than in the central city as can be seen in Table IV.13. About 60 per cent of the integrated neighborhoods in the sample are outside the central city, and we would expect about the same percentage in the full study. We would also predict that the future increase of integrated neighborhoods will be greater in the suburbs than in the central city, for reasons to be discussed later.

All four of the nonintegrated Washington neighborhoods were suburban. This is a result of the way these neighborhoods were chosen for the pilot test and would certainly not be the case for the full study. Some of the differences in the other tables may be due to the suburban nature of the nonintegrated neighborhoods.

TABLE IV.13

LOCATION, PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, AND EASE OF PRIVATE DRIVING FROM NEIGHBORHOOD TO HEART OF TOWN

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Location</u>					
Suburban	18	9	4	2	3
Central city . .	9	5	0	3	1
<u>Rating of public transportation</u>					
Superior	1	1	0	0	0
Above average . .	3	2	1	0	0
Average	15	7	3	5	0
Below average . .	8	4	0	0	4
Mean rating	3.1	3.0	2.8	3.0	4.0
<u>Ease of private driving</u>					
Very easy	8	5	1	0	2
Fairly easy . . .	16	7	2	5	2
Fairly difficult.	3	2	1	0	0

Table IV.13 shows no differences between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods in rating of public transportation facilities and ease of private driving from the neighborhood to the heart of town.

The availability of cars makes public transportation of minor importance, particularly in suburban areas. Thus in San Jose a respondent can laughingly list the total public transportation facilities as "a bus that is irregular as the rain."

Convenience to the heart of town does not seem to be very important except to people who work in the heart of town, since, as seen below, convenience to work location is critical.

Crime and Police Protection

Table IV.14 shows no differences between Washington integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods in worries about crime and police protection. This question really asks about three different things: the amount of police protection available, the amount of crime, and the degree of worry. In the different neighborhoods these three factors are more or less important. In San Jose the chief worry in the unincorporated areas of the county is about the lack of adequate police protection.

Police protection is inadequate. If you call you can never get them there with any speed at all. They take orders like a Fuller Brush man and deliver it on Friday.

There are too many jurisdictions. When you call for the police they first have to determine which jurisdiction you are in--the fire department too.

In Atlanta and Washington there has been a perceived increase in the crime rate, particularly in juvenile crime. Most responses mention vandalism, gang behavior, and minor theft:

There have been quite a few bicycles stolen, strictly kids. Nothing on a large scale.

Gang activities were a problem last year--groups of teen-agers who disrupt the activities here--outside boys.

Among the problems in this neighborhood are stolen bikes, thrown rocks, vandalism, threats, abuse, holding up children for money.

The teen-agers hang around the park. There is nothing for them there. They make nasty caustic remarks to the women. They are old enough to buy beer and they get boisterous in the store.

Complaints about juvenile delinquency may sometimes be related to racial tensions, but this is not the general case. As one perceptive respondent observes:

Juvenile delinquency is the most important problem at the moment. There is a large body of opinion blaming the hostile actions on the bad influence of the lower class kids who meet and mingle with our kids at the public high school. People who blame the hoods for poisoning the morals of their darling children are most unrealistic, in my opinion, and astonishingly unable to face some painful realities. It is probably fortunate for Negro-white relationships that the "hoods" being blamed are white hoods. In truth, our teen-agers must answer for their own actions, and our parents must answer for them too. We have a study group in action, trying to find out whether our delinquency problems are any worse than those of comparable communities, or whether, expecting always to be superior in every way, we are more upset than other communities by vandalism, drunkenness and pregnancies out of wedlock.

TABLE IV.14

WORRY ABOUT CRIME AND POLICE PROTECTION IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Worry about crime</u>					
Not a problem					
Same as always	14	8	3	2	1
Better	2	1	0	0	1
Worse	1	1	0	0	0
Worried					
Same	2	0	0	0	2
Better	0	0	0	0	0
Worse	8	4	1	3	0

Most Important Reasons for Living in Neighborhood and Major Problems

Tables IV.15 and IV.16 present the responses to the open-ended questions: "What are the three or four most important reasons why people like living in this neighborhood?" and "What are the three or four most important problems of this neighborhood?" As might have been anticipated from Rossi's (1955) earlier work, convenience to work or convenient transportation were listed most often as reasons why people liked the neighborhood. Appearance of the area, price and values of housing, schools, and other community facilities were mentioned in that order, with other factors mentioned occasionally. There were no major differences between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods.

TABLE IV.15

REASONS FOR LIVING IN NEIGHBORHOOD MENTIONED BY MAJORITY OF INFORMANTS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Reasons^a</u>					
Convenience to work or transportation . . .	21	10	4	4	3
Appearance of area	10	8	1	1	0
Price or value of house	8	1	2	2	3
Schools	7	2	2	1	2
Facilities	6	2	2	2	0
Type of people	4	4	0	0	0
Type of houses	3	1	0	2	0
Low crime rate	2	1	0	1	0
Integrated	1	1	0	0	0
Shopping	1	0	0	0	1

^aNote that it is possible for informants to give several reasons for a neighborhood.

TABLE IV.16

PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY MAJORITY OF INFORMANTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Neighborhood problems^a</u>					
Type of people or their behavior.	9	5	1	1	2
Facilities . . .	9	6	1	0	2
Traffic or transportation . . .	8	5	2	0	1
Integration or race relations.	6	2	2	2	0
Crime	6	4	0	2	0
Housing or housing maintenance	3	0	0	1	2
Schools	3	1	1	1	0
Zoning	2	1	1	0	0

^aIt is possible for informants to give several problems for a neighborhood.

Substantially fewer problems were mentioned, but the chief ones were the kinds of people in the neighborhood and their behavior, and community facilities. Both problems were mentioned somewhat more frequently by respondents in integrated neighborhoods, but, interestingly, specific worries about integration were mentioned relatively more frequently by informants in nonintegrated neighborhoods. Unlike Table IV.14, which showed no differences, crime worries are mentioned in four integrated neighborhoods, but in none of the nonintegrated neighborhoods. We shall discuss some of these crime worries again later, since we suspect that this is one way tensions and fears due to integration are expressed.

To summarize the results of this section, while differences in community resources are not great, the advantage is more often with the nonintegrated neighborhoods. All else being equal, this would put the integrated neighborhoods at some disadvantage in attracting new residents. Of course, it can be seen from the tables that there is very great variability within the two groups, and that some of the integrated neighborhoods have superior community resources while some nonintegrated neighborhoods are below average. It should also be remembered that the actual decision of a family to move into an area depends not on the general quality of community resources, but on the quality of specific resources for which the family is searching. Thus a Catholic family with school age children may be greatly concerned about the Catholic church and the parochial school and not at all concerned about the other schools and churches. When we interview individual families, we shall be better able to gauge the relative importance of the various facilities, while in this pilot test we have had to assume that their importance was measured by the number of times they were mentioned by a neighborhood informant.

Housing

Characteristics of housing developers and age of neighborhoods

Most publicity about integrated neighborhoods has been about the communities established since the end of World War II by idealistic builders, and the Griers concentrate on neighborhoods of this type. But if the results of our pilot test are confirmed in the full study, then we will find that most integrated neighborhoods were developed by many builders,

and that they need not be new neighborhoods. Some, in fact, date back before 1900, although they were not integrated then.

Table IV.17 shows that only five of twenty-three integrated neighborhoods were built by the same developer, while the remainder were built by several or many builders. Table IV.18, which gives the age distribution of the neighborhoods, indicates that in Washington and Atlanta the majority of neighborhoods were developed prior to World War II. In San Jose, however, all the neighborhoods in the study have been built since 1950. For some people, the age of the houses is considered an asset:

This neighborhood has big Victorian houses. Either you love them or you hate them. Each one is an original.

An important reason why people like living here is the big old roomy houses--comfortable, serene, a way of life. It's known all over town as a fine place to live.

TABLE IV.17
DEVELOPERS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Developer	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Single developer .	5	3	1	0	1
Many builders ...	22	11	3	5	3

In some cases neighborhood aging has been accompanied by deterioration, so that the older age of an integrated neighborhood is a negative factor. This is particularly true in Atlanta, where several of the

neighborhoods were integrated only because neither the white or Negro residents could afford to live anywhere else:

People live here because they have no money to live anywhere else. As soon as they can manage to afford it they move out. Schools, churches or nothing else matters.

TABLE IV.18

AGE OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND DATE OF MOST RECENT BUILDING

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhood	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>Year built</u>					
Prior to 1900 .	6	3	1	2	0
1900-1920 . . .	4	3	0	1	0
1921-1940 . . .	5	3	1	1	0
1941-1950 . . .	6	4	2	0	0
1951 to date .	6	1	0	1	4
Median year	1930	1930	1940	1910	1958
<u>Year building ended</u>					
Still building . .	21	12	2	3	4
1961 to date . .	3	1	1	1	0
1951-1960 . . .	2	1	0	1	0
1941-1950 . . .	1	0	1	0	0
Median year	Still building	Still building	1965	Still building	Still building

Single family versus multiple unit housing

Table IV.19 demonstrates that most integrated neighborhoods in our pilot test consist primarily of single family housing. In the average integrated neighborhoods about eighty per cent of the residents live in single housing. This may be surprising since it has been suggested that, all else being equal, integration is more likely to occur in rental housing, because residents will not fear any economic loss, and because they are less likely to interact socially with other neighbors. The reader should read Table IV.19 cautiously for the following two reasons:

1. While the number of neighborhoods with a high percentage of apartments is small, these neighborhoods contain more people than do the neighborhoods of single family dwellings. Because of our small samples, we have not attempted to estimate the number of apartment dwellers living in integrated areas as compared to people living in their own homes, but we shall do this for the full study.

2. The slight evidence we have suggests that the nonintegrated areas of Washington are even less likely to contain apartments than are the integrated areas, but this may be because they are all suburban areas.

TABLE IV.19

PERCENTAGE OF SINGLE FAMILY HOUSING IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Percentage Single Family Housing	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
0 - 20	1	1	0	0	0
21 - 40	2	2	0	0	0
41 - 60	1	0	0	1	0
61 - 80	8	3	1	2	2
81 - 100	15	8	3	2	2
Median percentage .	81%	82%	90%	80%	80%

Value of housing and quality of housing

Tables IV.20 and IV.21 give the informant ratings of the value and quality of housing in the neighborhoods. There are no differences between the integrated neighborhoods and nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington in the ratings of either value or quality. Washington neighborhoods are rated about halfway between above average and average, while those in Atlanta and San Jose are rated as average. These differences between communities are not "facts" since informants were asked to rate neighborhoods in relation to other neighborhoods in the same metropolitan area. Rather, they may represent either the more positive feelings about their neighborhoods of the Washington respondents, as elicited by the Washington interviewers, or merely the fact that, generally, housing costs are higher in Washington than in San Jose and Atlanta (see Tables IV.22 and IV.23), and informants are comparing their neighborhoods to some perceived national average instead of their own metropolitan area. The attitude of Washington informants is typified in these quotes:

We do pay too much for the prestige of living here, but it's worth it.

Prices are insanely high, but these are one-of-a-kind homes and this is a unique neighborhood. It's a great pleasure to live here.

Value of housing and average rentals

Tables IV.22 and IV.23 present the informant estimates of the average value of owner occupied housing in the neighborhoods and the average rental. These averages say nothing about the variability in the cost of housing. In some neighborhoods there is a very narrow range in prices of houses and rental prices, while in others there is a much broader range. We defer until the next section the discussion of

variability of prices, since it is so closely related to the variability in the kinds of families who live in the neighborhoods.

TABLE IV.20

HOUSING VALUE IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Value	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Very much above average	4	3	0	1	0
Above average	10	4	4	1	1
Average	11	7	0	1	3
Below average	2	0	0	2	0
Mean rating	2.4	2.3	2.0	2.8	2.8

TABLE IV.21

QUALITY OF HOUSING IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Quality	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Very much above average	2	1	0	1	0
Above average	9	7	2	0	0
Average	13	6	2	2	3
Below average	3	0	0	2	1
Mean rating	2.6	2.4	2.5	3.0	3.2

TABLE IV.22

AVERAGE VALUE OF OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Value in Dollar	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Less than \$15,999 .	5	0	0	4	1
\$16,000-20,999 . .	7	5	1	0	1
\$21,000-25,999 . .	8	3	3	0	2
\$26,000-35,999 . .	5	4	0	1	0
\$36,000 and over .	2	2	0	0	0
Median value.	\$21,000	\$25,000	\$24,000	\$13,500	\$21,000

TABLE IV.23

AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTAL IN NEIGHBORHOODS WITH RENTAL UNITS

Average Monthly Rental in Dollars	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	22	10	3	5	4
\$ 61-100--one month	4	0	0	4	0
\$101-140	10	6	0	1	3
\$141-180	5	1	3	0	1
\$181 and over . . .	3	3	0	0	0
Median rental . .	\$135	\$180	\$150	\$ 80	\$120

Again there are no important differences between the integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington. While the average value of houses and the average rentals are slightly higher in the integrated neighborhoods, the samples are too small to take these differences seriously, but it is, of course, clear that housing costs in Washington are higher than in San Jose and Atlanta (and probably most other metropolitan areas).

The long standing fears that housing values go down when a neighborhood becomes integrated were thoroughly debunked by Laurenti (1960). Since that time, the case histories of other neighborhoods which have changed or become integrated confirm Laurenti's conclusions that property values do not go down. The results of our pilot test are also in complete agreement with this conclusion, although some of our informants expressed this fear, which will probably die a lingering death.

For our full study we intend to use historical Census data, as well as current values, for comparison of prices before and after our neighborhoods became integrated. We shall compare these changes in prices with the changes of prices in the nonintegrated neighborhoods. In addition we shall be questioning the new residents, the stayers, and particularly the movers concerning their expectations about property values. It is likely that these expectations could have a short term effect on prices as well as on the communities' initial reaction when the first Negro families move in.

Availability of financing

We present no tables on the availability of mortgage money and financing for houses in our neighborhoods. The informants all agreed that

mortgage money was readily available for qualified borrowers, and no one felt that Negroes would have any particular difficulties solely because of their race. While at times in the past, both white and Negro buyers of houses in integrated neighborhoods may have had difficulty in obtaining mortgages, this is clearly no longer the case. The current competition in the mortgage market provides buyers in integrated neighborhoods with the opportunity to shop for financing. One informant, when asked which lending institutions would be most likely to lend the money for a house or apartment in his neighborhood, made this enthusiastic, but fairly typical response:

The one who had first chance at it. All you have to do is say, "I want to buy," and they all come rushing in.

These findings are surprising and need to be qualified. Our study deals with neighborhoods where there are already some Negro families, and one cannot conclude from our findings that mortgage money would be as readily available to the first Negro family moving into an all white area. Nor do we deal with neighborhoods which are changing very quickly from white to Negro. Lending policies in these neighborhoods might be more restrictive.

We do not predict that mortgage money will always be as readily available in the future as it is now. If funds become scarce, it is possible that lending firms might be more reluctant to invest in integrated neighborhoods, as they once were in the past. At this time, however, mortgage funds are plentiful, and past experience has convinced lending firms, if not all brokers and home owners, that property values are not adversely affected when a neighborhood is integrated.

Characteristics of Residents of Integrated Neighborhoods

Diversity

One of the strongest impressions one gets in reading the responses of informants in integrated neighborhoods is that residents of these neighborhoods look upon diversity and variety of neighbors as a positive attraction of the neighborhood. These are people who like living next to people of different religions, social backgrounds, occupations, and even incomes. Nevertheless they tend to share common educational backgrounds and interests. Here are some of the responses to the question, "What are the three or four most important reasons why people like living in this neighborhood?"

This is a heterogeneous neighborhood in terms of what people do and their ages. There are young families with small children and families with older children away from home. Some have small businesses, many work for the government, and they all travel in different directions to their work, and this makes for a harmonious group. Just as the company town has fallen into disrepute, a diversity of employment, schools, and churches makes for harmony. There are no social pressures, nobody has to do anything.

The people here are friendly, not nosey, helpful, never intrusive. All ages--that is very important. Young and old--not everybody the same. They are bright, intellectual, "with it,"--hate subdivisions.

It's an individual community with individualistic people. We like this. It's diverse. You don't have to like everyone else.

People like the varied backgrounds of their neighbors, the ease with which they socialize. This is a very closely knit community. Everyone is happy with the neighborhood friendliness.

People here are nonconformists who were attracted to the nonconformist housing--imaginative and free. If you have a religious mixed marriage or change your church, you can be very happy here. Nobody will frown or care--many such families here. We love each other because we're so similar, but lots of times it gets too similar and ingrown and sometimes we hate each other.

Sometimes this diversity of residents is seen as a problem. Thus, a minister in an integrated neighborhood is concerned because:

People have little in common, different churches and interests. All problems are heightened by the individualistic life they lead.

In contrast, in the nonintegrated areas, variety of neighbors is never mentioned. Respondents are much more likely to talk about the physical assets of the neighborhood, or its location. When neighbors are mentioned, similarity is the desired attribute:

People here like people their own age.

This is a homogeneous neighborhood. People are friendly.

The people are homogeneous American.

In the integrated neighborhoods, there is more likely to be a variety of housing or its lack is seen as a liability:

No place else in the city is there such a neighborhood. People respond to it--a variety of units from tiny apartments to four bedroom houses which brings all sizes of people; families, couples, bachelors.

We have no middle-priced housing, so no middle income people. Only very poor and very well off. It is a very serious problem, I think.

Tables IV.24-IV.26 attempt to measure the diversity of neighborhoods. Table IV.24 presents the respondent evaluations of variance in family incomes in the neighborhoods. In ten of fourteen integrated Washington neighborhoods, there are very large differences in family income, while this is the case in only one of the four nonintegrated neighborhoods. This table thus strongly confirms the conclusion about diversity based on the quotations.

TABLE IV.24

VARIANCE IN FAMILY INCOMES IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Variance	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Same income	1	0	0	1	0
Difference of a few thousand . .	11	4	3	2	2
Very large difference	15	10	1	2	2

These results are also confirmed in Table IV.25, which shows the religious variability of the neighborhoods. Since these areas are predominantly Protestant, the distribution of neighborhoods by per cent Protestant is revealing. It shows that the nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington have far more Protestants than the integrated neighborhoods. We do not conclude from this that Protestantism is itself necessarily directly related to living in nonintegrated areas. Rather, we believe that people who wish to live in areas where there is a diversity of religious groups represented are more likely to live in integrated areas. For the full study, we shall look at the percentage of the neighborhood population in the leading religious denomination as well as the percentage Protestant. We shall also attempt to make some analysis of the differences in the major Protestant denominations with respect to living in integrated neighborhoods.

TABLE IV.25

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Variables	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Religious composition</u>					
All Protestant	2	0	0	2	0
Mainly Protestant, some Catholic . . .	8	1	2	3	2
Mainly Protestant, some Catholic and Jews . . .	12	10	2	0	0
Mainly Protestant, some Jews . . .	1	1	0	0	0
Half Protestant, half Catholic .	1	1	0	0	0
Mainly Catholic, some Protestant	3	1	0	0	2
<u>Percentage Protestant</u>					
31-50	4	2	0	0	2
51-60	11	10	1	0	0
61-80	7	2	2	1	2
81-100	5	0	1	4	0
Median percentage .	58%	56%	70%	90%	55%

Table IV.26, which attempts to measure occupational diversity, shows no differences between integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods. We suspect that these differences exist, but that our four occupational categories are too gross to pick them up. For the full study we shall be picking up detailed occupational information from our household respondents and shall then be able to make a more detailed analysis.

TABLE IV.26
CONCENTRATION OF OCCUPATIONS (PER CENT IN LEADING OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY) IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Variable	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
<u>Per cent in leading occupational category</u>					
20-39	5	1	1	1	2
40-49	12	6	3	1	2
50-69	5	4	0	1	0
70 and over . .	5	3	0	2	0
Median . .	46%	50%	45%	55%	40%

Socioeconomic status

Tables IV.27 and IV.28 give the average educational level and the median income of residents in our pilot study neighborhoods, as reported by our informants. There are no important differences between the integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods of Washington on either of these two characteristics, although the median income is slightly higher in the nonintegrated neighborhoods. The difference of \$600 is small compared

to the variability between neighborhoods and cities, but will certainly be checked on the full study.

TABLE IV.27

AVERAGE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RESIDENTS IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Level	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
College degree or better	8	6	0	1	1
Some college	8	2	4	1	1
High school graduate	9	6	0	1	2
Hasn't finished high school	2	0	0	2	0
Median	Some College	Some College	Some College	HS Graduate	HS Graduate

TABLE IV.28

MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Income	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Less than \$6,000	6	1	0	4	1
\$ 6,000-7,999	5	3	0	0	2
\$ 8,000-9,999	9	4	4	0	1
\$10,000 and over	7	6	0	1	0
Median	\$8,500	\$8,900	\$9,500	\$4,500	\$7,000

More surprising, perhaps, is the absence of any difference in educational level. We would have predicted a higher educational level in the integrated neighborhoods, but, confirming the findings of the Griers, there are no differences. As we have suggested earlier, we suspect that there are other variables which are suppressing the effects of education, but we did not find them on our pilot test.

Factors Related to Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods

Several decades ago the moving of the first Negro family into a neighborhood was generally felt to be the start of an irreversible process in which the neighborhood changed completely. The attitude and expectations of the white residents and the behavior of the real estate salesmen made this a classic example of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Today, while many neighborhoods have achieved a stable racial balance, some are in the midst of a steady change from white to Negro occupancy. Tables IV.29-IV.37 explore those characteristics of integrated neighborhoods which are related to keeping them stable.

The reader should remember that by our definition of integrated neighborhoods, we have already eliminated those neighborhoods where there was no possible chance of stability. In each of our integrated neighborhoods both whites and Negroes are currently moving in. While this does not guarantee stability, it is clearly a minimum requirement. Stability of a neighborhood must be related to some reasonable time period. In a period of fifty years, say, we would expect major changes to occur in most neighborhoods.

Predicted stability

Somewhat arbitrarily, we asked our informants whether they thought their neighborhoods would remain stable during the next five years. The results are given in Table IV.29. In Washington and San Jose, informants believed that sixteen of nineteen neighborhoods would "certainly" or "probably" remain stable, but they were uncertain about the other three neighborhoods. In Atlanta, on the other hand, the predictions were that four of the five neighborhoods would change to all Negro, and the other neighborhood was uncertain. While it is possible that some of the predictions will be wrong, we would expect that in most cases they are correct. (We have made some tentative plans for the full study to follow the sample neighborhoods through time to see what happens to them.)

TABLE IV.29

PREDICTED STABILITY OF NEIGHBORHOODS DURING NEXT FIVE YEARS

Predictions	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Certainly remain stable	13	9	2	0	2
Probably remain stable	6	3	2	0	1
Probably change to mostly Negro . .	2	0	0	2	0
Certainly change to mostly Negro . .	2	0	0	2	0
Mixed predictions .	4	2	0	1	1

Not all predictions are made with the same degree of certainty for those neighborhoods which are expected to remain stable. Where integration is viewed as a positive asset stability is most assured:

Everybody accepts the fact that this is an integrated neighborhood. People who don't like it don't come here. People who come here know it in advance and like it.

We're all working hard to integrate it. We just don't seem to attract many Negro families.

In some neighborhoods integration is viewed calmly, with little enthusiasm:

The people are not afraid of Negro neighbors and there will be no panic.

This is a small neighborhood, people have lived here and their fathers and forefathers. They know everyone. We're not afraid of living next door to them [Negroes]. We've always had them across the town line. If you have enough money maybe there's still a place [where there are no Negroes] but not for any of us.

People don't seem to be moving in any greater numbers than before. It's been accepted. Some of us don't much like it--I'm from the South--but it's gone smoothly and I just can't see any changes taking place.

Many respondents believe that in their neighborhood the high cost of housing will prevent most Negroes from buying:

Our houses are in an upper economic level and Negroes don't have sufficient purchasing power.

Because of the economic level here, not many could afford it.

Finally, there are those neighborhoods where there are substantial doubts if the area can remain stable:

The white people who haven't sold so far probably won't, and there are some white people moving in so I think things have leveled off.

Negroes don't want to live in an all colored area, but the need for Negro housing is pushing it that way. We're plucking at total integration by trying to keep and attract the whites. Unless more Negroes can move to the suburbs the pressures for housing will make this neighborhood all colored.

For Negroes living in these areas there is a particularly tough moral issue. As one Negro respondent who is active in community organizations puts it:

It's hard to watch the balance. We fight the tipping point. You have to tell a Negro they should not move into the area and that's a touchy area if you as a Negro are living here.

Current proportion Negro

What differentiates these neighborhoods? A major characteristic is, of course, the current percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood. Common sense would suggest that the higher the proportion of Negroes the less certainty there would be that the area will remain stable, and this is confirmed in Table IV.30. Note that while the proportion of Negroes ranges from less than 1 per cent to more than 90 per cent the median neighborhood is less than 10 per cent Negro. In Atlanta, where the percentages of Negroes in the integrated areas are much higher than in Washington and San Jose, the informants are much less likely to believe that stability can be achieved.

TABLE IV.30

PERCENTAGE NEGRO POPULATION IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Percentage Negro Population	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
1% or less	7	5	0	2
2-10%	6	3	1	2
11-50%	6	5	1	0
51-90%	4	1	3	0
Median .	9%	8%	75%	2%

Pressures for Negro expansion

Another major factor affecting the stability of a neighborhood is the pressure to buy into that neighborhood exerted by an overcrowded Negro population in the city, primarily in adjacent neighborhoods. This pressure is described in Tables IV.31-IV.33. Table IV.31 gives the general evaluation by respondents of the availability of housing for Negroes and whites in the metropolitan areas. Unlike all other tables, the results here are summarized across respondents in all neighborhoods. These results show that Negro pressure to move into new areas is greatest in Atlanta where Negro housing is tight and where there is also some shortage in white housing. The least pressure for Negro expansion is in San Jose where there is an adequate supply of Negro housing and a plentiful supply of housing for whites. Washington falls between Atlanta and San Jose, with Negro housing tight and white housing balanced.

TABLE IV.31

AVAILABILITY OF HOUSING FOR NEGROES AND WHITES
IN METROPOLITAN AREA

Metropolitan Area	White	Negro
Washington	Balanced	Tight
Atlanta	Somewhat tight	Tight
San Jose	Plentiful	Balanced

Table IV.32 indicates that most integrated neighborhoods are next to other neighborhoods which have Negroes living in them. Only three of twenty-three neighborhoods are completely surrounded by all white neighborhoods. Table IV.33 indicates this relation among integrated neighborhoods by showing the distance of the sample neighborhoods from the nearest integrated neighborhood. The median distance is a mile or less in Washington and San Jose, but much more in Atlanta. Thus, while residents of integrated areas in Washington and San Jose are aware of neighboring areas like their own, Atlantans are less likely to know of other integrated neighborhoods, although they are aware of nearby neighborhoods which are all Negro.

TABLE IV.32

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BORDERING NEIGHBORHOODS
OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Type of Bordering Neighborhoods	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
All white	3	1	0	2
All Negro	1	0	1	0
All mixed	4	3	0	1
White and Negro . .	3	0	3	0
White and mixed . .	5	3	1	1
White, Negro and mixed	7	7	0	0

TABLE IV.33

DISTANCE TO NEAREST INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD

Distance in Miles	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
Less than 1 mile	13	9	2	2
1 mile	3	2	0	1
2-5 miles	4	3	1	0
6-10 miles	3	0	2	1
Median	Less than 1 mile	Less than 1 mile	3-1/2 miles	1 mile

Length of time area has been integrated

The longer an area remains stable the greater likelihood, all else being equal, that it will remain so in the future. Table IV.34 shows the number of years the sample neighborhoods have been integrated. The median is between four and six years. Here no differences are seen between the three metropolitan areas. In Washington and San Jose about a quarter of the neighborhoods had both Negroes and whites from their inception, while none of the Atlanta neighborhoods did.

TABLE IV.34

NUMBER OF YEARS NEIGHBORHOOD HAS BEEN INTEGRATED, AND RACIAL COMPOSITION WHEN BUILT

Variables	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
<u>Number of years inte-</u>				
<u>grated</u>				
1-2 years	8	5	2	1
3-5 years	5	3	1	1
6-10 years	5	3	1	1
10-25 years	2	1	0	1
25 or more years	3	2	1	0
Median years	4	4	4	6
<u>Racial composition</u>				
<u>when built</u>				
Both Negroes and whites	5	4	0	1
All white	18	10	5	3

Real estate practices

The behavior of the real estate salesmen is also significant, and their actions, as perceived by our informants, are summarized in Table IV.35. Each of the metropolitan areas differs from the others. In the San Jose integrated neighborhoods, most brokers will rent and sell to both whites and Negroes. In Washington, while some will sell to both, the majority make a greater effort to sell to whites. In Atlanta, where the brokers see these neighborhoods as changing, greater effort is made to sell to Negroes. To some extent, new laws have been effective. One broker admits:

I'd rather sell to whites but I have to do what the law says or be taken into court.

Another broker attempts to shift the blame to the seller:

Why don't you ask about the homeowners who tell real estate agents not to bring a Negro? We agents are not all as bad as you think. We are servants of the owner. My agency is not the kind that punishes you if you bring in a contract with a Negro family. Most D. C. agencies are perfectly prepared to be true-blue on the nondiscrimination bit. Then they get a listing and the owner says, "Don't bring any Negroes. I won't sign a contract. You certainly are not going to make the sale if you do bring a Negro." What to do? Owner says, "I have this covenant, it goes with the house. Don't bring in a contract if buyer won't sign covenant." You say, "They aren't legal now." Owner says, "Well, no reason to object to signing, just a declaration of intention to keep the neighborhood nice for my friends here. Got to think of them." The owners are worse than the agents. Agents are trying to make a living. They want to sell a house. If the owner says, white only or no contract, there you are.

For comparison, here are the experiences of a broker, deeply committed to fair housing, who attempts to obtain listings in a non-integrated Washington neighborhood:

When I visit homes for sale and ask if they would list with us, the standard response is a look of horror, shock, or bewilderment, but politeness. Then after a little talk they say, "Oh! I could never do that to my neighbors. If the family next door to me sold to a Negro, I wouldn't mind at all, but I can't be the one to do it first."

TABLE IV.35

REAL ESTATE PRACTICES IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Practices	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
Rent and sell to both Negroes and whites equally .	8	4	1	3
Greater effort to rent and sell to white	9	8	0	1
Greater effort to rent and sell to Negroes	5	1	4	0
Will not sell to Negroes	1	1	0	0

Neighborhood reaction to first Negro family and group activity to stabilize neighborhood

There were substantial differences in the reactions of residents of the neighborhoods when they first became integrated, as shown in Table IV.36. In thirteen of twenty-three neighborhoods there was no reaction, or at least no public reaction. In some cases, people just didn't want to make a fuss and attract more Negro families:

I suspect what appeared to be tolerance was a quietness for fear of drawing attention to the situation; more Negroes might move in.

Reaction was not necessary. Less said, less excitement created.

TABLE IV.36

NEIGHBORHOOD REACTION TO FIRST NEGRO FAMILY

Reactions	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
No reaction	13	8	1	4
No panic, community groups worked to maintain calm . .	4	4	0	0
Panic, "block-busting," community groups worked to restore calm	2	1	1	0
Panic and "block-busting"	4	1	3	0

In other cases the welcome was warmer:

There were parties to greet them [the first Negro family]. Not a big splash, just the immediate neighbors had them in.

Just a slightest ripple of worry when the first Negro family moved in. We aren't 100 per cent homogeneous. A few people were apprehensive, but the first family was very friendly. They were invited to use a private pool, to many dinner parties, and coffees and cookouts.

In Washington, community groups worked in four of the neighborhoods to maintain calm. One community leader, who was particularly successful, reports his experience:

No matter how liberal you think people are, no matter what pledge cards they sign or organizations they join, a funny thing comes over them when they hear that the first Negro family is going to move into their neighborhood. Some of them get scared. In this case, not of the color of the skins--we've had every shade of skin in our pool for years and years. Plenty of all-races parties and friends here. It's their investment, their equity. They see themselves robbed of a valuable piece of property.

One member of the Board was very worried. What he really meant was he didn't want the ----- to buy the house and disturb the peace of mind he and his friend had about their homes. He said he was getting a lot of worried phone calls. I didn't get a lot of worried phone calls, but most people who didn't want the ----- probably wouldn't have the courage to tell me so. So he became their champion. I was positive that they belonged. They are just right for this neighborhood. And I was sure the neighborhood was right for them--these Nervous Nellies were only worried about property values, which were certainly not going to fall. So, since I was the leader (President of the Association) I used leadership. This Board member was demanding a full membership meeting to discuss the entrance of the first Negroes. I was determined to avoid this. I then determined also to avoid a Board meeting to discuss and vote on the membership meeting. I polled my Board by telephone. Had a long talk with each guy and either pushed hard or led hard, however you'd care to view it. Got them all, except this one man, to vote no special meeting proper on this subject. Called ----- and told them to get on with it, get the house sold and the people in before any more chewing the rag. I wanted no speeches, no fuss, no news reports, just nothing but a house and a moving van. Meanwhile, I called on each close neighbor. Had already done a survey on that block, and I knew everybody was O. K. So in they moved, and lots of people never knew it for months. Houses kept selling for more and more each month, and the worriers all shut up. I think that was one of my biggest accomplishments while I held office. A big meeting, reported in the papers, could have started panic selling.

In six neighborhoods, particularly in Atlanta, panic ranged from mild to severe when the first Negro family moved in:

Rumors started flying and people were upset, but as soon as people met them no one cared any more.

There was no great alarm or panic. In a quiet way the whites started to move out. They just wouldn't live here any more.

Most people decided to ignore them, freeze them out without being openly hostile.

There was strong opposition, some homes blown up. There was an association formed to buy houses to keep Negroes from buying, but the money soon gave out.

A Negro respondent reports:

My white neighbor put up a sign in her yard, "No nigger neighbors wanted."

Group activity to stabilize neighborhoods is most vigorous and effective where a problem is recognized but the panic is not too severe. Table IV.37 shows the greatest group activity in Washington, with little in San Jose, because no serious Negro problem was recognized, and little in Atlanta, where the general feeling was one of hopelessness. In this table the uncertain category is used for neighborhoods where two or three respondents thought there was some group activity, and the remainder were unaware of any.

TABLE IV.37

GROUP ACTIVITY TO STABILIZE NEIGHBORHOOD

Presence of Activity	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
Some group activity	9	6	1	1	1
Uncertain	13	4	2	4	3
No group activity .	5	4	1	0	0

To summarize, it is clear that the currently integrated neighborhoods of Atlanta face severe obstacles in remaining stable. The principal obstacles are:

The higher proportion of Negroes in these neighborhoods
The pressures for Negro expansion
Real estate practices
Neighborhood panic

We do not have sufficient information from our pilot test to know which of these factors are most important and how they interact. This will be one of our chief aims in the full study. Nor do we know if all these factors fit into some unidimensional scale which can be labeled "The Southern Way of Life." We are convinced that it is fruitful to examine even southern neighborhoods in detail, rather than assuming no stable integration is possible.

Social Integration in Integrated Neighborhoods

When Negro families move into a neighborhood they do not automatically become part of the community and social life of the area. We find major differences in how different integrated neighborhoods in our study accept Negroes socially. In some cases there is a warm welcome; in others the attitude is standoffish or clearly hostile. While we suspect that the stability of the neighborhood and the social acceptance of Negroes are closely related, our sample of neighborhoods is too small to study this on the pilot test. Rather, we wish to discuss the differences in the degree of social integration in community facilities--schools, recreational facilities, churches and neighborhood organizations. Our tables demonstrate, if demonstration is needed, that public facilities are the most integrated, with the schools having the largest degree of integration. The less public the facility, the less the integration. While in most neighborhoods there are no tensions between white and Negro residents, the degree of personal social contact is small.

Schools

The schools, as they have always done, play a critical role in the integration of the various ethnic and racial groups in a community. Even residents of nonintegrated neighborhoods may have their children attending an integrated school, particularly at the high school level. In the integrated neighborhoods almost all the schools are integrated. As shown in Table IV.38, in the Washington and San Jose neighborhoods more than 90 per cent, and in Atlanta nearly half of the schools are integrated. Comparing Table IV.38 and Table IV.30, we see that the percentage of Negro children in the integrated schools is closely related to the percentage of Negroes in the community, but is very slightly higher. We were surprised to see that this relationship was so close, since we had expected that a greater percentage of white parents in integrated neighborhoods might send their children to private or parochial schools. Some of our informants' comments suggest that white parents in integrated neighborhoods feel guilty about sending their children to private schools:

The kind of people who live here don't send their children to private schools. People aren't stuffy and phony. They don't spend money on hip cars and fancy schools. They have social concerns. They demonstrate for civil rights.

Where parents in integrated areas do send their children to private schools they avoid mentioning integration as a reason. As one respondent put it:

This area can and does use private schools. Absolutely no resentment to Negro kids I have heard about, but it is possible that some people didn't like it and put their kids in private schools. They're too well-mannered to admit that would be their reason--they would be ashamed to say so.

TABLE IV.38

PROPORTION OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLS AND AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN INTEGRATED SCHOOLS IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Variables	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>				
<u>Percentage of schools integrated</u>				
Less than 50 . . .	3	0	3	0
51-70	2	0	1	1
71-90	5	4	1	0
91-100	13	10	0	3
Median percentage	92%	92%	46%	95%
<u>Average percentage of Negroes at integrated schools</u>				
1-10	12	7	1	4
11-20	5	4	1	0
21-50	2	0	2	0
51-80	4	3	1	0
Median percentage	10%	10%	25%	5%

Still there is a greater use of public schools by Negroes, which results in some segregated all Negro public schools in integrated neighborhoods. In Atlanta we find that the integrated schools have a smaller percentage of Negro children than the percentage of Negro residents in the neighborhoods, but there are a large number of segregated schools.

The integration of schools results in some tensions between white and Negro students, as shown in Table IV.39. In about 10 per cent

of the schools, particularly high schools, respondents report some tension, although not all of these tensions are racial. In fact, most of the problems mentioned are social class tensions:

You could write a little book about this school where all cultural levels meet. You get the whole range here--the snobs, the eggheads, the middle class and working class, and the trailer camp horrors and the working class, lower class kids. I'm talking about white kids. The few Negro kids thus far have caused no tensions. The white kids are too busy hating each other. I suppose they may get around to hating the nonwhites in their spare time. The student body is divided into four classes: The Hoods (this is their phrase) live in the trailer camps and in apartments. They are snobbed out by the rest of the student body the moment they walk into the school. They band together whether they like each other or not. The other three groups see to it. They know from older siblings in advance that they are going to be snobbed out, and come to school prepared to be hateful and defiant. Before the administration cracked down, the boys wore skin tight jeans, ducktails, leather jackets, long sideburns, metal shoe plates. They are no longer allowed to school in this regalia, but still manage to look black-leather-jackety. They yearn to identify with something, and have chosen toughness.

TABLE IV.39

PERCENTAGE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS WITH TENSIONS BETWEEN GROUPS

Percentage Tensions	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
0	6	4	2	0	0
1-10	8	5	1	0	2
11-20	10	4	1	3	2
More than 21 .	3	1	0	2	0
Median.	9%	7%	1%	20%	10%

Or more simply as phrased by a less verbal respondent:

There is an influx of people into the school who haven't had the background and culture that the residents here have had, both white and colored.

Balancing these tensions are the opportunities for the children to interact, although, even at the lowest grade levels, they are aware of racial and class differences:

My son has several of the ----- kids in his class. He came home and mentioned it on the first day--he said they spoke very funny, and it was hard to understand them. I've spoken to my son a lot about school and schoolmates this year (2nd grade). I am assured, from this and from speaking to other parents, that the Negro kids feel no tensions or pressure from the white kids, but there is a perfect awareness of a difference on both sides. A teacher told me that a little boy (white) in her room likes to rub the palm of his hand over and over the very kinky head of a little boy (Negro) who sits in front of him. He says he likes the way it feels. She told him to stop it, and the little boy (Negro) said, "Why? It was kind of nice if the other guy likes the way it feels." She isn't sure this is a good thing, so she has a call in to the school psychologist, to get guidance.

We hope on the full study to be able to examine the differences in racial attitudes in children who live in integrated and nonintegrated neighborhoods. It will be particularly interesting to compare their attitudes to those of their parents. With older children a self-administered form will be left at the home when the adult is interviewed. With primary grade children a brief personal interview will be conducted in the home with the parent's consent.

Community facilities

Like the schools, most public community facilities are integrated, as shown in Table IV.40. There is, however, some resentment as reported by an Atlanta informant:

When Negroes started to use the park, whites stopped using the park. This feeling is wearing off. Some whites are again coming.

TABLE IV.40

PROPORTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FACILITIES USED BY BOTH WHITES AND NEGROES

Per Cent of Integrated Facilities	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
0-25	1	0	1	0
26-50	4	3	1	0
51-75	3	3	0	0
76-99	3	3	0	0
100	12	5	3	4
Median .	99%	88%	100%	100%

Table IV.40 fails to show the intensity of feeling generated when an effort is made to integrate a private recreational facility such as a swimming pool. In one neighborhood an episode was described in Rashomon fashion by each of the respondents. Clearly this was a major neighborhood incident. Here is one informant's version of the episode:

We people have lived close to Negro families ever since we've been here, because they were here first. They live on the other side of the road from us. Everything has been very pleasant until about a year ago, a Negro family moved into one of the houses over in ----- and actually, that all went pretty quietly, until it developed that this family wanted to get into the swimming pool. Then the community developed some strong feelings.

There was a meeting, and the majority voted that they did not want the family to be a member. The liberals got pretty mad about it, and the rest of the people got pretty mad that the liberals wouldn't accept

the majority decision. So we had some bad feelings running pretty high here about the pool.

They didn't accept the Negro family, and they also threw out the white man and his family who had sponsored the Negro family, and he was in a real rage. That is the most unpopular man in all of ----- the white man, I mean. He is much more unpopular than the Negro man. The people think the Negro man is only doing a normal thing--he wants a nice clean place to raise his family, and he wanted to be able to take them to swim. They don't want him there, but they don't blame him for trying. But the white man--the people here think he is a real traitor, because he started all this trouble. First, he owns the house in which the Negro family lives. He rented it to them. As if he didn't give us all enough to worry about with that, he right away demands that they be members of a private pool. It isn't a public pool, it's a private club.

One funny thing I noticed during that fight, all during the last year or so, this Catholic Church has been preaching that segregation is wrong, and that Catholics must not believe in it. I've heard some really holy preaching quoted to me by some of my Catholic neighbors. But when it came to a showdown at one meeting, those Catholics voted that fellow out. They voted the Negro man out, and they voted the white man out too. There are almost 50 per cent Catholics in our pool. If they had practised what their Church preaches, they and the liberals would have won the vote. But are they holy when it doesn't mean anything . . . you should hear them. It makes me sick.

Actually, this Negro family is a very nice family in every way. And they are above this neighborhood in every way. They both have much more education than the rest of us, and you can tell that they are very high class. It's a shame. Well, they seem too high-faluting to the average family in ----- . My wife and I have more education than most of the people here, but these people have us outclassed. I think the people don't enjoy being outclassed by Negroes. They're not accustomed to it, and it bothers them. Anyhow, it was one bitter and bloody battle, and it left a lot of hard feelings that will never be forgotten until the people move, the people who got involved on both sides of it.

Here is another informant talking about her pool which is not integrated:

Lots of my friends have asked me to lead a drive to integrate our pool. I have refused to do this. It can only lead to failure. The Board of Directors is very conservative, a great majority of the membership very conservative. It's destined to lose at both levels. It would focus attention on the families and make them targets of hostility. It would raise the nucleus of an organization for anti-integrationists. This we must avoid.

So far, we are organized and they are not. Though we are a small minority, if we plan our moves thoughtfully, we can succeed. I don't believe in leading people into something that doesn't have even a small chance of success. I am working instead on the candidates for next Board election. We'll try to get as many as possible of our people on pool Board, try to gain the majority.

Meanwhile, the majority of ----- people are unaware that there is a problem because it would never faintly occur to them that anyone might bring a nonwhite to their pool. They live in a world where everybody who is real is a white Christian American. All other people are odd.

Churches

Churches are even less integrated than community facilities, although the variety of churches, as compared to the limited recreational facilities, makes this less of a problem in the eyes of the informants. Table IV.41 shows that only about one-third of the churches in the integrated neighborhoods are themselves integrated. The churches that do integrate generally lose many white members, but may become more important to the community:

The minister would not have an all white church and lost many members, but the people who stuck are superior. There is a real sense of fun, being involved in something interesting, lively and meaningful.

TABLE IV.41

PROPORTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCHES ATTENDED BY
BOTH WHITES AND NEGROES

Per Cent of Integrated Churches	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
0	5	0	5	0
1-25	3	2	0	1
26-50	10	8	0	2
51 or more . .	5	4	0	1
Median.	35%	44%	0%	38%

More typical is the comment of a minister in a nonintegrated church who personally favors integration, but reads the temper of his membership this way:

No Negro family has asked to be a member or has come to worship. When this happens, as I think it will one day, that family will be welcomed into this church and everyone will be polite, but there will be one wing-ding of a battle joined as soon as they leave the parking lot.

The reader who wishes more information on integration in churches is again referred to Wilson and Davis. While their survey is of churches in changing neighborhoods, we see no real difference in the attitudes of church members in integrated neighborhoods.

Negro activity in community affairs and in community organizations

There is substantially greater integration in community organizations than in churches as shown in Table IV.42. Except in Atlanta, about half of all organizations are integrated. Since this includes

social organizations such as lodges and women's clubs which are less likely to be integrated, it probably means that an even higher proportion of the neighborhood associations are integrated. Apart from their function of improving the quality of living in the neighborhood, community organizations probably serve as the chief meeting place for white and Negro adults.

TABLE IV.42

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN NEIGHBORHOODS WITH ORGANIZATIONS

Proportion of Organizations Which Are Integrated	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	21	14	4	3
0	4	2	2	0
1-25	3	1	1	1
26-50	6	5	0	1
51-75	5	4	0	1
76-100	3	2	1	0
Median .	49%	50%	13%	50%

The majority of the integrated neighborhoods have some Negroes active in community affairs as shown in Table IV.43. Given the small number of Negroes in most of these neighborhoods, this suggests that both the community organizations and the new Negro residents are reaching out and attempting to make contact with each other. The lack of community organizations, which typifies community anomie, makes it almost impossible for whites and Negroes to become acquainted.

TABLE IV.43

NEGRO ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Extent of Activity	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
Several Negroes active	9	6	2	1
One Negro active . . .	3	2	0	1
None	11	6	3	2

Social contact and tensions

The final two tables, Tables IV.44 and IV.45, present the informants' evaluations of tensions and socializing among individuals. The question is asked earlier in the interview about ethnic and nationality groups and at the end of the interview specifically about whites and Negroes. Both questions produce the same kinds of responses in our integrated neighborhoods. In most neighborhoods there are no tensions but only a little socializing. In a few of the neighborhoods there are minor tensions, and people keep to themselves. In no neighborhoods are there major tensions, since in a very short time such neighborhoods would change to all Negro. Those neighborhoods where there are minor tensions are mainly in Atlanta. These are also the ones most likely to change to all Negro eventually.

While there is not much socializing by the various ethnic groups in the integrated neighborhoods, there is even less socializing in the nonintegrated neighborhoods, as seen in Table IV.44. There is a very slight indication, comparing Tables IV.44 and IV.45, that there is less socializing between Negroes and whites than between other ethnic and

nationality groups in integrated neighborhoods. Nevertheless, we may discover, if these results are confirmed on the full study, that because of the higher level of socializing in integrated neighborhoods, there may be more socializing between Negroes and whites in integrated neighborhoods than between different white ethnic groups in nonintegrated neighborhoods. Even if this should be so, the absolute level of socializing will probably be low.

TABLE IV.44

SOCIAL CONTACT AND TENSIONS OF ETHNIC AND NATIONALITY GROUPS IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Type of Social Contact and Tensions	Total	Washington		Atlanta	San Jose
		Integrated	Not Integrated		
Total neighborhoods	27	14	4	5	4
<hr/>					
<u>No tensions</u>					
Socialize together a great deal	3	3	0	0	0
Socialize somewhat	12	8	1	0	3
Not at all	8	2	3	3	0
<u>Some tension</u>					
Socialize somewhat	3	1	0	1	1
Socialize not at all	1	0	0	1	0

TABLE IV.45
 SOCIAL CONTACT AND TENSIONS OF NEGROES AND WHITES
 IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Type of Contact	Total	Washington Integrated	Atlanta	San Jose
Total neighborhoods	23	14	5	4
<hr/>				
<u>No tensions</u>				
Socialize a lot .	2	2	0	0
Socialize a little	9	7	0	2
Keep to themselves	7	3	2	2
<u>Minor tension</u>				
Socialize a little	1	1	0	0
Keep to themselves	4	1	3	0

To close this report we quote the observations of a woman who leads an integrated social life, but is aware of the problems:

Most white people cannot seem to make any real contacts with Negro people. Maybe there is something special in my makeup. Why, why, why is it so hard to get all my friends living in a really integrated social life? I've tried parties here, and they have always been successful, real fun. Everybody phones to thank me, but no further friendships. My Negro friends want whites to make the first move and they don't. Many white liberals would rather help Negroes who are poor, very poor. Many want to help "do something" and flounder and blunder because they don't know what to do. They have trouble communicating, too intellectual. I am not as lah-de-dah as they. A lot of Unitarians want to do something because that is a status symbol in their group. You are nowhere in that church if you aren't helping equal rights somehow. Much good comes of it, but so many just want to join the club for extra credits-- and they just can't figure out what to do. These are the same people who get buddy-buddy with their maids. "You call me by my first name too, and bring your kids over

to play with my kids." But they live in a world of white people coming to their dinner parties, and their kids still think that all Negroes are maids or children of maids.

The results of this pilot study indicate that progress toward integrated housing is encouraging; integration in social life, however, appears to be still a long way off.

APPENDIX A
SPECIFICATIONS
FORMS
SPECIFICATIONS--PHASE II
NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

SPECIFICATIONS
for
PILOT STUDY
of
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN INTERGROUP HOUSING

Nature and
Purpose

NORC is launching a project which we believe may be one of the most important and exciting studies we have ever conducted. It is a study of racially integrated areas to determine:

1. how many racially integrated areas (neighborhoods) there are,
2. the physical characteristics of housing in successfully integrated areas,
3. which factors influence a family's decision to move into or from an integrated area,
4. the relationship between what people say and what they actually do about plans to stay or move,
5. the tensions and satisfactions of families living in such areas.

First Phase

The first and critical step in the whole process is the location of racially integrated neighborhoods. We believe that our interviewing staff can locate these areas for us in their own PSU's. As a pilot test, we are experimenting with location techniques in five PSU's--yours is one of the five. This will be done in:

Washington, D.C.
San Jose, California
Atlanta, Georgia
Eau Claire County, Wisconsin
Carbon County, Pennsylvania

Once the areas are located, we will want some basic information about them. Your big job (and it won't be easy), will be to locate all the areas in the entire PSU which qualify.

Definition of
Integrated
Area

An integrated area is one into which both whites and non-whites (Negroes, Orientals, etc.) can move and are moving. This is not an easy definition to spell out. An area which is 50 per cent white-50 percent Negro would not be integrated if no new white families were moving into it. We would consider this to be a changing neighborhood which undoubtedly eventually would become all Negro. Also, we would not consider a white area with a single Negro family to be integrated, if no other Negro families had been allowed or had moved in during the past year or so. However, the area need not be heavily Negro--four or five families moving in over a year or two would make the area integrated according to our definition.

There is one added qualification. The Negroes and whites must live in housing of comparable value. In some places, particularly in the South, Negroes and whites often live close together, but the quality and value

of the housing in which Negroes live are clearly below that in which whites live. This would not be considered an integrated area.

It is not necessary that there be any social interaction between households for the neighborhood to be integrated. White families living next door, across the street, or on the next block from Negroes may have no contact with them (or may not even know they live there), but the area would still be considered integrated.

Be sure to investigate carefully newly constructed housing developments as well as established housing areas for possible sources of integrated living.

To sum it up--AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD OR AREA IS ONE INTO WHICH BOTH WHITES AND NON-WHITES ARE MOVING (RENTING OR BUYING) CURRENTLY, AND THE HOUSING IS OF COMPARABLE VALUE.

Definition of Neighborhood As of now, you probably have some idea as to what we mean by integrated, but you probably don't know for sure what a neighborhood is. We don't either. The definition of neighborhood boundaries depends on local ideas. In other words, you will need to talk to people in the area--residents, local mortgage firms, and realtors, since it is their judgment which determines the neighborhood. If informants disagree, send us all the answers and we will decide, based on discussions we will have with you. In some smaller communities, and in rural and suburban areas, the concept will have no meaning. Thus, in a town of 1,000 households, there will probably be no neighborhoods and either the town will or will not be integrated.

Method of Search How do you go about finding all such areas in your PSU? As a start, we are sending you a map which shows the proportion of white --non-white in 1960 by Census Tract. (In Eau Claire and Carbon Counties, this is not being done because the proportions in 1960 were too low to be shown in a significant manner.) Remember, however, that this information is more than five years old and many changes could have occurred. Even if it were current, you would not know from the map alone whether both Negro and white families were moving into the area.

We suggest that you start by using your own knowledge of the PSU and by talking with city and county officials. Of particular help should be local human relations organizations either run by the city, such as the City Commission on Human Relations, or groups such as the Urban League and the NAACP. If you have the contacts, the major banks, mortgage institutions, and large realtors should be helpful, as well as newspapers, civic, political, religious, housing, and school groups.

In addition to the above list, you will need to seek neighborhood sources. Basically the same kind of sources as those listed above will be useful on the neighborhood level. Don't forget the map, which will remind you of areas which might qualify, but don't exclude areas not colored on the map. You may very well have some doubtful cases--be sure to include these and let us decide. In fact, you are to do a complete job of investigating the racial composition of the entire PSU by Census Tract.

Materials for
Gathering
Preliminary
Data

MAPS: The enclosed shaded map shows the boundaries of your PSU with the population statistics colored in. By reading the legend on the bottom of the map, you will be able to spot the probable location of integrated areas. (Percentages are not given if the non-white population is less than 5%.) As mentioned earlier, this is 1960 data and subject to considerable change by 1965. It also outlines the Census Tracts which you will be investigating. (No maps are enclosed for Eau Claire or Carbon Counties, because the proportion of non-white population was too small. The search in these counties will have to be done almost entirely through community contacts, and Forms 2 and 3 completed if an integrated area is discovered.)

A blank map is included in your materials on which you are to spot the integrated areas according to the results of your search. They are to be shaded in with colored pencil (for which you can charge on your Time and Expense Report).

DIARY OF COMMUNITY CONTACT (F-1): This will be used as a log for each community contact you make. Even if the interview proves unfruitful, record the information. We are interested in knowing which type of contact is most helpful, as well as those which bear no results.

The information to be filled in on the upper portion of the diary is self-explanatory. However, the lower portion may need a little clarification.

If your informant gives you information which suggests an integrated area, you are to check the box "YES" and write in the map number and tract(s) number involved. The maps are numbered as follows:

Atlanta, Georgia	A-1
Washington, D. C.	W-1; W-2
San Jose, California	S-1; S-2

ONLY TRANSFER TO MAPS THAT INFORMATION WHICH RELATES TO INTEGRATED AREAS.

INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEET (F-2): An individual sheet is provided for each Census Tract which falls into your PSU. Information is to be recorded to account for all tracts.

Estimated 1965 Data: If the tract has not changed perceptively in racial composition, write in "Same." If the information you receive indicates a change from the 1960 Census Data, record the estimated percentages for white and non-white.

Contains Integrated Area, by our Definition: Check the appropriate box. If yes, write in the neighborhood street boundaries. In some of the large tracts, it is possible to locate more than one neighborhood.

For further clarification, record the neighborhood boundaries on the sketched blocks. A block in this case is meant to be the area you term integrated and may consist of one or more street blocks.

If the neighborhood has a local name, record it within the sketched block, for instance, "Woodlawn," "Kenwood," etc.

Remember the criteria: AN AREA INTO WHICH BOTH WHITES AND NON-WHITES ARE MOVING (renting or buying) CURRENTLY, AND THE HOUSING IS OF COMPARABLE VALUE.

Estimated Year when Integration began, if known: This is to be recorded if easily obtainable from an informant.

Description of Tract, if not residential: Some tracts may be entirely business areas, parks, schools, express-ways, etc. We want this information so that we can know no tract has been unintentionally missed.

Remarks: If you obtain information for particular tracts from informants, record their names on the Census Tract sheet, in case we need to contact them for further information.

CENSUS TRACTS CONTROL SHEET (F-3): This form is your control sheet and is filled out as the tracts are completed. You can keep up with your progress and know when your job is over. You will note that it contains the same information you have on the INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEET in a condensed form.

LIST OF KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS OR COMMUNITY SOURCES HEARD OF BUT NOT CONTACTED BY INTERVIEWER (F-4): For possible future use we would like you to list the persons or sources which you heard about but for some reason did not contact during this first phase.

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES: Please collect and send to us any news clippings, newsletters, brochures, etc. which are readily available about any of your communities.

Eventually we will want detailed information about the communities, but this first phase is designed not so much to obtain the information, but primarily to locate the kinds of sources from which it may be obtained most reliably.

Time Table

We would like to finish the pilot phase of the study by Labor Day. If you run into difficulties which require that the deadline be extended, please let us know at once.

If you feel that you need the assistance of other interviewers to complete the job, arrange for it and let us know who is working.

Remember that this is only the first step of this study, but that the usefulness of the entire study depends upon how well this first step is executed.

Supervision

Since this is a pilot project, we may not have covered all the bases. If you have any questions, please call COLLECT:

Fan Calloway, Field Supervisor
PI 2-6444
AC 312

After you have finished this first phase, we will call you to get your advice and suggestions.

Good luck and happy hunting!

SURVEY 498

TRANSMITTAL

The following items are included in this transmittal:

- 1 Specifications
- Map (with Census Data shaded in)
- Map (blank)
- Diary of Community Contacts (F-1) MAIL WEEKLY
- Individual Census Tract Work Sheets (F-2) MAIL WEEKLY
- Census Tract Control Sheets (F-3)
- 6 List of Knowledgeable Persons or Sources (F-4)
- 6 9 x 12 Mailing Envelopes
- 10 #10 Business Reply envelopes
- 10 Correspondence Forms (F-79)
- 6 Interviewer Request and Supply Form (F-38)
- 6 Interviewer's Time Reports MAIL WEEKLY
- 25 Better Business Bureau Memos
- 25 Brochures "About NORC and Public Opinion Surveys"
- 1 Postcard acknowledging receipt of materials
- Personalized Business Cards

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Survey 498
F-1

DIARY OF COMMUNITY CONTACT

PSU _____

Interviewer _____

Date Submitted _____

Informant's Name _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone _____ Date(s) of Visit _____

Position Held (if any) _____

Organization, Agency, or Interest Represented _____

Results: (If information relates to a particular neighborhood or community, specify by its name when possible; if it relates to entire city or town, specify. Record remarks fully.)

Transfer information on racial composition with estimated percentages to map. (Check)

Yes, information transferred to Map No. _____ Tract No. _____

No, not specific enough to be transferred to map.

ONLY TRANSFER INFORMATION RELATING TO INTEGRATED AREAS, BY OUR DEFINITION.

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Survey 498
F-2

INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEET

PSU _____ Interviewer _____

Tract No. _____ Map No. _____ City or Town _____

Racial Composition

1960 Census Data:

Estimated 1965 Data:

% White _____

% White _____

% Non-White _____

% Non-White _____

Contains Integrated Area, by our Definition (Check)

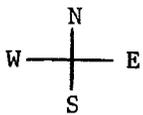
Yes

No

If Yes, Boundary of Integrated Area(s) within Tract:

Describe _____

Sketch(s) of integrated neighborhoods within Tract:



Estimated Year when Integration began, if known _____

Description of Tract, if not residential (Park, business, school, etc.)

Remarks: (Cross-reference to Informant's name(s), if applicable)

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Survey 498
F-4

LIST OF KNOWLEDGEABLE PEOPLE OR SOURCES
HEARD OF, BUT NOT CONTACTED
BY INTERVIEWER

PSU _____ Date Submitted _____

Interviewer _____

Person's Name _____

Organization, Agency or Interest Represented _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone _____ Position Held, if any _____

Remarks:

Person's Name _____

Organization, Agency or Interest Represented _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone _____ Position Held, if any _____

Remarks:

Person's Name _____

Organization, Agency or Interest Represented _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone _____ Position Held, if any _____

Remarks:

Person's Name _____

Organization, Agency, or Interest Represented _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone _____ Position Held, if any _____

Remarks:

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Survey 498
NORC
October, 1965

SPECIFICATIONS
For
PILOT STUDY
of

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN INTERGROUP HOUSING

PHASE II

Interviews with Neighborhood Informants

Nature
and
Purpose

Now that our field staff has successfully completed the First Phase of the Pilot Study in our search for integrated housing areas, we will attempt to refine our first findings and gather additional information by interviewing neighborhood informants. We want to discover what are the characteristics of the neighborhood that contribute toward making it a desirable place in which to live-- what facilities it has and what are some of its problems.

This phase will indicate what local residents, mortgage firms, realtors, leaders, etc. perceive as the grouping of housing units which, in their opinion, determine the neighborhood boundaries. This is not a sociological concept, but rather a housing market concept. In many instances there will not be agreement on the boundaries, and we shall then rely on Census information and make judgments based on all sources of information.

You will note on the neighborhood maps that we have combined more than one census tract, in most instances, and tentatively called them a neighborhood. It will be up to your informants to delineate what, in their judgment, are the actual boundaries. They may leave it as a single neighborhood, or they may break it down into more than one area. When more than one neighborhood is defined on the map, it will require that you conduct an interview for each neighborhood separately. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

Sponsorship

This pilot study is a project funded by NORC. We hope it will add to trend data on attitudes about significant areas of race relations, which it has been compiling for the past 20 years. We hope to receive a grant shortly for the national study being planned.

Who will be
Respondents

You will decide whom to interview. Your task is to interview a range of informants in the assigned neighborhoods who represent persons knowledgeable in the following areas: schools, community organizations, religious leaders (priests, rabbis, ministers), real estate firms, financial institutions (local bankers, mortgage houses), and possibly community newspaper people.

- Selection of Informants** Avoid top officials from central groups, such as Director of Human Relations for City of Such-and-Such, but instead see the staff person who is assigned to work in the sample area. In other words, see only persons knowledgeable about the particular neighborhood. Residents who may make good informants might be the block club president, PTA president, member of the League of Women Voters, and other active community leaders of their ilk.
- Number of Interviews** A minimum of five interviews are necessary for each neighborhood--more, if you find considerable disagreement among them.
- Suggested Approach in Appointment Making** The person you will be calling is a busy one with some status in the community. It is therefore desirable that an appointment be made to conduct the interview. You will find that the great majority of respondents will be interested in the questions you will be asking, so don't feel timid about requesting their time. Be realistic in estimating that it will take about an hour to complete the interview.
- Introduce yourself as being from the National Opinion Research Center, a non-profit agency which conducts research on topics of social science interest. Explain that we are doing a study of neighborhoods in and around (USE NAME OF YOUR PSU) and that their particular area has fallen into our sample. He, as one of the community leaders, has been suggested as one who could give us information about the area, and we would like to talk with him at a convenient time within the next few days, if possible. If, for some good reason, he is unavailable, ask if he can suggest another knowledgeable person for you to call. Try to get the name of one who falls into his same category of special interest--that is, if he is a block club president, ask for the name of another very active person in his group. If he needs further assurance about you, explain that you can furnish proper credentials--an ID card, brochure about NORC, and the Better Business Bureau endorsement. Naturally, you will assure him that all of his replies will be kept confidential and only reported in statistical form.
- Exclusions** Government Housing projects should not be considered in determining whether or not an area is integrated. Our study concerns itself with privately owned housing. If Negroes are not currently renting or buying elsewhere in the neighborhood, it is not considered integrated for our purposes.
- However, we are aware that if a housing project is in the area, it will, of necessity play some part in answers to most of the questions. Just note clearly that such housing is part of the neighborhood.
- To summarize: Neighborhoods with Negroes and whites living only in government housing project = Non Integrated area
- Neighborhood with negroes and whites living in government housing and negroes living elsewhere = Integrated area

Resources Your local supervisor will have copies of the Diary of Community Contacts seen earlier and Lists of Knowledgeable Persons Heard Of, but not Contacted in the First Phase, and she can help you with leads when needed. And, of course, you can always call the Chicago office and consult Fan Calloway, AC 312, PL 2-6444.

Please review the maps of each assigned area to make sure that they are clear and adequate in-so-far as street boundaries are concerned. When areas are on the outskirts of the central city, the information is often obscure or unclear. If such a situation obtains, please see if you can purchase a county map which has better detail. Planning Commissions and Departments of Highway are likely sources. Look at the map itself for the area in which you are interested, before making the purchase.

In any event, each interviewer should have a city map for the respondent to refer to if he wishes. The information as to boundaries, however, should be put on the maps accompanying the questionnaire after they have been determined.

Retain these maps until the last phase of the study has been completed. You will probably need to refer to them in Phase III, as well.

Briefing Session A briefing session will be set up by your local supervisor to discuss the questionnaire and to make available to you the leads mentioned above. She will also make the assignments. Be sure to study the questionnaire and specifications carefully in preparation for the briefing session. We are anxious that this pilot study be handled in your most professional manner so that we can learn from it before the national study is launched next year. Your performance in the First Phase was excellent. We solicit your comments and constructive criticism again.

Deadline Now that you have a "feel" for the study, we hope that Phase II will go quickly and smoothly. Your assignments will vary in number, but we hope that you will have all interviews completed and returned to us by December 15. If for any reason you need an extension of time, please let us know. We need to move expeditiously, so that we can go on to the next phase of interviewing selected families. It is our objective to complete all the many facets of the pilot study by the first of the year.

Mailing of Assignments Please mail completed interviews weekly, accompanied by your Time and Expense reports to cover the interviews enclosed.

ABOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE ITSELF

Face Sheet
Identifying
Information

We have completed a portion of the cover sheet and attached a map of the area described on it. You will select the Informant and fill in the information identifying him. Be sure to give us his appropriate title, such as Dr., Rev., Miss, Mrs., etc. Give his full title, if any, and the full name of the agency or interest he represents. For instance, if he is head of the local YMCA, give the name of the specific branch--not just YMCA. It is also important that you indicate whether he lives or works in the sample area. All of this is done after the appointment is made, but before seeing the respondent.

Record the time the interview started.

Q. 1

Most neighborhoods have local names which the informant can give you. Where we had a name in advance, we have indicated this.

Q. 2

You have 5 maps for each area (one for each respondent). Let him look at it and describe the boundaries of the neighborhood as he perceives them. Either he or you should now trace the boundaries in with a soft pencil, clearly. (We ask that you a #2 pencil because it is darker and also easier to erase if he should change his mind as you go along.)

At this point a number of possibilities exist, perhaps even more than we've thought of so far. We shall list those which have occurred to us and follow each with an instruction of what to do.

a. The informant will agree exactly with the boundaries of the neighborhood as we have described it on the map and on the front of the questionnaire. You have no problem. Simply continue with the interview and rest assured that you, we, and the informant are all talking about the same geographical area.

or

b. The informant will tell you the boundaries as tentatively drawn on the map are slightly inaccurate, according to the way he perceived the neighborhood. Suggest that either he make the changes on the map or that he tell you the boundaries as he thinks they should be drawn and you make the changes to correspond to his ideas. He may ask that you enlarge the area slightly or that you make it somewhat smaller than we show. Once this has been done, and provided the changes are relatively minor, you may continue the interview about the neighborhood as re-defined.

or

c. The informant will tell you that what is drawn on the map is, in actuality, two or more separate neighborhoods. It may be that Negroes as well as whites can and do move into all of the separate neighborhoods, or it may be that Negroes live in only one of them. It may be that the particular informant is knowledgeable about the entire area, even though he defines it as more than one neighborhood.

If he is knowledgeable about all the separate areas, you may interview him about each neighborhood, as defined by him, BUT use a separate questionnaire for each separate neighborhood. If this turns out to be the case, you would probably want to suggest that you and he continue discussing one of the neighborhoods at that interview, and that you would then arrange to come back for another interview about the other neighborhood(s).

Just keep in mind that if the informant feels that our maps describe the boundaries of more than one neighborhood, that you must conduct separate interviews about each neighborhood thus arrived at. (In some cases this will mean finding additional informants in case the first informant is knowledgeable about only part of the area outlined by us.)

or

- d. The informant will tell you that he agrees with the name you have specified, but that the neighborhood which goes by that is much smaller than the area tentatively outlined on our map.--You have no problem. Simply ask him what the narrower boundaries of the neighborhood should be, and continue the interview about the neighborhood as re-defined.

Q. 3

This question is designed to inventory the parks and other recreational facilities of the community. We are interested in those within the area or nearby. "Nearby" is what the informant considers nearby. After you have obtained the names of the facilities, then ask complete information about each one before going on to the next facility. As indicated on the questionnaire, DO NOT ASK QUESTION 71 blocked off with heavy broken lines, until the end of the questionnaire where you receive instructions to ask that question. Ask Q. 4 and Q. 5, however, which appear below the broken heavy lines on pages 2 and 3.

Note the words "in the metropolitan area" which will appear many times in the questionnaire. Comparisons are being made with facilities, etc. in the Central City of the PSU. In other words, a person in East Point, Georgia will be comparing facilities with the Atlanta metropolitan area; a person in Campbell, California will be comparing facilities with San Jose metropolitan area; a person in Silver Spring, Maryland will be comparing facilities with Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. You will have to stress this with the respondent when it occurs.

Q. 4

Straight-forward.

Q. 5

Straight-forward.

Q. 6

Try to obtain full names of persons and churches/temples as well as their specific location. In 6C, just ask for their best guess as to number of members. "Nearby" is again defined as "whatever you consider nearby."

- Q. 7 This question is handled in the same manner as those preceding it. In 7H, Tension among groups does not necessarily mean between whites and Negroes, but can mean between gangs, etc. In asking 7J, note that it should be asked depending upon whether the answer to 7I was positive or negative. If positive, it should read "Is this school the most important reason, one of the 3 or 4 most important reasons, or just one among many reasons why people do move into the area." If the answer to 7I is negative, the words "don't move in the area" are used.
- Q. 8 We are trying to find out about such associations as block clubs groups, Chambers of Commerce, Kiwanis Associations, veterans groups, ethnic associations, and any associations of homeowners or renters. Note that we ask specifically about the latter if such associations are not volunteered.
- Q. 9 The naming of the important public transportation services is helpful to orient the respondent's thinking for Q. 10, and to give us a better notion of what is available to the neighborhood.
- Q. 10 Straight-forward.
- Q. 11 What we have in mind are such things as good roads, limited access highways, main thoroughfares, direct routes, etc.
- Q. 12 Straight-forward.
- Q. 13 Straight-forward.
- Q. 14 Straight-forward. Although many people use several stores on occasion, we are interested in where they do their main shopping most of the time--not isolated trips for groceries.
- Q. 15 We mean, in general, for most items.
- Q. 16 This refers either to one of the new shopping centers which have sprung up in the last ten years or an older "group of stores" on a business street.
- Q. 17 There are always some worriers, but in general, are the majority of people worried about crime and police protection. Ask 17B of everyone.
- Q. 18 Probe all vague and unspecific answers. As you can imagine, this is one of the most important questions in the questionnaire.
- Q. 19 Same as Q. 18--important and should be probed.
- Q. 20 The card should help here. Be sure that the total is 100%. He may want to change his estimate more than once. We anticipate that once he gives an answer, he may want to reconsider after he has given it more thought. This is not an easy question to answer off-the-cuff. Take your time and reassure the respondent to take his time.

Qs. 21-23 Read the three questions carefully. If there are no single family homes in the area, but only apartment buildings, you would not ask Q. 21. Similarly, if there are no apartment buildings, in the area and it is made up only of homes, you would not ask Q. 22 and Q. 23. If it has a mixture of all types, then all three questions will be asked.

Q. 24 If the area has been demolished and completely rebuilt, ask question in terms of new neighborhood. Otherwise, question is straightforward.

Q. 25 Ask in same terms as in Q. 24. This question and Q. 24 are mainly intended to differentiate old, established neighborhoods from new post-war developments.

Q. 26 Straight-forward.

Q. 27
&
Q. 28 Note that these two questions are closely related, except the first asks about quality of housing without consideration of price. Many people may have a tendency to think only of quality. However, a house can be of top quality and yet be over-priced. Also, a house can be of poor quality and highly priced. Therefore, we are asking these questions separately. Be sure you read the question so that the informant has clearly in mind that the first question has to do with quality only; the second has to do with housing value which considers both price and quality.

Q. 29 A good credit risk is someone who has established a good credit rating.

Qs. 30-31 This question is asked regardless of whether neighborhood consists of houses only, apartment buildings only, or a mixture of houses and apartment buildings.

Q. 32 Straight-forward.

Q. 33-35 Ask these questions only if the neighborhood contains single family houses.

Q. 36 Ask, if the neighborhood contains apartment buildings. Of course, if the neighborhood is a mixture of houses and apartments, then you ask Q. 33, 34, 35 and 36.

Q. 33 and Q. 36 provide for single answers or range answers. Either is acceptable. For instance, a respondent may say that a house would cost between \$15,000 and \$25,000, or he may say a house would cost \$15,000. Accept either answer. Similarly, he may give a range of apartment rentals for an apartment suitable for a family with two children.

Q. 37 Straight-forward.

Q. 38 Straight-forward.

- Q. 39 The educational level relates to the men in the community only, not women. We are interested in the average educational level, not the lowest nor the highest.
- Q. 40 This is another question which requires that the informant attempt to sort the entire male population of the neighborhood into various categories according to the type of employment in which the men are engaged. Be sure it totals 100% and that you allow informant to change his mind, if necessary, after his first rough guess.
- Q. 41 In most cases, informant will be able to answer in terms of the first three categories, but if he wishes to list the exceptions, the "Other" category is provided. Be sure the total is 100%.
- Q. 42 As the informant gives you the names of the ethnic and nationality groups in the neighborhood, you record them under "A." Then ask for an estimate of what he considers the proportion to be of each group named. Record the percentages under "B."
- Included in ethnic groups would be Negroes, Jews, Puerto Ricans, Poles, Italians, Mexicans, etc. Native born American whites will be called Americans and would probably not be mentioned in response to this question.
- Q. 43 Socializing of people from one group with people from one or more of the other groups, is the intent of this question.
- Q. 44 We are interested in intra as well as inter-group tensions and want to get at the informant's perception here. The tension can be overt or covert.
- Q. 45 If the answer is that there is no agreement between people as to community leaders, probe by referring back to answer to Q. 42 and find out who is considered a leader by each group.
- Q. 46 This is our first question which deals directly with intergroup living, that is, between whites and Negroes. Some informants may think that the "one" Negro family that may be in the neighborhood doesn't count. Be sure that you probe sufficiently if he answers "No" at this point, that he hasn't forgotten an isolated case or two. The reason this neighborhood has fallen into the sample is because in Phase I, Negroes were reported as living there. If informant says "No" then skip to Q. 56.
- Qs. 47-48 Straight-forward.
- Q. 49 Note that this question has to do with what the private owner does about renting or selling whereas Q. 48 asked about practices of real estate agents.
- Q. 50 We realize that this may be a difficult question to answer in some cases of old established neighborhoods. However, it is primarily directed towards newer neighborhoods. If a neighborhood has been demolished or reclaimed from what was previously a slum area, this question should be answered in terms of the rebuilt area.

- Q. 51 As in Q. 50, this question should be answered in terms of the rebuilt area, if it is such.
- Q. 52 These questions are only asked of those who say that the area
thru has Negroes living in it. Review skip directions carefully,
Q. 55 and you will have no problem about who should be asked the questions.
- Q. 56 Ask everyone this question. Even if he has answered that no Negroes are currently renting or buying here, he can have an opinion as to what the situation may be 5 years hence.
- Q. 57 Study this question pattern carefully. The informant is asked the opposite of his answer to Q. 56. For example, if he thinks the neighborhood will remain stable in Q. 56, then we ask Q. 57A, if he sees any possible events that could make the neighborhood change. If he has answered in Q. 56 that he thinks the neighborhood will change to mostly Negro in the next five years, then we want to know what events he thinks could stabilize the neighborhood in Q. 57B. For any Other answer to Q. 56, the informant is asked both 57A and 57B.
- Q. 58 The groups mentioned in this question do not necessarily have to be groups within the neighborhood. Some groups cover many neighborhoods.
- Q. 59 Straight-forward.
thru
Q. 64
- Q. 65 Since a neighborhood may be bordered on several sides, be sure you account for all sides. If the border is entirely Negro, entirely white, or entirely mixed, the answer is simple. However, if on one side it is all Negro, another is all white, and another is mixed, this is a combination of areas bordering the sample neighborhood and the "combination" must be further described as indicated.
- Q. 66 This question is only asked if all border areas are white.

SKIP

DIRECTIONS At this point, those who answered that the neighborhood was not integrated do not get asked any further questions--except the very last one, Q. 72. You do not go back and ask any questions on the first few pages of the questionnaire under the heavy line (Qs. 3, 6, 7 and 8).

- Q. 67 Straight-forward.
thru
Q. 70

Q. 71 This is the point at which you return to pages 2, 4, 6 and 8 and asked Q. 71. Read the name of the recreational facilities, churches, schools and community organizations which you have listed previously and ask the question in turn about each. We are asking them last because we don't want the informant's perception of the institutions to be biased by who uses the facilities.

Q. 72 Straight-forward.

RECORD TIME INTERVIEW ENDED.

MISCELLANY

Use of Blank Pages Please use the blank page of this questionnaire to record any suggestions as to how the questionnaire can be improved. We want to know which questions you may have had trouble with, or which the respondent found confusing.

Purchase Purchase a street map if you think it will be of help in locating your assigned areas and charge for it on your T&E.

Use of Spare Questionnaires Your supplies have included several spare questionnaires. These are to be used when a respondent says that more than one neighborhood has been included in our original neighborhood boundaries. Designate the first neighborhood "A" and insert "A" on the cover sheet next to the neighborhood number; designate the next neighborhood "B" on the spare questionnaire, etc. It is not necessary to attach a new map for the additional neighborhoods. Instead, outline the neighborhoods on the original map and call them "A", "B," etc. (In other words, only one map is needed for each respondent, though he may require more than one questionnaire.)

Use of Extra Maps If you decide that you need to interview more than the required five informants, two extra maps have been sent for each neighborhood. Fill in the PSU and neighborhood boundary information on the cover sheet of a spare questionnaire and attach the extra map. The maps have already been numbered for each neighborhood as Respondents 6 and 7. If more are needed, request them from the Chicago office.

The best of luck!

Time Interview

_____	AM
_____	PM

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Survey 498
Oct. 1965
Form NI-Q

NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Started _____

PSU _____

City/Town _____

Neighborhood No. _____

Respondent No. _____

Name of Informant _____

Title(s) _____

Agency Represented _____

Address _____ City _____

Phone(s) _____

Does Informant live or work in sample neighborhood?

Lives	1
Works	2

INTRODUCTION

Hello! I'm _____ from the National Opinion Research Center. We are doing a study of neighborhoods in and around this metropolitan area. The _____ neighborhood, roughly bounded by--

_____ North

_____ South

_____ East (OR GIVE KEY INTERSECTION)

_____ West

has fallen into our sample. Several people in the community have suggested that you are one of the community's leaders, and that you could help us find out more about it. We don't expect anyone to know all about the neighborhood, so if we come to some questions where you don't know the answer, don't worry about it--we'll pick that information up from someone else.

1. As a start, what is the name of this neighborhood? (Is it the one I mentioned, or something else?)

Same	1
Other*	2

*IF OTHER: What name would you use? _____

2. While it is difficult sometimes to know exactly where a neighborhood begins or ends, what would you say are the boundaries of this neighborhood?

SHOW MAP AND EITHER LET RESPONDENT MARK BOUNDARIES ON MAP, OR REPORT BOUNDARY STREETS TO YOU. MARK THEM ON MAP, AND ASK "Is this right?"

(IF INFORMANT PERCEIVES OUR ORIGINAL NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARIES ABOVE AS MORE THAN ONE NEIGHBORHOOD, ASK SEPARATE INTERVIEW SCHEDULES ABOUT EACH. IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS IN TWO SEPARATE SESSIONS, IF MORE THAN ONE QUESTIONNAIRE IS REQUIRED.)

3. We are interested in community facilities which people here use. First, let's talk about parks and recreational facilities. Are there any parks, recreation areas, fieldhouses, YMCA's, YWCA's, or any other facilities for recreation in the neighborhood or nearby? PROBE: Any others?

NONE . (SKIP TO Q. 6, P. 4) 0

LIST FIRST SIX FACILITIES ACROSS. USE CONTINUATION SHEET FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A,B,C,D, FOR EACH FACILITY BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE. (ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME, THEN ASK Q. 4 AND Q. 5.)

	NAME	NAME
A. Where is (NAME) located? (LIST ADDRESS ACROSS →)		
B. Is this in the neighborhood? *IF NOT IN NEIGHBORHOOD: How long does it generally take to get there by car?	Yes 1 No* 2 Minutes _____ Don't know y	Yes 1 No* 2 Minutes _____ Don't know y
C. Compared to other parks (field-houses, YMCA's, etc.) in the metropolitan area, would you say that the facilities and program at (NAME) are superior, above average, average, or below average? (HAND CARD X.)	Superior 1 Above average 2 Average 3 Below average 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average 2 Average 3 Below average 4 Don't know 5
D. In general, would you say that (NAME) has an important effect on bringing people into the area and keeping them there, or doesn't it have much effect?	Important effect . . . 1 Not much effect . . . 2 Don't know 3	Important effect . . . 1 Not much effect . . . 2 Don't know 3
<u>ASK AT END OF QUESTIONNAIRE</u>		
71. Who use the facilities at (NAME)? PROBE: Do both Negroes and whites use these facilities? (NOW GO TO Q. 71, P. 4)	Everyone 1 Whites only 2 Negroes only 3 Depends on what is going on 4 Don't know 5	Everyone 1 Whites only 2 Negroes only 3 Depends on what is going on 4 Don't know 5

4. Of all the community recreational facilities we've talked about so far, which, if any, in your opinion is most important in attracting new residents? PROBE: Why?

NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
Yes 1 No* 2	Yes 1 No* 2	Yes 1 No* 2	Yes 1 No* 2
Minutes _____ Don't know . . . y			
Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . 5
Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3
Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Depends on what is going on . . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Depends on what is going on . . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Depends on what is going on . . . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Depends on what is going on . . . 4 Don't know . . . 5

5. Which community recreational facility has caused the most dissatisfaction in the neighborhood during the past year?

A. IF DISSATISFACTION: Why is that?

6. Could you tell me the names of the Churches and Temples in the area, or nearby, which people here attend? PROBE: Any other denominations?

NONE . (SKIP TO Q. 7, P. 6) . 0

LIST FIRST SIX CHURCHES/TEMPLES ACROSS. USE CONTINUATION SHEET FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A-F FOR EACH CHURCH/TEMPLE BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE. (ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.)

	NAME	NAME
A. Where is (NAME) located? (LIST ADDRESS ACROSS →)		
B. Do you happen to know the name of the minister (priest, rabbi) there?		
C. What would you estimate their membership to be?	_____	_____
	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y
D. Compared to other churches in the metropolitan area, would you say that their physical plant is superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)	Superior 1 Above average . 2 Average 3 Below average . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior 1 Above average . 2 Average 3 Below average . 4 Don't know . . . 5
E. Compared to other churches, would you say that the services and participation of members at (NAME) are superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)	Superior 1 Above average . 2 Average 3 Below average . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior 1 Above average . 2 Average 3 Below average . 4 Don't know . . . 5
F. In general, would you say that (NAME) has an important effect on bringing people into the area and keeping them there, or doesn't it have much effect?	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3
<u>ASK AT END OF QUESTIONNAIRE</u>		
71. Who are the members of (NAME)? PROBE: Do both Negroes and whites belong, or is this an all-white or all-Negro church?	Everyone 1 Whites only . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Everyone 1 Whites only . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4
(NOW GO TO Q. 71, P. 6)		

NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y
Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5
Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5	Superior 1 Above average . . 2 Average 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know 5
Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3
Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Don't know 4	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Don't know 4	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Don't know 4	Everyone 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . . 3 Don't know 4

What are the names of the public, parochial, and private schools which children in this area attend?
 LIST FIRST SIX SCHOOLS ACROSS. USE CONTINUATION SHEET FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A-J FOR EACH SCHOOL BEFORE PROCEEDING. ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.

	NAME	NAME
A. Where is (NAME) located? (LIST ADDRESS ACROSS →)		
B. Who is the Principal there? (LIST NAME ACROSS →)		
C. What would you say is its enrollment?	Don't know y	Don't know
D. Is (NAME) just at capacity, or is it slightly overcrowded, or very overcrowded?	At capacity 1 Slightly overcrowded 2 Very overcrowded . . 3 Don't know 4	At capacity Slightly overcrowded Very overcrowded . . Don't know
E. Compared to other schools in the metropolitan area, would you say that the physical plant is superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)	Superior 1 Above average 2 Average 3 Below average 4 Don't know 5	Superior Above average Average Below average Don't know
F. Compared to other schools in the metropolitan area, would you say that the teaching and educational program here are superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)	Superior 1 Above average 2 Average 3 Below average 4 Don't know 5	Superior Above average Average Below average Don't know
G. How about extra-curricular activities such as sports, music, and social events. Would you say these are superior, above average, average, or below average as compared to other schools in the metropolitan area? (CARD X)	Superior 1 Above average 2 Average 3 Below average 4 Don't know 5	Superior Above average Average Below average Don't know
H. Do the students get along pretty well with each other, or are there tensions between some of the groups? *IF TENSIONS: What causes these tensions? (RECORD ANSWERS →)	Get along well 1 Tensions* 2	Get along well Tensions*
I. In general, would you say that this school is a positive attraction, has very little effect, or has a negative effect in bringing people into the neighborhood and keeping them from moving?	Positive*. 1 No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) 2 Negative*. 3 Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) 4 *ASK Q. J	Positive*. No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) Negative*. Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) *ASK Q. J
J. IF POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE: Is this school the most important reason, one of the 3 or 4 most important reasons, or just one among many reasons why people do/don't move into the area?	Most important 1 3-4 most important . . 2 Just one among many. 3 Don't know 4	Most important 3-4 most important . . Just one among many. Don't know
ASK AT END OF QUESTIONNAIRE		
L. Do both Negroes and whites attend this school? *IF YES: Do you happen to know the percentage of Negroes in the school?	Yes* 1 No 2 Don't know 3	Yes* No Don't know

NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
Don't know y	Don't know y	Don't know y	Don't know y
At capacity 1	At capacity 1	At capacity 1	At capacity 1
Slightly overcrowded 2	Slightly overcrowded 2	Slightly overcrowded 2	Slightly overcrowded 2
Very overcrowded 3	Very overcrowded 3	Very overcrowded 3	Very overcrowded 3
Don't know 4	Don't know 4	Don't know 4	Don't know 4
Superior 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1
Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2
Average 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3
Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4
Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5
Superior 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1
Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2
Average 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3
Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4
Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5
Superior 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1	Superior . . . . . 1
Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2	Above average 2
Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average . . . . . 3	Average 3
Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4	Below average 4
Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5	Don't know 5
Get along well 1	Get along well 1	Get along well 1	Get along well 1
Tensions* . . . . . 2	Tensions* . . . . . 2	Tensions* . . . . . 2	Tensions* 2
Positive* 1	Positive* . . . . . 1	Positive* . . . . . 1	Positive* . . . . . 1
No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) 2	No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) 2	No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) 2	No effect (SKIP TO Q. 8) 2
Negative* . . . . . 3	Negative* . . . . . 3	Negative* . . . . . 3	Negative* 3
Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) 4	Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) 4	Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) 4	Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 8) 4
*ASK Q. J	*ASK Q. J	*ASK Q. J	*ASK Q. J
Most important 1	Most important 1	Most important 1	Most important 1
3-4 most important 2	3-4 most important 2	3-4 most important 2	3-4 most important 2
Just one among many 3	Just one among many 3	Just one among many 3	Just one among many 3
Don't know 4	Don't know 4	Don't know 4	Don't know 4
Yes* 1	Yes* . . . . . 1	Yes* . . . . . 1	Yes* . . . . . 1
No . . . . . 2	No . . . . . 2	No . . . . . 2	No 2
Don't know 3	Don't know 3	Don't know 3	Don't know 3
_____ %	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %
Don't know y	Don't know y	Don't know y	Don't know y

8. Aside from the churches and church groups, what are the other important neighborhood organizations? PROBE: Any others? IF NOT MENTIONED: Are there any associations of homeowners or renters in the neighborhood or nearby? -----

LIST FIRST SIX ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS. USE CONTINUATION SHEET FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A-F FOR EACH GROUP BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE. ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.

	NAME	NAME
A. Do you know who is President of (NAME)? (LIST NAME ACROSS →)		
B. About how many members do they have?	_____	_____
	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y
C. Is this mostly a social group, or are they mainly an action group?	Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4	Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4
D. With what community issues, if any, does (NAME) most concern itself? (LIST ISSUES ACROSS →)		
E. Do they publish any sort of newsletter, or anything printed?	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3
F. In general, would you say that (NAME) has any important effect on bringing people into the area and keeping them there, or doesn't it have much effect?	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3
ASK AT END OF QUESTIONNAIRE		
71. Do both whites and Negroes belong to (NAME)?	Yes 1 Whites only . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Yes 1 Whites only . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4
(NOW GO TO Q. 72, P. 22)		

----- / / NONE (CHECK IF INFORMANT KNOWS OF NO ORGANIZATIONS)
(0)

NAME	NAME	NAME	NAME
Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y	Don't know . . . y
Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4	Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4	Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4	Social 1 Action 2 Both 3 Don't know . . . 4
Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know . . . 3
Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3	Important effect 1 Not much effect. 2 Don't know . . . 3
Yes 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Yes 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Yes 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Yes 1 Whites only . . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . 4

9. What are the most important public transportation services, such as trains and busses, which people in the neighborhood use to get into the heart of (central city of metropolitan area)? GIVE NAME(S) OF SERVICE(S).

10. (CARD X) Compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area, would you say that public transportation facilities here are superior, above average, average, or below average?

- Superior 1
- Above average 2
- Average 3
- Below average 4
- Don't know 5

11. Now for those who drive--would you say that it is very easy, fairly easy, fairly difficult, or very difficult to get from this neighborhood to the heart of town?

- Very easy 1
- Fairly easy 2
- Fairly difficult 3
- Very difficult 4
- Don't know 5

12. Compared to other neighborhoods, would you say that the maintenance of the streets and roads around here, that is, repairs, cleaning (snow removal IF APPLICABLE) is superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)

- Superior 1
- Above average 2
- Average 3
- Below average 4
- Don't know 5

13. (CARD X) In general, how would you rate the physical appearance of the entire neighborhood as compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area? Considering such things as the outside appearance of buildings, grass and trees, and the cleanliness of the area, is it superior, above average, average, or below average?

- Superior 1
- Above average 2
- Average 3
- Below average 4
- Don't know 5

14. Where do most people around here buy their groceries? Is (Are) the grocery store(s) where they usually shop located in this neighborhood, or elsewhere?

- In neighborhood 1
- Elsewhere* 2
- Both in and out of area . . . 3
- Don't know 4

*IF ELSEWHERE: How long does it generally take to get there by car? _____ Minutes

15. How does this (do these) store(s) compare in quality and variety to other stores in the metropolitan area? Is it (Are they) superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)

- Superior 1
- Above average 2
- Average 3
- Below average 4
- Don't know 5

16. Could you tell me the names of any major shopping centers nearby?

NONE (SKIP TO Q. 17) . . . 0

	NAME	NAME	NAME
A. Where is this located? (GIVE LOCATION ACROSS →)			
B. Is this in the neighborhood?	Yes 1 No* 2	Yes 1 No* 2	Yes 1 No* 2
*IF NOT IN NEIGHBORHOOD: How long does it generally take to get there by car?	Minutes _____ Don't know . . y	Minutes _____ Don't know . . y	Minutes _____ Don't know . . y
C. What kinds of stores are in this shopping center?			
D. How does this shopping center compare to others in the metropolitan area? Is it superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD X)	Superior . . . 1 Above average 2 Average . . . 3 Below average 4 Don't know . . 5	Superior . . . 1 Above average 2 Average . . . 3 Below average 4 Don't know . . 5	Superior . . . 1 Above average 2 Average . . . 3 Below average 4 Don't know . . 5

17. A. Are people around here worried about crime and police protection, or isn't that much of a problem?

- Worried 1
- Not a problem 2
- Don't know 3

B. Has this situation changed any in the past few years for the better, or worse, or is it the same as it has always been?

- Better 1
- Worse 2
- Same 3
- Don't know 4

18. What are the three or four most important reasons why people like living in this neighborhood?

19. What are the three or four most important problems of this neighborhood? You may already have mentioned them to me, but I'm trying to summarize now.

20. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A.) Please look at this card and just give me your best guess as to what proportion of families in this neighborhood live in the types of dwelling units listed--

Single-family homes	_____ %
2-6 Apartment buildings	_____ %
Buildings with over 6 apartments	_____ %

(BE SURE THE TOTAL IS 100%)

100 %

ASK 21-23 AS APPLICABLE

21. Do any of the families in the single-family homes rent their homes?

Yes*	.....	1
No	.....	2
Don't know	.....	3

*IF YES: About what proportion do that? _____ %

22. Do any of the people in the apartments own their own apartments on a cooperative basis or as condominiums?

Yes*	.....	1
No	.....	2
Don't know	.....	3

*IF YES: About what proportion? _____ %

23. In what proportion of the 2 to 6 apartment buildings would you estimate that the landlord occupies one of the apartments?

_____ %
Don't know y

24. Generally, when were the first houses (apartments) built in this neighborhood?

Year _____
Don't know y

25. Were these first houses (apartments) all built and sold by the same builder, or were they built by many different people?

Same builder	1
Many builders	2
Don't know	3

26. Is there still some building of new housing going on in this neighborhood?

Yes	1
No*	2
Don't know	3

*IF NO: When were the last new houses (apartments) built here?

Year _____
Don't know y

27. Ignoring price for the moment, in general, how would you compare the quality of housing in this neighborhood to that of other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area? Would you say the quality is the best in the metropolitan area, very much above average, above average, average, or below average?

- Best in the metropolitan area 1
- Very much above average 2
- Above average 3
- Average 4
- Below average 5
- Don't know 6

28. Now considering both price and quality, how would you rate the housing value, that is, what you get for your money in this neighborhood? Compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area, is the housing value the best in the metropolitan area, very much above average, above average, average, or below average?

- Best in the metropolitan area 1
- Very much above average 2
- Above average 3
- Average 4
- Below average 5
- Don't know 6

PROBE: Why do you say that?

29. Suppose someone who is a good credit risk wanted to buy a house or apartment from someone who is living in this neighborhood. Would mortgage money be available?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

*IF YES: Which lending institutions would be most likely to lend the money for a house or apartment in this neighborhood?

30. Would you say that mortgage money is harder to get or easier to get in this neighborhood than elsewhere in the metropolitan area, or isn't there any difference?

- Harder 1
- Easier 2
- No difference 3
- Don't know 4

31. What do you think the minimum downpayment would have to be?
(EITHER \$ OR % ANSWER ACCEPTABLE)

\$ _____ or
_____ %

Don't know y

32. What would you estimate that the interest rate would probably be, assuming a minimum downpayment?

_____ %

Don't know y

ASK Q's 33-36, AS APPLICABLE

33. On the average, what would you say that the cost would be of houses in this neighborhood?

RECORD SINGLE ANSWER HERE: \$ _____

RECORD RANGE ANSWER HERE: Between \$ _____ & \$ _____

34. What would be about the lowest price one could pay for a house?

\$ _____

Don't know y

35. What would the most expensive house cost?

\$ _____

Don't know y

36. What is the average rental for apartments in this neighborhood--say, an apartment for a family with two children?

RECORD SINGLE ANSWER HERE: \$ _____

RECORD RANGE ANSWER HERE: Between \$ _____ & \$ _____

IF NOT STATED: About how many rooms would that be? _____

37. What would you guess is the middle income for families in this neighborhood--that is, the level which half are below and half are above?

\$ _____

Don't know y

38. Would you say that most people in the neighborhood have about the same income, that there are differences of a few thousand per year between top and bottom, or that there are very large differences in income?

- Same income 1
- Differences of a few thousand 2
- Very large differences 3
- Don't know 4

39. If you had to guess, would you say that the average man in this neighborhood has a college degree or better, has some college, is a high school graduate, or hasn't finished high school?

- College degree or better 1
- Some college 2
- High school graduate 3
- Hasn't finished high school 4
- Don't know 5

40. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B.) Please look at this card and tell me roughly what proportion of the men in this neighborhood you would say fall into the job categories listed--

- Executive and professional jobs, or own their own businesses %
- Sales and office jobs %
- Skilled blue-collar jobs, such as carpenter, plumber, or printer %
- Truck drivers, firemen, policemen %
- Unemployed %
- Retired %

41. What would you estimate the proportion to be of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in this neighborhood? (CHECK TO SEE THAT THIS ADDS UP TO 100%)

Protestants	_____	%
Catholics	_____	%
Jews	_____	%
Other (SPECIFY)	_____	%
	_____	100 %

42. A. What are the ethnic or nationality groups in this neighborhood?
B. What would you estimate the proportion of each to be?

A. NAME OF GROUP	B. PROPORTION	
_____	_____	%
_____	_____	%
_____	_____	%
_____	_____	%
_____	_____	%
	100	%

43. Do these various groups socialize together a great deal, somewhat, or not at all?

Socialize together a great deal	1
Somewhat	2
Not at all	3
Don't know	4

44. Is there any tension between any of the groups?

Yes*	1
No	2
Don't know	3

*IF TENSION: Which ones?

45. Who would you say are the three or four people in the community to whom people look for advice and leadership when there is a neighborhood problem? What is his (her) name and title, if he (she) has one?

NAME	TITLE
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

46. We have been told that both Negroes and whites can and some are currently buying or renting in this neighborhood. As far as you know, is this correct?

- Yes 1
- No . (SKIP TO Q. 56) 2
- Don't know 3

47. As far as you know, have there been any quotas set on the number of Negroes who can move in?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

*IF YES: A. Do you know what the quota is? _____ % Negro, or
 _____ Number of Negroes
 Don't know y

B. Who set this quota?

Don't know y

48. Will real estate agents renting and selling in this neighborhood, currently rent and sell to both Negroes and whites?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

*IF YES: Would you judge that they are making a greater effort to rent and sell to whites, or to Negroes, or are they making the same effort toward both?

- Whites 1
- Negroes 2
- Both 3
- Don't know 4

49. Are homes and apartments sold or rented without real estate agents in this neighborhood?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

*IF YES: A. Is this very common?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

B. Are most of these units sold or rented to Negroes only, to whites only, or to both equally?

- Whites 1
- Negroes 2
- Both 3
- Don't know 4

50. When this neighborhood was first built, was it all white, all Negro, or did it have both Negroes and whites living in it?

- All white . . (ASK Q. 51) 1
- All Negro . . (SKIP TO Q. 56) 2
- Integrated . . (SKIP TO Q. 56) 3
- Don't know . . (SKIP TO Q. 56) 4

51. (IF NEIGHBORHOOD NOT BUILT INTEGRATED) How long has this neighborhood had both Negro and white families in it? _____ Years (IF MORE THAN 10 YEARS; SKIP TO Q. 56)

Don't know . . y

52. Do you remember how the community reacted when the first Negro family moved in?

(IF NOT MENTIONED): Was there any panic in the area?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

53. Did some real estate brokers try to persuade white families to move out when the first Negro families moved in?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

54. Did the churches or any other groups take any action at that time?

Yes*	1
No	2
Don't know	3

*IF YES: A. Which ones?

B. What did they do?

55. Were the community leaders, such as (READ THE NAMES OF THOSE LISTED IN Q. 45, P. 16) living here then?

Yes*	1
No	2
Don't know	3

*IF YES: What did they do?

56. I would like your best guess as to whether during the next five years you think this neighborhood will remain stable, change and become mostly Negro, or what?

Remain stable . . . (ASK Q. 57 A)	1
Change to mostly Negro . (ASK Q. 57 B)	2
Other (SPECIFY) . . . (ASK Q's 57 A & B)	3
<hr/>	
Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 58)	4

A. Why do you see this happening?

59. Now for some questions about the metropolitan area as a whole. Would you say that the population is growing faster, slower, or at about the same rate as the available supply of housing?

- Faster 1
- Slower 2
- Same 3
- Don't know 4

60. As of now, would you say that housing is plentiful in this metropolitan area-- that is, are there many vacant units, is it tight, or is it just about balanced between supply and demand?

- Plentiful 1
- Tight 2
- Balanced 3
- Don't know 4

61. Do you see this situation changing in the next few years?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Depends* 3
- Don't know 4

*IF YES OR DEPENDS: How do you see it changing?

62. Would you estimate that the Negro population in the metropolitan area is growing faster, slower, or at about the same rate as the available supply of housing for Negroes?

- Faster 1
- Slower 2
- Same 3
- Don't know 4

63. As of now, would you say that Negro housing in the metropolitan area is plentiful, is it tight, or is it just about balanced between supply and demand?

- Plentiful 1
- Tight 2
- Balanced 3
- Don't know 4

64. Do you see this situation changing in the next few years?

- Yes* 1
- No 2
- Depends* 3
- Don't know 4

*IF YES OR DEPENDS: How do you see it changing?

65. Would you tell me about the areas which border on this neighborhood? Are they all white, all Negro, both white and Negro, or is it some combination of these?

- White . . (GO TO Q. 66) 1
- Negro . (SKIP TO Q. 67) 2
- Both white and Negro . (SKIP TO Q. 67) . . 3
- Combination* 4
- Don't know (GO TO Q. 66) 5

*IF COMBINATION: What kinds are there? (SKIP TO Q. 68)

- (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- White 1
 - Negro 2
 - Both white and Negro 3
 - Don't know 4

71. Let's go back now to the community facilities we talked about before. (TURN BACK TO PAGES 2, 4, 6, AND 8 AND ASK PARTICIPATION QUESTIONS ON FACILITIES, CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.)

72. Is there anyone we haven't mentioned who might be able to give me some more information about this neighborhood? IF YES: Do you know where I might contact him?

NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Time Interview

_____ AM
_____ PM

Ended

Interviewer _____

Date of Interview _____

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APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

There have been no other national studies, to our knowledge, that use sample survey techniques directly to investigate reasons for moving into or out of privately integrated neighborhoods. This has not been due to lack of interest by social scientists in this area, but rather to a lack in the past of such neighborhoods to study.

There are several studies that do provide significant direction to this new study and that are discussed briefly in this section. No attempt has been made to be exhaustive. Rather we list only the sources we found most useful in our literature search, and a brief description of the study techniques.

Clearly, any discussion of the literature must start with the series of seven research reports prepared for the Commission on Race and Housing. Most useful to us was E. Grier and G. Grier (1955). This study of privately developed, new, interracial housing was based primarily on interviews with builders. Its major achievement was the location of a substantial number of integrated areas and the demonstration that such areas could be successful. We have cited this work frequently, although disagreeing with some of its generalizations, which we think are oversimplified. Also of great help to us has been E. Grier (1960). This is an excellent summary of the problems that most urgently need research in the field of housing and race. Many of the areas suggested are incorporated in our report.

Another important work in this series is Rapkin and Grigsby (1960). This is a detailed study of four changing neighborhoods in Philadelphia. While these neighborhoods were changing, white families were still buying houses for reasons generally related to convenience of area and unrelated to racial considerations. There is a particularly useful discussion on the relationship between the proportion of Negroes in the area and white move-ins. Some of the hypotheses in this report are considered by Rapkin and Grigsby, but their sample is too small and special to allow them to make satisfactory generalizations. Not part of the series is a study of eight private open occupancy developments in Philadelphia and New York City (Rapkin, 1957). Rapkin describes both successful and unsuccessful home and rental units and gives reasons for their success and failure.

McEntire (1960) summarizes and integrates the four studies for the Commission on Race and Housing. A shorter summary is the official report of the Commission on Race and Housing (1958). Also in this series is Laurenti (1960). This classic study demonstrates that property values do not necessarily fall when Negroes move into a previously all white neighborhood; more often they rise or remain stable. The study is based on thousands of actual price comparisons between changed neighborhoods and comparable all white neighborhoods. Finally, Glazer and McEntire (1960) present seven studies of minority housing. Aside from a brief mention of an integrated area in San Antonio, Texas, the most germane chapter is by Albert J. Mayer and deals with the Russell Woods neighborhood in Detroit. The neighborhood changed in 1955, but at a relatively slow rate. Three years later it was 50 per cent Negro with no whites moving in. The area was previously 75 per cent Jewish, had no effective

community group, and had strong Negro pressure to move in (additional papers on this neighborhood by Caplan and Wolf [1960] and Wolf [1947] are discussed below).

We have already noted Rossi (1955). This is the major social psychological study of residential mobility, unhappily now out of print. Four areas in Philadelphia were studied, two stable and two mobile, to determine the reasons why families moved and the correlates of neighborhood stability. Information on reasons for choosing present home was also obtained. Space, design features, location, and cost were most important. Our study is in many ways an extension of this study into integrated areas. We plan to use many of the questions and scales developed by Rossi in our full-scale study.

No discussion of the literature could omit the classic works on interracial attitudes in public housing first conducted by Deutsch and Collins (1951) and continued by Wilner, Walkley, and Cook (1955). These are studies of attitudes of residents in public housing in New York, Newark, Hartford, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Springfield, Massachusetts. Whites living nearer to Negroes were found to be more likely to have contacts with Negroes, more likely to have intimate contacts, and more likely to have favorable attitudes toward Negroes in the project, Negroes in general, and interracial association. Changes in attitudes did not depend on initial attitudes. An excellent review of the literature on intergroup contact and attitude change is appended. We do not plan to include public housing in our study since the applicants for such housing do not generally decide where they will live.

While the literature on interracial attitudes of both Negroes and whites is abundant, Williams (1964) is particularly important. Based on intensive studies in Elmira and three other communities as well as on a national survey of 248 cities, this book provides benchmark results against which our respondents in integrated communities may be compared. Important theoretical implications are drawn from the data. Useful articles in the area of intergroup relations are also found in Barron (1957) and Mack (1963).

Two good summaries of secondary sources on interracial housing are by Abrams (1955) and Clark (1962). Abrams provides a useful historical perspective on discrimination in housing. Clark's book is slightly more recent and somewhat more sophisticated in its use of social science references. Another useful article is by Weaver (1960). It contains a valuable discussion of the role of schools in maintaining stable communities.

A review of efforts by commercial builders, and particularly modern community developers, to provide integrated housing is given by Milgrim (1960). Similar to this is an interview with Edward Eichler, another leading builder of interracial developments, issued by The Fund for the Republic. The Advance Mortgage Corporation (1962) gives perceptive descriptions of patterns of occupancy in ten Midwestern cities, based on Census and other local information.

Finally, and most numerous, are the studies which have been made of integrated or changing areas. Leacock, Deutsch, and Fishman (in press) have investigated a changing New Jersey neighborhood. Of particular interest is their analysis of effect of membership in the Bridgeview Council

and the use of a short F-scale which was correlated with other attitudes toward integration. Negro-Jewish relationships were also explored.

Caplan and Wolf (1960) compare characteristics of two similar changing communities, Ludlow in Cleveland-Shaker Heights and Russell Woods in Detroit. It had been initially predicted that Ludlow would be more likely to become stabilized, since it is a newer community, isolated from all Negro areas and had a mixed ethnic composition. Two and one-half years later (when the report was completed) both communities had less than 25 per cent Negro families (but since then Ludlow has remained interracial while Russell Woods has become all Negro). The Russell Woods area is also discussed by Mayer in Glazer and McEntire (1960). Wolf (1947) is a theoretical article, a general discussion based on the author's experience in Detroit of the reasons why people move from changing neighborhoods. Currently Lebeaux and Wolf (n.d.) are studying the Bagley area of Detroit. This area has a vigorous community organization, and the full-scale study will focus on this organization and on the area's schools.

Hunt (n.d.) is a study of attitudes toward mixed neighborhoods in Kalamazoo, a city with a small percentage of Negroes. While whites were opposed to Negroes moving in, they did not intend to move since the number of Negroes in the area was small. Although there was only limited contact between adults, children played together.

Stetler (1957) has studied Negro and neighboring white families in stable neighborhoods which generally had one to five Negro families. The study measured interaction, interracial attitudes, and characteristics of respondents. Except for conversation, there was little social contact between Negroes and whites at the adult level. We would not define these

areas as integrated, but rather as white areas with isolated Negro families. A similar study is Rose, Atelsek, and McDonald (1953). This survey of eight Minneapolis neighborhoods with one Negro family in each related measures of whites' attitudes and contacts with the Negro family to their distance from them. Rose (1961) is a study of white families in Minneapolis, some with Negro neighbors, which showed many inconsistencies between attitudes and behavior toward Negroes.

Sussman (1957) describes his experience in Cleveland in changing and integrating neighborhoods. Finally, Purnell (1960) discusses the interracial private rental housing project in Pittsburgh sponsored by ACTION-Housing.

Mention should also be made of the Journal of Social Issues (1957, 1959), which devoted two issues to desegregation in the North and South. The studies of particular importance are discussed above.

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